

# THE

## Second volume of *Chronicles :*

Containing the description,  
*conquest, inhabitation, and tro-*  
*blesome estate of Ireland; first col-*  
*lected by Raphaell Holinshed; and*  
*now newlie recognized, augmen-*  
*ted, and continued from the death*  
*of king Henrie the eight vntill this*  
*present time of sir Iohn Perot*  
*knight, lord deputie: as*  
*appeareth by the sup-*  
*plie beginning in*  
*pag. 109, &c.*

By Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell gent. 7

*Wherevnto is annexed the de-*  
*scription and historie of Scotland,*  
*first published by the said R. H. and*  
*now newlie reuised, enlarged, and*  
*continued to this present yeare;*  
*as appeareth in pag.*

405: &c.  
By F. T.

With two tables seruing both  
*countries added in the end*  
*of this volume.*

*Historia placent nostrates ac peregrina.*



TO THE RIGHT HO-  
 norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,  
 lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president  
*of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and*  
 one of hir maiesties priuie counsell within hir  
*realme of England.*



Taking in hand (right honorable)  
 to gather the particular histories of diuerse  
 countries and nations, to ioine with a cos-  
 mographie, which one Reginald Wolfe late  
 printer to the queenes maiestie meant to  
 publish in our English toong: when I came to  
 consider of the histories of Ireland, I found  
 my self so vnprovidend of helps, to set downe  
 anie particular discourse therof, that I was in  
 despaire to enterprise to write anie thing at  
 all concerning that realme, otherwise than  
 incidentlie as fell to purpose to touch the  
 same in the historie of England. At length  
 yet as maister Wolfes vse was, to impart to me all such helps as he might at anie  
 hand procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other histories, where-  
 with I speciallie dealt; his hap was to light also vpon a copie of two booke of the  
 Irish histories, compiled by one Edmund Campion, fellow sometime of S. Iohn  
 Baptists college in Oxford, verie well penned certeinlie, but so breefe, as it were  
 to be wished, that occasion had serued him to haue vsed more leasure, and thereby  
 to haue deliuered to vs a larger discourse of the same histories: for as he himselve  
 confesseth, he had not past ten weekes space to gather his matter: a verie short  
 time doubtlesse for such a peece of worke. But how breefe so euer I found him, at  
 the persuation of maister Wolfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I resolved to  
 make shift to frame a speciall historie of Ireland, in like maner as I had doone of o-  
 ther regions, following Campions order, and setting downe his owne words, ex-  
 cept in places where I had matter to enlarge that (out of other authors) which he  
 had written in breefe. And this I haue thought good to signifie, the rather for that I  
 esteeme it good dealing in no wise to defraud him of his due deserued praise.

But now after I had continued the historie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cam-  
 brensis, Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleburgh, and other, till the year 1509, in which  
 that famous prince Henrie the eight began his reigne; some of those that were to  
 bestow the charges of the impression, procured a learned gentleman maister Ri-  
 chard Stanihurst, to continue it from thense forward as he saw occasion, being fur-  
 nished with matter to enlarge the worke, whereof for those latter times I found my  
 selfe vtterlie void, more than that which Campion had deliuered. What I haue



## The Epistle.

doone heerein, your honors discretion shall easilie conceiue. For the imperfection  
sith it is the first that hath beene set forth in print, I craue most humble pardon of  
your good lordship, beseeching you rather to respect my good will than the per-  
fectnesse of the worke, which (the wants considered) for the orderlie furnishing  
thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, much lesse in me the meanest of all,  
and least able to performe it. Hauing presented the right honourable the earle of  
Leicester with the historie of Scotland, to whom (as I haue heard) Campion made  
dedication of this booke, I could not remember me to whome I might more conue-  
nientlie offer this my trauell in this historie of Ireland, than to your lordship, be-  
ing hir maiesties lieutenant in that realme. And therefore in most humble wise I ex-  
hibit the booke to your honour, beseeching the same to beare with my bold at-  
tempt therein, and to receiue it in good part from him that wished to haue more  
amplie satisfied your good lordships expectation, if abilitie might haue answered  
good will. Thus I beseech the Lord to guide your heart in his holie waies, & to fur-  
nish you with politike prudence and skilfull knowledge to gouerne in your estate  
and office, so as your doings may redound to his glorie, the suertie of hir ma-  
iesties dominion there, your owne aduancement in honour, and conse-  
quentlie to the sure support and peaceable quietnesse  
of the true and loiall subiects of  
that realme.

Your honours most humble to command,

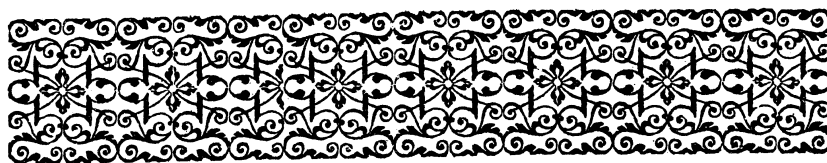
RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.





¶ The authors out of whom this historie of  
*Ireland bath beene gathered.*

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Giraldus Cambrensis.<br/>Flatsburie.<br/>Henricus Marleburgensis.<br/>Saxo Grammaticus.<br/>Albertus Crantz.<br/>Rogerus Houeden.</p> | <p>Guilielm. Paruus Nouoburgensis.<br/>Polychronicon, siue Ranulfus<br/>Higeden.<br/>Iohannes Bale.<br/>Edmund Campion.<br/>Records and rolles diuers.</p> |
|--|--|



The contents of the chapters following  
*in the description of Ireland.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 The names of Ireland, with the compasse of the same, also what shires or counties it containeth, the diuision or partition of the land, and of the language of the people. Chap. 1. | 5 Of the lords spirituall of Ireland, their names and dignities. Chap. 5.                               |
| 2 Of the nature of the soile and other incidents. Chap. 2.  | 6 The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countrie of Ireland. Chap. 6.        |
| 3 The names of the ciuities, boroughs, and hauen towns in Ireland. Chap. 3.   | 7 The names or surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote. Chap. 7. |
| 4 Of the strange and woonderfull places in Ireland. Chap. 4.  | 8 The disposition and maners of the meere Irish, commonlie called the wild Irish. Chap. 8.              |

A. 3.





TO THE RIGHT HO-  
norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,  
lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president  
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and  
one of hir maiesties priuie counsell within hir  
realme of England.



*T*verie good Lord, there haue beene diuerse of late, that with no small toile, and great commendation, haue throughlie imploied themselues, in culling and packing together the scrapings and fragments of the historie of Ireland. Among which crue, my fast friend, and inward companion, maister Edmund Campion did so learnedlie bequite himselfe, in the penning of certeine breefe notes, concerning that countrie, as certes it was greatlie to be lamented, that either his theame had not beene shorter, or else his leasure had not beene longer. For if Alexander were so rauisht with Homer his historie, that notwithstanding Ther sites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outward feature so deformed, and in inward conditions so crooked, as he seemed to stand to no better steed, than to lead apes in hell: yet the valiant capteine, weighing how liuelie the golden poet hath set

forth the ouglie dandepreat in his colours, did sooner wish to be Homer his Ther sites, than to be the Alexander of that doltish rithmour, which undertooke with his wooodden verses to blase his famous and martiall exploits: how much more ought Ireland (being in sundrie ages seized of diuerse good and couragious Alexanders) sore to long and thirst after so rare a clarke, as maister Campion, who was so upright in conscience, so deepe in iudgement, so ripe in eloquence, as the countrie might haue beene well assured to haue had their historie trulie reported, pithilie handled, and brauelie polished.

Howbeit, although the glose of his fine abridgement, being matcht with other mens dooings, bare a surpassing kind of excellencie: yet it was so huddled up in hast, as in respect of a Campion his absolute perfection, it seemed rather to be a worke roughlie hewed, than smoothlie planed. Vpon which ground the gentleman being willing that his so tender a suckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, should haue beene swaddled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of time the ioints thereof were knit, and growen stronger: yet notwithstanding he was so crost in the nicke of this determination, that his historie in mitching wise wandred through sundrie hands, and being therewithall in certeine places somewhat tickle too tonged (for maister Campion did learne it to speake) and in other places ouer spare, it twittled more tales out of schoole, and drowned weightier matters in silence, than the author (vpon better view and longer search) would haue permitted. Thus much being by the sager sort pondered, and the perfection of the historie earnestlie desired: I, as one of the most that could doo least, was fullie resolved to enrich maister Campion his chronicle, with further additions. But weighing on the other side, that my course packthred could not haue beene sutablie knit with his fine silke, and what a disgrace it were, bungerlie to botch up a rich garment, by clouting it with patches of sundrie colours, I was forthwith reclaimed from my former resolution, reckoning it for better, that my pen should walke in such wise in that craggie and balkish waie, as the truth of the matter being forprised, I would neither openlie borrow, nor priuilie imbezell ought to anie great purpose from his historie. But as I was hammering that worke by stealths on the annill, I was giuen to vnderstand by some of mine acquaintance, that others had brought our raw historie to that ripenessse, as my paine therein would seeme but needlesse. Wherevpon being willing to be eased of the burden, and loath also in lurching wise to forstall anie mans his trauell, I was contented to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietlie to repaire to mine vsuall and pristinat studies, taking it not to stand with good maners, like a fluttering flie to fall in an other mans

## The Epistle.

his dish. Howbeit the little paine I tooke therein was not so secretlie mixed within my closet, but it slipped out at one chinke or other, and crept so farre abroad, as it was whispered in their eares, who before were in the historie busied. The gentlemen conceiuing a greater opinion of me, than I was well able to uphold, dealt verie effectually with me, that as well at their instance, as for the affection I bare my native countrie, I would put mine helping hand to the building and perfecting of so commendable a worke. Having breathed for a few daies on this motion, albeit I knew that my worke was plumed with downe, and at that time was not sufficientlie feathered to flie: yet I was by them weied not to beare my selfe coy, by giuing my entier friends in so reasonable a request a squemish repulse. Wherefore, my singular good lord, here is laid downe to your lordship his view a brieft discourse, with a tagged historie of a ragged wealepublike. Yet as naked as at the first blush it seemeth, if it shall stand with your honor his pleasure (whom I take to be an expert lapidarie) at vacant houres to insearch it, you shall find therein stones of such estimation, as are worth to be coucht in rich and pretious collars. And in especiall your lordship, aboue all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrie, maie here be schooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in perusing this historie, you shall find vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, loialtie exalted, haughtinesse disliked, courtesie beloued, briberie detested, iustice imbraced, polling officers to their perpetuall shame reprooued, and vpright gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And trulie to my thinking, such magistrats as meane to haue a vigilant eie to their charge, can not bestow their time better, than when they sequester themselues from the affaires of the wealepublike, to recreat and quicken their spirits by reading the chronicles that decipher the gouernement of a wealepublike. For as it is no small commendation for one to beare the dooings of manie, so it breedeth great admiration, generallie to haue all those qualitties in one man harboured, for which particularlie diuerse are eternised. And who so will be addicted to the reading of histories, shall readilie find diuerse euents worthie to be remembered, and sundrie sound examples dailie to be followed. Vpon which ground the learned haue, not without cause, adiudged an historie to be the marrow of reason, the creame of experience, the sap of wisdom, the pith of iudgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the vnsfoldresse of treacherie, the kalendar of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctresse of behauiour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiuallrie. And that our Irish historie being diligentlie heeded, yeeldeth all these commodities, I trust the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwining thereof, will not denie. But if anie man his stomach shall be found so tenderly niced, or so deintilie spiced, as that he maie not, forsooth, digest the grosse draffe of so base a countrie, I doubt not, but your lordship, who is thoroughlie acquainted with the woorthinesse of the Island, will be soone perswaded to leaue such quaint and licentious repastours, to feed on their costlie and delicate woodcocks, & willinglie to accept the louing present of your heartie welwiller. The gift is small, the giuer his good will is great, I stand in good hope, that the greatnesse of the one will counterpoise the smalnesse of the other. Wherefore that I maie the sooner unbroid the pelfish trash that is wrapt within this treatise, I shall craue your lordship to lend me either your eares in hearing, or your eyes in reading the tenor of the discourse following.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.





# A TREATISE CON- teining a plaine and perfect description of Ire- land, with an Introduction to the better vnderstan- ding of the histories appertaining to that Iland: compiled by Richard Stanihurst.

The names of Ireland, with the com-  
passe of the same, also what shires or coun-  
ties it containeth, the diuision or  
partition of the land, and of  
the language of  
the people.

The first chapter.



The more part aswel  
of Cosmo-  
graphers,  
as Chrono-  
graphers,  
do with on  
accoorde af-  
firme, that  
the nation  
of Ireland  
(the bitter-  
most wea-  
sterne Ile  
known) is

halfe as big as Britannia. Which I take to be true,  
if the word Britannia so farre displate the significati-  
on, that it comprisse England, Wales, and Scotland.  
To which opinion Giraldus Cambrensis relieeth, say-  
eng, that Britannia containeth in length eight hun-  
dred miles, and two hundred in breadth. Ireland  
he taketh to be in length from the mounteins called  
Torach (the author. of Polydronicon termeth them  
Wyndane his hilles) to saint Columbe his Iland  
eight daies iourneie, rating of long Irish miles for-  
tie miles to the daie: and in breadth from Dublin  
to saint Patrick his hilles and the sea of Connaght  
four daies iourneie, according to the former rate. So  
as by Cambrensis his surueie, who was a curious  
inseacher therof, Ireland is thre hundred & twentie  
miles long of Irish miles, and one hundred and thre  
score miles broad. And accounting thre hundred and  
twentie Irish miles to amount to foure hundred  
English miles, which may well be reckoned accor-  
ding to their indgements that haue travelled in the  
Irish territories; Ireland will be found halfe as big  
as Britannia: which Girald. Cambrensis auoucheth,  
sayeng, that Ireland is as big as Wales and Scot-  
land. Ireland hath on the east, England, within one  
daies sailing; on the southeast it hath France; His-  
paine on the south, distant thre daies sailing; on the  
west the maine ocean sea.

Touching the name Ibernia, historiographers

are not yet agreed from whence it is deduced. Some  
write it Hibernia corruptlie, and suppose that the  
strangers finding it in an od end of the world, foltie  
and moistie, toke it at the first for a verie cold coun-  
trie, and thereof named it Hibernia, as to saie, the  
Winter land. But this erro: being vpon short expe-  
rience reformed, it could not be that the name should  
haue liued long, expectallie the first imposito:rs suru-  
uing the triall, and able to alter the first nomination.  
Others bring a ghesse, that it should be named of Ir-  
lamale. But because I read nothing of them in anie  
probable historie, I purpose not to build vpon that  
conecture.

Most crediblie it is holden, that the Hispaniards  
(the founders of the Irish) for deuotion towards  
Hispaime, called then Iberia of Iberius the sonne of  
Iuball, and the rather, for that themselves had dwel-  
led beside the famous riuier Iberus, named the land  
Iberia (for so Leland and manie foren chronicles  
write it) or Ibernia, adding the letter (n) for dis-  
trence sake. And from Ibernia proceedeth Iberland,  
or Iuerland; from Iuerland, by contraction Ireland:  
for so much as in corruption of common talke we  
find that (n) with his vocale is easilie lost and suppli-  
ed; so we saie ere for ener, nere for neuer, shole for  
shouell, ore for ouer, ene for euen, dile for diuell. At  
the same time it was also named Scotia, in reue-  
rence of Scotach the wife of Cathelus, ancient cap-  
teine of those Iberians that fitted from Hispaime  
into Ireland: & the said Scotach was old grandame  
to Iberus and Hermon after the Scottish chroni-  
cles, who in anie wise will haue their countremen  
deriued from the Irish, and not from the Britons.  
The name Scotia is of late yeares so vsuallie taken  
for that part of Brittain that comprisseth Scotland,  
that diuerse ancient Irish authors are holden to be  
borne in Scotland, whereas in verie deed their native  
soile is Ireland. As the famous scholeman Io-  
hannes Duns Scotus, otherwise named Doctor subti-  
lis, for his subtill quiddities in scholasticall contro-  
uersies, was an Irish man borne, and yet is taken  
for a Scot.

Some hold opinion that he was borne in Dath-  
mon, a market towne five miles distant from  
Wellesford. Others auouch, and that more trulie,  
that he was borne in Dowane, an old ancient ciuitie  
in the north of Ireland, and thereof they ghesse him  
to be named Dunenensis, and by contraction Duns,  
which tearme is so trifull and common in all schools,  
that who so surpasseth others either in cauilling soph-  
istrie, or subtill philosophie, is forthwith nicknamed a  
Duns. Wherefore as Scotland is named Scotia mi-  
nor,

Ireland.

Ibernia the  
Hispaniards  
riuer.

Leland, in  
cyg. cant.

Scotia.  
Scotach.  
Cathelus.

Iohan. maior.  
Scot. lib. 1. ca. 9.

Iohannes do-  
minus Scotus  
borne in Ire-  
land.

Why schole-  
men are cal-  
led Dantes,

The length  
and breadth of  
Ireland.  
Girald. Cam-  
bren. lib. 1.  
topog. dist. 1.  
rub. 2. Polych.  
lib. 1. cap. 32.

The name  
Ibernia



Scotia maior,  
Scotia minor,

Gaudefi.

Banno.

The river  
Banno.

Bagganban.

Inuerna.  
Ioan. Camer-  
tes in cap. 35.  
Solini.

Hermol. Barb.  
cap. 16. in lib. 4.  
Plin. castig.  
The name Ir-  
ish and Ire-  
land curiously  
derived.

1. Lagenia.  
2. Connatia.  
3. Hulton.ia.  
4. Momonia.  
5. Media.  
west Speth  
& east Speth.

Hebriades.

The Shires  
and counties  
of Ireland.

An. mun. 2533.  
Cambrenf.  
lib. 1. dist. 3:  
lib. 5. & 6.

nor, so Ireland is tearmed Scotia maior, as the head  
from whence the name of Scotia minor toke his of-  
spring. The Irish also were named of the foresaid  
Cathelus, or Gaudeilus, Gaudeili. In their Irish  
rithmes, they tearme Ireland berie often Banno. I  
cannot diuine what reason should leas their makers  
thereto, vnlesse it be the riuier in the countie of Weis-  
ford, named the Banne, where the Britons vpon the  
conquest first arrived. The place otherwise is called  
Bagganban, according to the old ancient rithme; 10

At the creeke of Bagganban,  
Ireland was loft and wun.

For the remembrance of which riuier so notoriouslie  
famosed, it carlieth great likelihood, that the name  
should be to the whole realme generallie ascribed.  
Sundrie Latine authors write Ireland Inuerna, or  
thers Inuerna, diuerse Ierna. Claudius nameth it  
Iberna. The diuersitie of which names grow, for that  
in their time the true and certeine name was not  
knowne, so that they were contented to take it as  
they found it, which matter is handled by Hermo-  
laus Barbarus.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in seu-  
ring the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would  
be named Ireland men, but in no wise Irishmen.  
But certes, in my fantasie such curious distinctions  
may be berie aptlie resembled to the solisth butcher,  
that offered to haue sold his mutton for sixe grots,  
and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate  
vpon such nice diuersities, in respect that he is asha-  
med of his countrie; trulie (in mine opinion) his  
countrie mate be ashamed of him. Ireland is di-  
uided into foure regions, Leinster, east: Connaught,  
west: Ulster, north: Mounster, south: and into a fift  
plot, defalked from euerie fourth part, and yet mea-  
ring on each part, called therof Meda, Speth,  
comprising as well east Speth, as west Speth. A cin-  
der butteth vpon England, Ulster vpon the Scotish  
Ilands: which face with Hebriades scattered be-  
twene both the realms, wherein at this daie the Irish  
Scot, successor of the elder Scythian, wit, or Heb-  
thanke dwelleth. Of the five, where they are fra-  
mable to ciuillitie, I answer the witt of the princes  
courts, be sundryed into thires or countie in this ma-  
ner. In Leinster lieth the countie of Dublin, Kil-  
dare, Weisford or Gueisford, Catherlach, Bilkennie,  
the countie of Lette & Dhalie, called the kings  
and quenes countie: these two latelie so named by  
parlement, in the reignes of Philip and Marie, ha-  
ving thire towne accordant, Phillips towne, and  
Marie bourgh. Connaught hath the countie Clare:  
Ulster the countie of Louth, Doune, Antrim, one  
moitie of the towne of Droghedagh (for the rest is in  
Speth) and Carregfergus. In Mounster lie the coun-  
ties of Waterford, Limerike, Corke, the countie  
palantine of Tipperarie, Kerte, & the crosse of Tip-  
perarie. Mounster was of old time diuided into east  
Mounster, Dymond, west Mounster, Desmond, south  
Mounster, Lommond. The occasion why Ireland  
was parted into these five principall regions grew  
of this. There arrived in Ireland five brethren, that  
were vallant & martall gentlemen; to wit, Gaudius,  
Genandius, Sagandus, otherwise named Gangan-  
dus, Rutheragus or Rutheranus, & Slanius. These  
five perceiving that the countrie was not sufficient-  
lie peopled, were agreed (as it were) to cast lots, and  
to share the whole realme betwene themselves. The  
four elder brethren seuering the countrie into foure  
parts, and being loth to be their yongest brother  
like an outcast or stepsonne, condescended that each  
of them shoud of their owne portion allot to  
Slanius a paring or parcell of their inheritance.  
Which being as heartilie receiued of Slanius, as it  
was bountifullie granted by them, he settled himselfe

therein, and of that partition it toke the appellation  
of Meda, Speth. The foure parts met at a certeine  
stone at Speth, where the castell of Kailaire, as an in-  
different meare to seuer the foure regions.

But although Slanius in the beginning had the  
least parcell, yet in short space he stood so well to his  
tacklings, and incroched so far vpon his neighbors,  
that he obtained the whole monarchie of Ireland. At  
which time he did not suppress in oblivion his inheri-  
tance of Speth; but did enlarge it, and decreed it  
should be a countrie appendant to the monarch his  
diert or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by  
Slanius stretched, yet it containeth not so much land  
as anie of the other foure parts comprehendeth;  
but rather by indifferent surerie, the halfe deale,  
whereof also it is not vnlikelie named Speth. For  
whereas in the time of Slanius, each of the foure  
parts compriseth two and thirtie cantreds, Speth  
containeth but sixtene cantreds. A cantred is named  
so much land as containeth an hundred towne-  
ships. This Slanius is intomed at an hill in Speth, which  
of him is named Slane. There hath bene in an-  
cient time one Galfride Geneuile, lord of the libertie  
of Speth. This noble man became a frier preacher,  
and deceased in the yeare of our Lord 1314, the twen-  
tith of October, and was intomed in the abbrie of  
the Blacke friers at Trim.

There is also another diuision of Ireland, into the  
English pale, and Irishyle. For when Ireland was  
subdued by the English, diuerse of the conquerors  
planted themselves nere to Dublin, and the con-  
finies thereto adjoining, and so as it were inclosing  
and impaling themselves within certeine lists and  
territories, they seized awaie the Irish; in so much  
as that countrie became mere English, and there-  
of it was termed the English pale: which in ancient  
time stretched from Dundalke to Catherlach or  
Bilkennie. But now that for the slacknesse of mar-  
chours, and incroching of the Irish enimie, the scope  
of the English pale is greatlie impaired, & is cram-  
pered and coucht into an odd corner of the countrie  
named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land,  
Speth, the countie of Kildare and Louth, which  
parts are applied chieslie with good husbandrie, and  
taken for the richest and ciuilest soiles in Ireland.  
But Fingall especiallie from time to time hath bin  
so addited to all the points of husbandrie, as that  
they are nickenamed by their neighbours, for their  
continuall dyuiderie, Colonnies, of the Latine word  
Coloni, whereinto the clipt English word clowne  
seemeth to be answerable.

The word Fingall counteruaileth in English  
the race or sept of the English or estrangers, for that  
they were soile seized of that part of the Iland, gri-  
ping with their talants so stricte that warme nest,  
that from the conquest to this daie the Irish enimie  
could neuer rouse them from thence. The inhabi-  
tants of the English pale haue bene in old time so  
much addited to their ciuillitie, and so farre sequeste-  
red from barbarous satyagenesse, as their onelle mo-  
ther tong was English. And trulie, so long as these  
impaled dwellers did sunder themselves as well in  
land as in language from the Irish: rudenesse was  
date by date in the countrie supplanted, ciuillitie in-  
grafted, good lawes established, totaltie obserued, re-  
bellion suppressed, and in fine the coine of a yong  
England was like to that in Ireland. But when  
their posteritie became not altogether so warie in  
keeping, as their ancestors were vallant in conque-  
ring, the Irish language was free denmized in the  
English pale: this canker toke such deepe rot, as  
the bodie that before was whole and sound, was by  
little and little seffered, and in manner whole putri-  
fied. And not onlie this parcell of Ireland grew to  
that

which  
wholli-  
glish.  
Speth

The  
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So

The  
stat  
Irish

Fingall, wh  
so named.

The ciuillitie  
of Ireland in  
ancient time.

The  
tion  
Irish

that smallitie, but also Ulster and the greater part of  
 Downe, as by the sequelle of the Irish historie  
 shall plainly appere. But of all other places, Weis-  
 ford with the territorie bated and perclosed within  
 the river called the Will, was so quite estranged  
 from Irishie, as if a traveller of the Irish (which  
 was rare in those daies) had pitcht his foot within  
 the Will and spoken Irish, the Weisfordians would  
 command him forthwith to turne the other end of  
 his tong and speake English, or els bzing his trouch-  
 man with him. But in our daies they haue so ac-  
 quainted themselves with the Irish, as they haue  
 made a mingle mangle or gallimaufre of both the  
 languages, and haue in such medleie or checkerwise  
 so crabbedlie jumbled them both together, as com-  
 monlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake  
 neither good English nor good Irish.

Where was of late daies one of the pères of En-  
 gland sent to Weisford as commissioner, to decide  
 the controuersies of that countrie; and hearing in  
 affable wise the rude complaints of the countrie  
 clowns, he conceived here & there sometime a word,  
 other whiles a sentence. The noble man being verie  
 glad, that upon his first coming to Ireland, he vn-  
 derstood so manie words, told one of his familiar  
 friends, that he stood in verie great hope to become  
 shortly a well spoken man in the Irish, supposing  
 that the blunt people had prailed Irish, all the while  
 they tangled English. Howbeit to this daie, the  
 dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept  
 as well there as in Fingall, as they terme a spider,  
 an attercop, a wisp, a wad, a lumpe of bzead, a poc-  
 ket, or a packet, a sillibucke, a coppon, a faggot, a  
 bleafe, or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I  
 iudge) a physician, a leach, a gap, a sharb, a bafe court  
 or quabangle, a batwen, or rather (as I do suppose) a  
 barton, the household or folks, meanie, sharpe, kéne,  
 estrange, vnconth, easie, éth or ése, a dunghill, a mi-  
 zen. As for the word bater, that in English purpor-  
 teth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a  
 niere Irish word that crept vnwares into the En-  
 glish, through the daily intercourse of the English  
 and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie  
 in all countries the women speake most neatlie and  
 pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De natore*, spea-  
 king in the person of Crassus seemed to haue obser-  
 ued: yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out  
 contrarie. For the women haue in their English  
 tong an harsh & brobe kind of pronuntiation, with  
 uttering their words so péuillie and faintlie, as  
 though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a  
 posset. And most commonlie in words of two syl-  
 lables they giue the last the accent: as they saie,  
 markeat, balkeat, golldoupe, pusscoat, Robart, pl-  
 clafe, &c: which doubles doth disbeautifie their En-  
 glish above measure. And if they could be weaned  
 from that corrupt custome, there is none that could  
 dislike of their English.

Here percase some snappish carper will take me  
 at rebound, and snufflingie snib me for debasing the  
 Irish language: but trulie, whosoever shall be found  
 so ouerthwartlie bent, he takes the matter farre a-  
 boye. For as my skill is verie simple therein, so I  
 would be loth to disuuelle my rathnes, in giuing light  
 herdit in anie thing to me vnknown: but onelie  
 my short discourse tendeth to this dzift, that it is not  
 expedient that the Irish tong should be so vniuer-  
 sallie gaged in the English pale: because that by  
 profe and experience we see, that the pale was neuer  
 in more flourishing estate than when it was wholie  
 English, and neuer in worse plight than since it  
 hath infranchised the Irish. But some will saie, that  
 I shew my selfe herein as frivolous as some losing  
 gamblers saie superstitious, when they plaie them-

selues dze, they gogle with their eyes hisher and thi-  
 ther, and if they can pze out anie one that giueth  
 them the gaze, they stand lumping and lowzing,  
 fretting and fuming, for that they imagine that all  
 their euill lucke proceeded of him: and yet if the  
 stander by depart, the loser may be found as dze  
 thauen as he was before. And euen so it fareth with  
 you, because you see all things run to ruine in the  
 English pale, by reason of great enormities in the  
 countrie, either openlie practised, or couertlie win-  
 ked at; you glance your sie on that which standeth  
 next you, & by beating Jacke for Will, you impute  
 the fault to that which perhaps would little further  
 the weale publike if it were exiled. Now trulie you  
 shoot verie néere the marke. But if I may craue  
 your patience till time you see me shoot my bolt, I  
 hope you will not denie, but that as néere the pzyche  
 as you are, and as verie an hagler as I am, yet the  
 scantling shall be mine. First therefore take this  
 with you, that a conquest dzaith, or at the leastwise  
 ought to dza to it thre things, to wit, law, apparell,  
 and language. For where the countrie is subdued,  
 there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same  
 law that the conqueror is gouerned, to weare the  
 same fashon of attire therewith the victor is bested,  
 and speake the same language that the vanquisher  
 parleth. And if anie of these thre lacke, doubtlesse the  
 conquest limpeth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin  
 by lawfull conquest brought vnder the subiection of  
 England, not onelie in king Henrie the second his  
 reigne, but also as well before as after (as by the dis-  
 course of the Irish historie shall euidentlie be deci-  
 phered) and the conquest hath bene so absolute and  
 perfect, that all Leinster, Meth, Ulster, the more  
 part of Connagh and Downe, all the ciuities and  
 burroughs in Ireland haue bene wholie Englished,  
 and with English conquerors inhabited, is it decent  
 (thinke you) that their owne ancient native tong  
 shall be shrowded in obliuion, and suffer the enemies  
 language, as it were a tetter or ringworme, to har-  
 bor it selfe within the salues of English conquerors?  
 No trulie.

And now that I haue fallen vnwares into this  
 discourse, it will not be farre amisse to stand some-  
 what roundlie vpon this point. It is knowne, and  
 by the historie you may in part perceiue, how haue-  
 lie Ulster whilom flourished. The English families  
 were there implanted, the Irish either bitterlie ex-  
 pelled or wholie subdued, the lawes dulis executed,  
 the reuenué great, and onelie English spoken. But  
 what brought it to this present ruine and decalé? I  
 doubt not but you gesse before I tell you. They were  
 inuironed and compassed with euill neighbours.  
 Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance  
 waisted in the Irish tong, the Irish hooked with it  
 attire, attire haled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendered  
 ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of lawes,  
 the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion ra-  
 ked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the bitter  
 decalé and desolation of that woorthie countrie. If  
 these chinks, when first they began to chap, had bene  
 diligentlie by the dwellers stoped; hir maiestie at  
 this daie, to hir great charges, should not haue bene  
 occasioned to dam vp with manie thousand pounds,  
 yea and with the woorthie carcasses of valiant soul-  
 diers, the gaps of that rebellious northerne coun-  
 trie.

Now put the case that the Irish tong were as fa-  
 cred as the Hebrew, as learned as the Greeke, as  
 fluent as the Latine, as amorous as the Italian, as  
 courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the  
 French; yet trulie (I know not which waie it falleth  
 out) I see not but it may be verie well spared in the  
 English pale. And if reason will not lead you to  
 thinke

Both words  
 is named,

Weisford  
 historie En-  
 glish.  
 The Will.

Both ap-  
 pointed for the  
 ng his table.

intred,

lane,

ifride  
 nauile,

the Eng-  
 pale,

The saying of  
 a noble man  
 touching the  
 English of  
 weisford.

Old English  
 in weisford  
 and Fingall.

Bar.

ignia ex-  
 th in  
 sandpie,  
 lonnes  
 ingall,  
 wme.

gall, wye  
 used,

cinittie  
 claud in  
 ne time.

The pronun-  
 tiation of the  
 Irish women.

The supersti-  
 tion of gam-  
 blers.

A conquest  
 impleth thre  
 things.

thinke it, trulie experience must force you to grant it.

In old time, when the Romans were first acquainted with the Greeke tong, as it is commonlie the nature of man to be delighted with newfangle wares: so he was accounted no gallant among the Romans, that could not prattle and chat Greeke. Marcus Cicero father to Tullie, being at that time kept in peares, perceiving his countrymen to become changelings, in being bilwise and polmad, and to luche with the Greeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in words talkative, in behaviour light, in conditions quaint, in manners haunie, in promises unstedfast, in oaths rash, in bargains wavering (which were reckoned for Greeklsh properties in those daies) the old gentleman not so much respecting the neatnesse of the language, as the naughty fruit it brought with it, said, that his countrymen the Romans resembled the bondslaves of Siria; for the more perfect they were in the Greeke, the worse they were in their manners and life. If this gentleman had bene now living, and had seen what alteration hath happened in Ireland, through the intercourse of languages, he would (I dare saie) breake patience, and would demand whie the English pale is more given to learne the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learne English: we must embrace their language, and they detest ours. One demanded merilie whie Oneile that last was would not frame himselfe to speake English: What (quoth the other) in a rage, thinkest thou that it standeth with Oneile his honor to with his mouth in clattering English: and yet forsooth we must gag our selves in gibblishing Irish: But I dwell too long in so apparant a matter. As all the cities & towns in Ireland, with Kingall, the king his land, Weth, the countie of Kildare, Louth, Wexford, speake to this daie English (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitants of the English pale, upon their first repaire into England, to learne their English in three or foure daies, as though they had bought at Chester a grotes worth of English, and so packt up the rest to be carried after them to London) even so in all other places their native language is Irish.

Cicilib. de  
erat.

Oneile sobie  
he would not  
learne Eng-  
lish.

Camb.lib.r.  
dist. 3. rub. 8.  
The founder  
of the Irish  
language.

Baltholenus.

Epiphan. cont.  
har. lib. r.  
r. com. r.

I find it solemnlie aduouched, as well in some of the Irish pamphlets as in Girald. Camb. that Gathelus or Gaidelus, & after him Simon Brecke, deuised the Irish language out of all other tongs then extant in the world. And thereof (saith Cambrensis) it is called Gaidelach, partlie of Gaidelus the first founder, and partlie for that it is compounded of all languages. But considering the course of interchanging and blending of speeches together, not by inuention of art, but by vse of talkie, I am rather led to beleue (seeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the diuision of tongs) that Baltholenus a branch of Iaphet, who first setled upon Ireland, brought thither the same kind of speech, some of the 72 that to this familie befell at the desolation of Babel. And to whom succeeded the Scythians, Grecians, Egyptians, Spaniards, Danes, of all which the tong must needs haue borrowed part, but especiallie reteining the steps of Spanish then spoken in Granado, as from their mightiest ancestors. Since then to Henrie Fitzempresse the conqueror no such inuasion happened them, as whereby they might be driuen to insea their native language, untouched in manner for the space of seuentene hundred yeares after the arrivall of Iberius. It seemeth to borrow of the Spanish the common phrase, Commestato, that is, How do you: or how fareth it with you: It fetcheth sundrie words from the Latine, as arget of *Argentum*, monie; falle of *sal*, salt; capponle of *Caballus*, a

plough horse, or (according vnto the old English terme) a caball or caple; birreat of the old mother-ten Latine word *Biretum*, a bonnet. The tong is sharpe and sententious, & offereth great occasion to quicke apophthegms and proper allusions. Wherefore their common iesters and rimers, whom they terme Bards, are said to delight passinglie these that conceiue the grace and proprietie of the tong. But the true Irish indeed differeth so much from that they commonlie speake, that scarce one in five hundred can either read, write, or vnderstand it. Therefore it is preserved among certeine of their poets and antiquaries. And in verie deed the language carrieth such difficultie with it, that for the strangenesse of the phrase, and the curious featnes of the pronunciation, that a verie few of the countrie can attaine to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forreiner or stranger.

A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported, that he did see a woman in Rome, which was possessed with a babling spirit, that could haue chatted anie language sauing the Irish; and that it was so difficult, as the verie diuell was grauelled therewith. A gentleman that stood by answered, that he toke the speech to be so sacred and holie, that no damned fiend had the power to speake it; no more than they are able to saie (as the report goeth) the verse of saint John the euangelist, *Et verbum caro factum est*. Paie by God his mercie man (quoth the other) I stand in doubt (I tell you) whether the apostles in their copious mart of languages at Ierusalem could haue spoken Irish, if they were apposed: whereat the companie heartlie laughed. As fluent as the Irish tong is, yet it lacketh diuerse words, and borroweth them verbatim of the English. As there is no vulgar Irish word (vntlesse there be some odd terme that lurketh in anie obscure shyowds or other of their shozehoule) for a cote, a gowne, a dublet, an hat, a drinking cup: but one lie they vse the same words with a little inflexion. They vse also the contracted English phrase, God morrow, that is to saie, God giue you a good morning.

I haue apposed sundrie times the expertest men that could be had in the countrie, and all they could neuer find out an equiualent Irish word for knaue. The Grecians (according to Tullie his iudgement) were in the same predicament as touching the terme *Ineptus*: his words are these. *Ego mehercule ex omnibus Latinis verbis, huius verba vim vel maximam semper putavi. Quoniam enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod non sit aptum, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlate patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinuus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cumulata est eruditissima illa Græcorum natio. Itaque qui vim huius mali Græci non vident, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Ut enim quæras omnia, quomodo Græci ineptum appellent, non reperies.*

Certes I haue bene of opinion (saith Tullie) that amongst the whole crue of Latine terms the word *Ineptus* hath bene of greatest importance or weight. For he, whom we name *Ineptus*, seemeth to me to haue the etymologie or of spring of his name here hence deriued, that he is not apt; which stretcheth far and wide in the vsuall custome of our daillie speech or communication. For he that doth not perceiue what is sitting or decent for euerie season, or gableth more than he hath commission to doe, or that in bragging, boasting, or peacockwise setteth himselfe forth to the gaze, by making more of

Bards.

The obdum-  
tie of the true  
Irish.

The difficultie.

John.  
verle 14.

The word  
the Irish.

Lib. a. de ont.  
Ineptus.

Shaut

Budr.  
de Alf  
part. ci

Irish

Fougi

No Irish  
word is  
knaue.

Aqua

Theori  
Herme  
in Ron  
iuxta B  
am.

The ci  
dities  
qua vic

the body, than the flesh is worth; or he that regardeth not the vocation and affaires of them, with whom he intermedleth: or in fine, who so is stale without grace, or ouer tedious in anie matter, he is tearmed *Ineptus*; which is as much in English, in my phantasie, as faucie, or malapert. The famous & learned Græke nation is generallie dulked with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not spe the enozmitie thereof, they haue not so much as framed a terme thereto. For if you should ransacke the whole Græke language, you shall not find a word to counteruaile *Ineptus*. Thus far Tullie. Yet Budæus would not seeme to acknowledge this barrenesse, but that the Græke word ἀπειρίαν is equi-pollent to *Ineptus*: but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being verie willing to find out some other Budæus, that could fashion an Irish word for knaue, whereof this discourse of *Ineptus* grew. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is said, so each parcell differeth verie much in the Irish tong, euerie countrie hauing his dialect or peculiar manner in speaking the language: therefore commonlie in Ireland they ascribe a proprietie to each of the foure countries in this sort. Ulster hath the right Irish phrase, but not the true pronounciation; Munster hath the true pronounciation, but not the phrase; Leinster is deuot of the right phrase, and true pronounciation; Connaught hath both the right phrase and true pronounciation. There is a cholerike or disdainfull interiection vsed in the Irish language called *Boagh*, which is as much in English as twilly. The Irish both in ancient time and to this daie commonlie vse it, and therefore the English conquerors called them Irish poghes, or pogh *Boarice*. Which taunting terme is at this daie verie wrongfullie ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interiection, *Fough*, which is vsed in lothing a ranke or strong saour, seemeth to be lib to the other.

Of the nature of the soile, and other incidents.

The second chapter.

**T**he soile is low and waterish, including diuerse little Ilands, inuironed with lakes & marish. Highest hills haue standing poles in their tops. Inhabitants especiallie new come, are subiect to distillations, rheumes and fluxes. For remedie thereof, they vse an ordinarie drinke of *Aqua vite*, being so qualified in the making, that it drieth more, and also inflameth lesse than other hot confections do. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of *Aqua vite*, wherein he praiseth it vnto the ninth degree. He distinguisheth thre sorts thereof, *Simplex*, *Composita*, and *Perfektissima*. He declareth the simples and ingredients thereto belonging. He teacheth it to be taken as well before meat as after. It drieth vp the breaking out of bandes, and killeth the flesh woormes, if you wash your hands therewith. It scoweth all scurfe & scalds from the head, being therewith dailie washed before meales. Being moderately taken (saith he) it sloweth age, it strengtheneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth flegme, it abandoneth melancholie, it relieth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, it cureth the hydropic, it healeth the strangurie, it poureth the stone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth awaie all ventositie, it keepeth and preserveth the head from whirling, the eyes from dazeling, the tong from lipping, the mouth from mauling, the

teeth from chattering, and the throte from rattling: it keepeth the weasan from sisking, the stomach from waibling, and the heart from swelling, the bellic from wirtching, the guts from rumbling, the hands from shivering, & the sinewes from shynking, the veines from crumpling, the bones from aking, & the marrow from soaking. Villadius also ascribeth thereto a singular praise: and would haue it to burne being kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the goodnesse thereof. And trulie it is a soueraigne liquor, if it be orderlie taken.

The aire is verie holesome, not generallie so cleare and subtil as that of England. The weather is more temperat, being not so warme in summer, nor cold in winter, as it is in England and Flanders. The countrie is stozed with bees, contrarie to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors, touching this countrie, may easilie be excused, as those that wrote by hearesaie. In vineyards, yet grapes grow there as in England. They do lacke the Kobucke, as Polychronicon writeth. They also lacke the bird called the pie. Whatbest in the English pale to this day, they vse to tearme a sic confener, a wilie pte. Giraldus Cambrensis in his time complaineth, that Ireland had excesse of wood, & verie little champaine ground; but now the English pale is too naked: turffe is their most fetuel and seacole. No venemous creeping beast is brought forth, or nourished, or can liue in Ireland, being brought or sent. And therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne not to be venemous, onelie because a frog was found lieng in the meadowes of Waterford somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their ouerthrow.

Bede writeth, that serpents conueted into Ireland did presentlie die, being touched with the smell of the land, that whatsoeuer came from Ireland was then of soueraigne vertue against poison. He exemplifieth in certeine men, stung of adders, who drank in water the scrapings of hokes that had bene of Ireland, and were cured. Generallie it is obserued, the further west, the lesse annoiance of pestilent creatures. The want thereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it laie long in question, to whether realme, Britaine or Ireland, the Ile of Man should appertene: the said controuersie was decided, that for so much as venemous beasts were knowne to breed therein, it could not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrariwise, the Dryades are abindged to be appendant to Ireland, because those Ilands, neither breed nor foster anie venemous woorme, as Hector Boetius auoucheth. Giraldus Cambrensis writeth that he heard certeine merchants affirme, that when they had unladen their ships in Ireland they found by hap some toads vnder their ballast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, than they would puffe and swell vnmensurable, & thortlie after turning vp their bellies, they would burst in sunder. And not onelie the earth and dust of Ireland, but also the verie thongs of Irish leather haue the verie same force and vertue. I haue seene it, saith Cambrensis, experimented, that a toad being incamped with a thong of Irish leather, and creeping thitherward, intending to haue skipt ouer it, suddenlie reculed backe, as though it had bene rapt in the head: whereupon it began to spall to the other side. But at length perceiuing that the thong did embaie it of all parts, it began to thirle, and as it were to dig the earth, where finding an hole, it slunk awaie in the presence of sundrie persons.

It happened also in my time, saith Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the north of England a knot of youngers toke a nap in the fields: as one of them laie snoozing with his mouth gaping, as though he would

Vlt. in carlo philol. vel de secret. nat. cap. 11.

Poly. lib. 1. cap. 32.

Wille pie. Camb. part. 1. dist. 3.

No venemous woorme in Ireland.

Camb. part. 1. dist. 1.

Bed. lib. 1. Angl. Hist. cap. 1.

The controuersie of the Ile of Man decided.

Dryades appendant to Ireland. Hector Boet. in Scot. reg. descrip. pag. 9. Sect. 50. Camb. topo. lib. 1. dist. 1. rub. 29.

Camb. lib. rub. 30. 31.

Irish leather expelleth venemous woormes.

Camb. in eodem loco.

B. 1. haue

Shaucines.

Budæ. lib. 1. de Affe. & part. ciuc.

Irish boagh.

Fough.

Aqua vite.

Theoric. Epist. Hermenensis in Romanula iuxta Bononi-am.

The commo-dities of A-qua vite.

haue caught flies, it happened that a snake or adder  
slipt into his mouth, and glided downe into his bel-  
lie, where harbozing it selfe, it began to roame vp  
and downe and to feed on the yong man his entrails.  
The patient being soze distracted and aboue mea-  
sure tormented with the biting pangis of this grea-  
die ghest, incessantlie prayed to God, that if it stood  
with his gracious will, either wholie to bereaue him  
of his life, or else of his vnspokeable mercie to ease  
him of his paine. The worne would neuer cease  
from gnawing the patient his carcasse, but when he  
had taken his repast, and his meat was no soner  
digested, than it would giue a fresh onset in bozing  
his guts. Diuerse remedies were sought, and medi-  
cines, pilgrimages to saints, but all could not pre-  
uaile. Being at length schooled by the graue aduise  
of some sage and expert father, that willed him to  
make his speedie repaire to Ireland, would tract no  
time, but busked himselfe ouer sea, and arriued in  
Ireland. He did no soner drinke of the water of  
that Iland, and taken of the bittels of Ireland,  
but forthwith he kild the snake, auoided it downe-  
ward, and so being lustie and liuelie he returned in-  
to England. Thus far Giraldus Cambrensis.

whether be-  
nemous  
wormes were  
expelled Ire-  
land through  
the prayers of  
saint Patrike.

Polychr. lib. 1.  
cap. 32.

There be some that moue question, whether the  
want of venomous wormes be to be imputed to the  
propertie of the soile, or to be ascribed to the prayers  
of saint Patrike, who conuerted that Iland. The  
greater part father it on saint Patrike, especiallie  
such as write his life aswell apart, as in the legend  
of Irish saints. Giraldus Cambrensis disaffirmeth  
flatlie that opinion, and taketh it to be a secret or  
hidden propertie naturallie vntied to the soile, from  
whom Polydronicon doth not swaue. For my part  
as I am wedded to neither of both the opinions, so  
I would haue bene easilie persuaded, being neither  
hot nor cold in the matter, to rest as a lukewarme  
neuter, in omitting the one and the other vnkand,  
were it not that one maister Alan Cope, or some o-  
ther that masketh vnder his visours, more slan-  
derouslie than pithilie had busied himselfe therein.  
Wherefore, sith I may with better warrant defend  
my natue countrie, than he or his betters may re-  
proue it, especiallie where his slanderous reports  
are underpopt with slim slim surmises: I purpose  
vnder maister Cope his correction to cope and bu-  
chle with him herein: and befoze he beare the ball to  
the goale, to trip him if I may in the way. And be-  
cause (gentle reader) I mind to make thee an indis-  
ferent vmpier in this controuersie, for the better vn-  
derstanding of the matter, I will laie downe ma-  
ster Cope his words, in such wise as they are im-  
printed in his booke. First therefore thou must vn-  
derstand, that his booke is made in dialog wise,  
a kind of witting as it is vsed, so commended of the  
learned. In these dialogs Irenæus an English-  
man and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts.  
Irenæus entresth into the stage, and in this wise be-  
ginneeth.

Alan. Copus  
dialog. 3.  
acd. 28.

*Incipiam à sancto Paulo: nōsti in Melita (quam hodie  
Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam à manu pendente in  
ignem exchississe. In ea insula scorpiones, qui alibi sunt letales,  
Pauli, ut creditur, munere sunt innoxij.*

Critobulus. Fortasse hoc habet à natura.

Irenæus. Fulleris: nam insulari, ut Lucas refert, clama-  
bant, delatum eò parricidam, cui cum mare peperisset, mati  
dis serpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent: nec quicquam ma-  
gis quam presentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cum  
ille tantum abisset, ut nihil omnino damni aut doloris inde  
sentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè supra  
hominem esse, & deum sub humana specie.

Critobulus. Sic est, ut dicis.

Irenæus. Cetera itaque audi. E specu ad quem diuersi-  
se dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota ferme Europa salutates

*Adhuc, quos nasci octauo calendis Februarij contingit (qui dis-  
es conuersionis eius memoria dicatus est) quacunque eos orbis  
pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imò,  
quod magis est, sola salua horum morsibus medentur. Id quod  
homo doctissimus & diligentissimus Thomas Fazellus nuper Thomas  
prodidit, vsu ipso rerum, & certis, ni fallor, exemplis ab eo Fazellus,  
obseruatum.*

Critobulus. *Ista quidem digna sunt obseruatione: et  
iam recorder, me legisse ac sepius audisse, precibus beati Patri-  
ci Hibernia apostoli, ei regioni simile beneficium indultum, ne  
ea insula aliquid letale pariat. Dicit fortasse inde à nonnullis  
folet, nihil esse in Hibernia venenati præter ipsos homines,  
quod propter feros & agrestes eorum mores dictum à plerisque  
accipitur.*

Irenæus. *Eam regionem nihil pestiferum aut venenatum  
alere, tum ex multorum sermonibus, tum ex Beda intelligo: Bed. lib. 1.  
ad eò ut terra illius regionis exportata, pestifera ac venenata  
animalia extinguat. Perum id quicquid est, non Patricio, sed  
naturæ regionis tribuo, propterea quod longè antè Patricium  
natum constet, eam fuisse eius regionis dotem, quam non est  
difficile alibi reperiri.*

I will begin (saith Irenæus) with saint Paule. >>  
You know that in Melita (which at this daie is called  
Malta) saint Paule slung into the fire a viper that  
stucke or did cleaue to his hand. In that Iland scor-  
pions which are elsewhere deadlie or venomous, are  
become through the gift of saint Paule (as it is sup-  
posed) harmlesse.

Truly (quoth Critobulus) that may be percase >>  
incident to the nature of the soile.

Paule then (replieth Irenæus) you are in a wrong >>  
bor. For the Ilanders (as saint Luke mentioneth) >>  
sholuted, that a parent queller was brought thither, >>  
and because he was not swallowed in the gulfes of >>  
the sea, the gods being in their fustian fumes, sent >>  
serpents to slay him. And they looked for nothing >>  
soner than to see him euen at a twinkling to perishe. >>  
But when they perceiued him to be so farre distant >>  
from death, as that he sustained no harme, ne felt a- >>  
nie paine, the people therewith amazed, said he far >>  
surpassed mans estate, & that he was a god inuessed >>  
in man his shape.

You haue reason (answereth Critobulus) you >>  
haue hit the naille on the head.

Yea but I praye you clip not my tale (saith Ire- >>  
næus) but take me with you. Stones are culled in the >>  
caue or den wherein saint Paule is said to haue bal- >>  
red or solozned, which stones in maner in all Europe >>  
are soueraigne medicines to cure the bitings and >>  
stinges of scorpions and serpents. Furthermore, >>  
they that are borne the five and twentieth of Janua- >>  
rie (which daie is named the conuersion of S. Paule) >>  
in what part soeuer of the world they are borne, they >>  
feare not or grudge not at snakes: yea, that which is >>  
more to be admired, the stings of poisoned wormes >>  
are healed by the verie spittle of this Iannarie bzd. >>  
Which thing hath bene of late published by a well >>  
lettered man Thomas Fazellus, to haue bene curi- >>  
ouslie noted of him, as well by pzoofe and experience, >>  
as by sure and substantiall examples, if I take not >>  
the matter amisse.

Then commeth in Critobulus, whome maister >>  
Cope maketh I will not saie the vice or hiesconer) >>  
but the pleasant conceived gentleman of this enter, >>  
lude, and fetcheth a long leape (for I am sure he could >>  
not iumpe so farre) from Malta to Ireland, and fra- >>  
meth his tale in this sort. By the faith of my bodie >>  
sir, here is stufte woorth the noting. And now I call >>  
to mind, that I haue read and often heard, that the >>  
like benefit hath bene imparted to Ireland, through >>  
the prayers of saint Patrike the apostle of the said I- >>  
land, that is to saie, that Ireland breedeth no vene- >>  
mous worne. And thereupon percase some are ac- >>  
customed to saie, that there is no poisoned or vene- >>  
mous

Indi

Exod  
verfe

Jofu  
verfe  
3. R.  
verfe  
Eccle  
verfe  
Act  
Act  
Act  
Act  
verfe  
verfe  
verfe  
verfe  
Act  
Act  
Act  
Act

Augu  
in fol  
Th. p.  
u. 3 a

Gen.



as it is in Ireland, but onlie the people, which is taken to haue bene said of most men for their brutish and sauage maners.

To this (saith Irenæus) I am done to vnderstand by the report of diuerse, and also by Bede, that no poisoned or venemous thing is bred in that realme: in so much that the verie earth of that countrie being brought into other realmes, killeth all venemous and poisoned worms. But let the matter fall out which waie it will; I ascribe that propertie not to saint Patrike, but to the nature of the soile, because it hath ben knowen long before saint Patrike was borne, that Ireland was indued with that propertie, which is elsewhere easie to be found. Whitherto spai-  
ser Cope.

Judgement.

In this discourse (gentle reader) thou seest that spai- ser Cope handleth two principall points, the propertie of Malta, and the nature of Ireland in destroying venemous worms, the one he ascribeth to the blessed apostle saint Paule, the other he will not in any wise impute to saint Patrike. Touching the first, as I haue no occasion to intermeddle there in, so I purpose not for the quarell I haue to the person, to disprove his opinion so farre as it standeth with truth. Wherefore that God that of his bountifull godnesse gaue the grace to Moses, to turne Aarons rod into a serpent, to turne the riuier into blood, and to worke diuerse other effects that are mentioned in the Scripture; to Josue, to staie the sun; to Elias to raise the dead child; to Peter to make the lame go; to heale Cheas; to reuiue Tabitha; yea with his verie shadow to cure the sicke; and the God that gaue to that Paule, of whome mai- ser Cope speaketh, his gracious gift to make the lame go; to quicken and raise the deceased, and for his sake to saue his fellow passengers: it is not to be denied, but that God would impart his godnes to anie region, euen the soner that any of his blessed seruants would harborough there. And as I doubt not but Simon the tanners house was nothing the worse for lodging so happie a ghest as Peter: so I am sure Malta was farre the better for harborough to blessed a traueiler or passenger as Paule. Which S. Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they which were sicke in the Island, flocked to Paule, and were cured; and also that the patient that was father to Publius, in whose house they were three daies verie courteously interteined, was by S. Paule healed. Which cure as well of that patient, as of the residue of the Islanders, did not onlie extend to their bodies, but chadie & especiallie to their soules, according to the opinion of the learned diuines. For as our saui- or Iesus Christ was neuer thought to cure anie ones bodie, but he would also heale his soule: so it must be thought of his apostles, in whose steps both in life and miracles they traced. And therefore the learned hold opinion, that S. Paule being in Malta expelled from diuerse of their soules the old serpent that decciued our progenitors Adam and Eue; for which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought god here to insert, as a clause not wholie swarming from that we treat of, and also that I would be found press and readie, as farre as my simple skill stretch- eth, to vnderstand anie opinion that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God.

Howbeit forsomuch as spai- ser Cope hath so striclie dealt with Ireland, as with a countrie nothing ap- pertaining to this matter, I trust he will pardon me, to be somewhat bold with him, touching the his- storie of Malta, that as his negligence shall be in the one dishonored, so his A underous iudgement maie be in the other reuerfed. First therefore where he writ- teth, that the inhabitants of Malta *clamabant*, that is, cried, or thowted, it was not so. The Greeke text run-

nech, *ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, *Dicebant ad inuicem*, that is to saie, They muttered one to an other. And saint Luke paraphraseth his meaning after. For when they perceiued that the viper did not annoie Paule, then saith saint Luke, *Conuertentes se, dicebant eum esse deum*; They turning the one towards the other, whi- spered or muttered that Paule was a god. Now put the case they cried, as spai- ser Cope saith, is it like that Paule was so buisie in making of a fire, or that his eares did wander so farre off, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard them, thinke you that he would haue bene whist, in hearing God so farre blasphemed, as that he would suffer himselfe to be de- fied? For trulie, he would haue taken on, as he and Barnabas did at Lissris, where the inhabitants named them gods, Barnabas to be Jupiter, and Paule, for that he was well spoken, to be Mercurie. For when the apostles heard of their idolatrie, rent- ing their clothes, they rush into the thron, crying and speaking, that they were most all men, &c. In which place S. Luke putteth an expresse difference as it were of set purpose, betwene both the words, *Clamantes & dicentes*. spai- ser Cope addeth further, *Delatum eo parricidam*, and yet the Greeke hath *πάρτας φόνους*, *Omnino interfector*, or as the vulgar text is, *ritique homicida est homo hic*. So that they toke him to be but a manquello, yet spai- ser Cope maketh him a parricide, which is worse. For although euerie parricide be a manquello, yet *E cannes*, euerie manquello is not a parricide.

spai- ser Cope proceedeth further, *Irati dii, serpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent*: The gods being angrie sent serpents to dispatch Paule. And yet forsooth, all these serpents were but one viper, as is plainelie exprest in the text, vlesse spai- ser Cope would teach saint Luke to tell his tale after the finest fashion, least the apo- stle should haue bene thought to haue sited. As the parson that preached to his parishoners of the go- spel, wherein mention is made of them that Christ fed in the desert, or wilderness. (quoth the parson) what a Christ was that, that with fine barlie loaves, and fine fishes fed fine hundred persons. The clerk hearing his master to grate ouerlong on that point, for he did often iterate that sentence, stole vp to the pulpit, and plucking the parson by his gotone, whi- spered in his eare that Christ fed fine thousand. Hold thee contented thou foolish fellow (quoth the parson) if I should tell mine hearers of so great a number, I should but discredit the gospeller, and they would not beleue me. So it fareth with spai- ser Cope. Wellike he mistrusted, that if he had said, that one viper could haue slaine Paule, the reader would haue suspected the vntuth of the matter: because it carrieth great likelihood with it, that one man could withstand one viper: and therefore to saue saint Luke his credit, he increaseth the number by putting the plural for the singular. Whereas therefore it standeth with spai- ser Cope his pleasure, to flourish in his rhetoricall figure named, *Veritatis superlatio*, in terming muttering, shewing, a manquello, a parricide, one viper, ser- pents: he must be borne withall, if in the heat of his figure he step a little awrie in the remnant of his dis- course. For thus he saith.

And thereupon it is reported percase by some men, that there is nothing venemous or poisoned in Ireland, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue bene spoken by most men for their brutish and sauage maners. Here (good reader) thou must vnder- stand that spai- ser Cope putteth the text downe and the glose. The text is, There is nothing in Ireland bene- mous but the inhabitants. The glose is, This is said to haue ben spoken for their brutish and sauage con- ditions. Now well harpt by saint Lankfield. Here is a glose, I undertake you, futable to the text. But

Saint Paule heard not the inhabitants of Malta.

Act. 14. vers. 12, 13, 14.

A parson his sermon.

rhetorike.

Thomas  
Cazellus,

ad lib. r.  
ng. hist. c. 1.

intencia de  
itrua Solin,  
p 35.

Exod. 7.  
verse 10.

\* Iosue. 10.  
verse 13.  
\* Reg. 17  
verse 12. and  
Ecclef. 48  
verse 10.  
\* Act. 3. vers. 7.  
\* Act. 9. vers. 34.  
\* Act. 9. vers. 40.  
\* Act. 5. vers. 13.  
\* Act. 14.  
verse 10.  
\* Act. 20  
verse 10 & 11.  
\* Act. 27  
verse 23.  
\* Act. 9. vers. 43.  
Act. 18. vers. 9.

Augu. tract. 30  
in Iohan.  
Th. p. 39. 44.  
u. 3 ad. 3 m.

Gen. 3. vers. 13.

let vs see, how cunninglie *pp.* Cope bequiteth him-  
 selfe. First he obserueth not *Decorum persone*, second-  
 lie he followeth not *Decorum dialogi*, thirdlie he shew-  
 eth herein little diuinitie. Touching the first point,  
 who knoweth not, that these tapes and gibes are one-  
 lie fit for ruffians, vices, swashbucklers & tospots.  
 And trulie they befit a diuine as well, as for an asse  
 to swang quipadon a harpe or gitterne, or for an  
 ape to friske trenchmore in a paire of buskins and a  
 doublet. The heathen misliked in an orator squir-  
 litie, that should be thought then of a diuine, whome  
 saint Paule would haue to be sober, modest, graue,  
 and wise. Whilste *pp.* Cope leaning to the letter of  
 saint Paule his wordes would beare vs in hand, that  
 saint Paule would haue modestie to rest onelie in  
 bishops. We are commanded in the old and new te-  
 stament, to loue our neighbors as our selues. Which  
 doth imple, that we ought not to slander our neigh-  
 bours.

Cic.lib.2. de  
 orat.

1. Tim 3. berf.  
 2. & 3.

3. sal. 5. ber. 7.  
 Sapient. 1.  
 Vide August in  
 eundem Plal.

Matth. 5.  
 berf. 22.

The German  
 his friendship.

And shall a diuine then speake vncharitable, not  
 onelie of one, but of an whole realme, and not onelie  
 speake but also write, yea and that in the language  
 that is vniuersallie spoken, throughout the greater  
 part of the world, vpon no sure ground, but onelie  
 vpon hearesate, weeing not what the prophet writeth,  
*Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciu*, Thou shalt deströie  
 all them that speake vntruths. And were it that anie  
 such slim slamm stirrs were soothed by anie person of  
 credit; yet (as me seemeth) it would stand more with  
 the granitie of a diuine, that such chylidish quips, and  
 scoznesfull talents should sooner by his meanes chari-  
 table be whiffed, than thorough his procurement car-  
 pinglie published. I will stand no longer on this  
 point, but onelie craue *pp.* Cope to resort to the fifth  
 of *Matthew*, and there peruse Christ his berdia tou-  
 ching slanderous tongues. To come to the second part,  
 in which he obserueth not *Decorum dialogi*, thou shalt  
 vnderstand (good reader) that Critabulus, or Crita-  
 bulus, whome *pp.* Cope maketh his bagpipe to belch  
 out his rancour, is a Germane borne, as *pp.* Cope  
 saith, who seemeth to be Critabulus his godfather.  
 Now let anie one, that is acquainted with the ma-  
 ners of Germans, iudge, if it be decent, that one of  
 them should scoffe and scozne the conditions and fa-  
 shions of other countries. I will not speake by heare  
 saie, as *pp.* Cope doth, but by clesight. I could ne-  
 uer espie nor probable haue I heard it reported, no  
 not of the mere sauage Irish, such quaffing, such  
 swelling, such bolting, such gulling, such brutish  
 drunkenesse, such surfetting, such committing, as I  
 haue sene some Germans do. In god soth it is  
 knowne, and for my part I haue sene it being be-  
 yond the seas, that in their carowling and cup friend-  
 ship, they threaten such kindnesse on their compani-  
 ons, that least their felowes should mistrust them  
 with double dealing, they will not sticke to shew  
 them the bottome of their stomachs, & to the end they  
 should take the better view thereof, they will place  
 it now and then in their neighbors bosome.

Thus when they haue cast their gorges, they clap  
 on their thymd hats, and run like boilem barre-  
 tows into the streets with their naked flatshets, and  
 there they keepe such a stinking surce with hacking  
 of stones, with beuiing of blocks, with thwitting of  
 stocks, with striking of stalles, with thumping at  
 doores, that it would make a horse breake his halter,  
 to see so drunken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is  
 so naturallie ingrafted in the greater part of them,  
 that a famous diuine did not sticke of late to saie o-  
 penlie in his lecture, that drunkenesse in that coun-  
 trie man, was either *Peccatum originale* or *Accidens in-  
 separabile*. I write not this (I take God to record) to  
 the reproch or slander of that countrie (being loth to  
 commit the selfe same fault that I reprehend in anie

other) but onelie my meaning is to settle before the  
 reader his eyes the absurditie of *pp.* Cope, in fra-  
 ming poze Critabulus to float Ireland, considering  
 that if he cast his eye homeward, he shall find as fit  
 the puddle in his owne countrie, as in other realms.  
 And therefore this quip sate as vnseemlie in his  
 mouth, as for an whore to reprehend bitcherie, or for  
 an blurer to condemne simonie. For as there is  
 nothing lesse to be tolerated, than for anie one to  
 haue an other to account for his life, that can yeld  
 no account of his owne: so there is nothing that  
 ought to mazzell by anie one from rebuking other  
 nations, than to see the misdeameanoz of his owne  
 native countrie. I would wish *pp.* Critabulus or  
*pp.* Cope, if it shall please him to make by the mu-  
 ser, with indifferencie to weie the estate of Ireland,  
 and so without parcialitie to frame his iudgement.

Ireland, and especiallie the ruder part is not sto-  
 red with such learned men as Germanie is. If they  
 had sound preachers, and sincere liuers, that by the  
 imbalmung of their carian soules with the sweet and  
 sacred flowers of holie writ, would instrct them in  
 the feare of God, in obrieng their prince, in obser-  
 uing the lawes, in vnderpopping in eche man his vo-  
 cation the weale publike; I doubt not, but within  
 two or thre ages *pp.* Critabulus his beires should  
 heare so good a report run of the refozmation of Ire-  
 land, as it would be reckoned as cteuill as the best  
 part of Germanie. Let the soile be as fertile and  
 bette as anie would wish, yet if the husbandman will  
 not manure it, sometime plow and care it, sometime  
 harrow it, sometime till it, sometime marle it, some-  
 time dehus it, sometime dig it, and so to it with god  
 and sound cozne, it will bring forth weeds, bindecozne,  
 cockle, darnell, bzambles, bziers, and sunbzle wild  
 shots. So it fareth with the rude inhabitants of Ire-  
 land, they lacke vniuersities, they want instructors,  
 they are destitute of teachers, they are without prea-  
 chers, they are deuoid of all such necessities as ap-  
 pertine to the training vp of youth: and notwithstanding  
 all these wants, if anie would be so fro-  
 wardlie set, as to requize them, to vse such ciuilitie,  
 as other regions, that are sufficientlie furnished  
 with the like helps, he might be accounted as vnrea-  
 sonable, as he that would force a creple that lacketh  
 both his legs to run, or one to pipe or whistle a galle-  
 ard that wanteth his upper lip.

But such is the corrupt nature of vs worldings,  
 and me thinketh such vaine humors are not vterlie  
 dyed vp in our sage and mortified diuines. We are  
 most commonlie giuen rather to talant that which  
 is amisse, than to praise that which is good; and rather  
 we follow the spider in soking the poison, than in  
 imitating the bee by sucking the honte. Now that it  
 appeareth, that it was not sitting for the author being  
 a diuine, to write so vncharitable, nor for *pp.* Crita-  
 bulus being a Germane to carpe other countries so  
 snappishlie: let vs see what wholesome diuinitie hath  
 bene here vttered, and how well the finelwes of *pp.*  
 Critabulus his argument shall be found to hang to-  
 gither, when the anatomie therof by peecemeale shall  
 be examined. I call to mind (quoth *pp.* Critabulus)  
 that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit  
 hath bene granted to Ireland through the prayers of  
 S. Patrike. *pp.* Critabulus read & heard that by the  
 prayers of S. Patrike, Ireland hath no venemous  
 woyme: Ergo some hold opinion, that the poison re-  
 steth onlie in the people. Truly this argument hang-  
 eth together by verte strange gimboles. And I dare  
 say, *pp.* Cope neuer learned this kind of reasoning in  
 the famous college of *pp.* Agdalene in *pp.* Ford, what so-  
 euer *pp.* Critabulus did in Germanie. But let vs  
 put the logike apart, & scan the singular point of diu-  
 nitie. I would gladlie lerne in what part of scripture

Ireland had  
 it made bene  
 sojourn.

2. Mat. 1  
 19.

Luc. 8. v

Luc. 2. v

Oratio

Inuoz

or in what ancient father *Ph. Critabulus* read or heard (for most of his learning hath bene, as it seemeth, purchased by heare-saie) that anie holie prelat, that came of more charitie to conuert a countrie from night to light, from rudenesse to knowledg, from infidelitie to christianitie, from vice to vertue; from the diuell to God (which doth imple an especiall zeale in saluting their soules) would purge the soile of all venemous woymes, & leaue the soules that haue moze need to be weeded, wholie infected with the contagion of vice and sinne. Wherby insueth that the place is better than the inhabitants, and so consequentlie the saleng of the *Phachabees* must be falsified. *Non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum Deus elegit*: God did not chosse the people for the place, but he elected the place in respect of the people. Our sauour *Iesus Christ* dispossesting the patient of the legion of diuels, permitted them to enter into an heard of hogs. *Critabulus* would haue *Christ's* saints do the contrarie, to dispossest the hogs, and to leaue the men possessed with diuels. For so he reporteth saint *Patrike* to haue done, by ridding the land of all poisoned woymes, & leauing the rancour to lurke in the people. Trulie if the matter stood so farre out of ioint, I doubt not, but the *Flannders* might haue come as lawfullie to him, as the *Gergeens* came ingratefullie to *Christ*, requiring him to depart their countrie. For such a scoffing prelat, his rowne had bene better than his companie, sith his abode would tend rather to the peruertering, than the conuerting of their Island.

Hitherto thou hast heard (gentle reader) how gallantlie *Critabulus* hath played his part: now shall I desire thee to vieto how sagelie *Ireneus* claspeth by all the whole controuersie. He saith it is the nature of the soile, not to breed anie venemous woyme, and that was incident thereto before saint *Patrike* was borne. How proue you that sir? Pleasest you to skew your eie towards the margent, and there shall you find the fine and thirteenth chapter of *Solinus* solennlie quoted. Touching this matter, there is nothing in *Solinus* but this: *Illic anguis nullus, auis rara*. In *Ireland* is no snake, and seldome a bird, & yet birds are as commonlie there as in anie other countrie. But I would gladlie vnderstand how this authoritie of *Solinus* furthereth *Ph. Ireneus* his opinion. *Ireland* breed no snake before saint *Patrike* was borne: Ergo it ingendred no toad, no adder, no frog, no anie other bitulent woyme. As if a man would reason thus: Before saint *Patrike* his time there was no horsemill in *Ireland*: Ergo before his time there was no millhorse. Certes he that would wind by his conclusion so fondlie, might be thought to haue as much wit as a rosted horse. This authoritie of *Solinus* is so far from vpholding *Ireneus* his assertion, as that it plainelie seemeth quite to ouerthrow it, & as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cause whie saint *Patrike* was moued to expell all the venemous woymes out of *Ireland*, might probablly haue bene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this: that he perceiuing the land to breed no snakes, therof was occasioned, for the furthering of chastian faith, to expell other kind of woymes that lurked there before his coming, as toades, adders, blind woymes, frogs, &c. Here perchase *M. Cope* may blesch me, in replieng that *Anguis* may be construed generalie for all kind of vermine, and so I might be taken tardie in building my discourse vpon a misconstruction.

In god sooth to omit what strange and absurd signification *Anguis* should beare, by nottising a poisoned spider and such like, and in mine opinion further from the purpose, than the father that dissuading his sonne from playing on sundae, fortified his reason

with the old said saw, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*. It is not good, quoth he, to plaie on sundae or holie daies. Is it (thinke you) sellonie or treason, to bring the credit of *Solinus* in question, for misaking *Anguis* as well as *Auis*? For as he was grosslie deceived in the one, in writing that birds were rare in *Ireland*; so might he haue strated as likelie in the other, by disburdening *Ireland* of all venemous woymes, because the Island wanted in his time but one or two kinds, as a snake and a toad. Where a man buildeth vpon euerie twatling and prattling rumoz, and his eie is not his iudge, he may be sure, that such sieng tales will catch manie feathers before they come at him that is as far distant from their nests, as *Solinus* was from *Ireland* when he wrote his paraphlet. The profe whereof as it is daillie tried, so not manie yeares past hath bene verie pretille benefited. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that met his enimie in the fields, where they both vpon a trifling quarell fought so strandelie, as they had moze need to haue bene graped together with cables, than parted by indifferent sticklers. Howbeit, because the gentleman was neuer before flesht, and yet nothing at all that daie, for each of their blowes did commonlie light on the medow where they fought; a friend of his reported well of him to an other, saying, that he was like in time to proue a proper man of his hands, for the well handling of his weapon in his late combat. Wherevpon sone after, the other doubling the gentleman his praise, gaue notice to an other, that such a gentleman (naming him) fought ballantlie such a daie in such a place. Immediatlie vpon this in a thire or two off, it was noised that the partie praised, fought with two at once in such a place, naming the medow. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure seuerall daies; and I am well assured that was the first frate that euer he made, and I thinke it will be the last, vnlesse he be forced manure his heart to the contrarie.

Not long after it happened, that a gentleman and I trauelled abroad the countrie of set purpose to disport our selues, and so to returne afresh to our books, where entering in communication with a blunt countrie lob (yet such an one as toke his halfe-penite to be good siuer) that knew the foresaid champion. My companion and I made wise, as though we were not acquainted with him, or euer heard of the combat: How in god faith gentleman (quoth he) you would do verie well to enter in acquaintance with him; for ouer this, that he is a gentleman abundantlie endued with singular good qualities, he is become of late so ballant a cutter, as he maketh blading his daillie breakfast. By saint *Parie*, quoth my companion, that is verie cold roste, and if his breakfasts be no better than a peece of cold pyon, I little weigh how seldome I take a repast in his companie at anie such ordinarie. Paie, my meaning is (quoth the other) that he dleth to fight fresh and fast, ing euerie morning, in so much that of late, I dare bide by it, he fought eight daies in one weeke. At which words I for my part could not reistaine from laughing, seeing how demurelie the fellow kept his countenance, and how that he spake *Bonafide*. Wherevpon I shaped him an answer and said, that I neuer heard of anie that fought eight daies in one weeke, but onelie in old time, when fine quarters made by the peare.

The fellow perceiuing that he ouershot himselfe, replied: Sir, you take me verie short, as long and as verie a lotwie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eight seuerall times in one weeke. Eight times (quoth my companion) then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you told vs right now, that he made his frate his morning

Rumoz catcheth scethers.

A strandelie commendation.

2. Phac. s. ver. 19.

Luc. 8. ver. 32.

Luc. 8. ver. 37.

and how  
le bene  
D.

Objection.

Refuter.

breakefast, and whereas there are but seauen daies in the weeke, & he fought (as you report) eight times, and you know that eight maketh one aboue seauen, and seauen maketh six and one vnder eight; either you must confesse that he fought out his breaakfast, dinner, beuer or supper; or else you must grant that there be eight daies in one weeke, or at the least two breaakfasts in one daie: and that I am sure you will confesse to be as great an absurditie as the other. **P**ate (quoth the clowne) and you intrap me with such sophistrie, you shall dine, sup and breaake your fast alone for me, and therewithall departed. **W**herby may be gathered, that if he had bin soothed by, & his tongue let to run at libertie vncontrolld, like a bowle that runneth in a smooth allie without anie rub, he would haue brought himselfe to that baie, as he would not sticke to saie that his friend had fought eight daies in one houre. **W**herefore as this pudding his pizke grew at length by report to an huge post, so the want of one venemous woyme in Ireland, being bured in foreen realmes, might haue bene so thwitted and mangled in the carriage before it came to Solinus his cares, as he might haue bene informed, that the countrie was denoid of all venemous woymes, whereas indeed there lacked but one kind.

**L**ike as God of his iustice punisheth a countrie that is hardhearted, with outward woymes: so of his mercie they are removed from a realme that is pliant to follow his lawes and precepts. As when Pharaos would not listen to God his threats denouncing him by the preachers of God, Moses and Aaron, Egypt was punished with frogs and diuerse kind of flies, as is exprest at full in holie writ: and againe upon Pharaos his feined promises (the secrets of whose hollow heart God perfectlie knew) at the instance of Moses, these plagues were appeased, and the vermine quite ertingulshed: so I pate you, is it so absurd a position to hold, that saint Patrike finding the Irish pizell to embrace the gospel, as he did in verie deed, might stand so highlie in God his fauor, as through his earnest petition made to God, the poisoned woymes should be abandoned: This is not so rare a thing upon the implanting of christian faith in anie region, but rather a properie incident thereunto, according to Christ his promise: *signa autem eius qui crediderint, haec sequentur: In nomine meo demonia eicient: linguas loquentur nouis: serpentes tollent: & si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocabit: super egros manus imponent, & bene habebunt.* And these tokens shall follow them that beleue: In my name shall they cast out diuels, they shall speake with new tongues, they shall bite awaie serpents, and if they drinke anie deable thing it shall not hurt them: they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall be cured. **W**herefore, sith it is so euidentlie warranted by scripture, that in the name of Iesus, serpents may be druen awaie, if Ireland be found through anie such means to be denoid of poisoned woymes, we are to ascribe the glorie hereof to God, according to the saying of the prophet; *A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris, Quod habu bene donec per Deum, et id scemeth wonderfull in our eyes.*

**T**hus farre (gentle reader) inroching vpon thy patience, I haue imploied my trauell in defending my native countrie, against such as labour to distaine it with their slanderous scoffes. Touching the principall question, whether S. Patrike did expell poisoned woymes out of Ireland, or whether it be the nature of the soile, as I said in the entrie of this discourse; so I saie againe, that I weigh not too chips which waite the wind bloweth, because I see no inconuenience that may insue either of the affirmatiue or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modestlie as Cambrensis, the autho: of

Polychronicon or others, that stood to the demall, by ue done; he should haue gone scotfree with his complices, and haue made in mounterbankwise the most he could of his wares. **B**ut for that he would needs see further in a millstone than others, and not onelie slenderlie disproue the triuall opinion, but sco:nefullie slander an whole realme, wherein he shall find his superiours in honour, his betters in parentage, his peres in learning, his mates in wisdom, his equals in courtesie, his matches in honesty: I must craue him to beate it patientlie, if by crieng him quittance, I serued him with a dish of his owne cokerie. And if for this my strict dealing with him (whereunto I was the sower led, for that as it is courtesie to mollifie wild speeches with mild answers, so I reckon it for good policie now and then to cleaue knurd knobs with crabbed wedges) he will seme to take pepper in the nose, for anie recompense he is like to haue at mine hands, he may wipe his nose on his sleue. And if it shall stand with his pleasure, to replie either in English or in Latine (the occasion of which is rather of him growne than by me giuen) he shall find me willing, if God spare me health, to reioine with him in so good a quarrell, whether in the one language or the other: and when both tales are heard, I bestow him, for my part, that shall be diuen to the wall.

**C**ambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible persons, that barnacles thousands at once are noted along the shores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, as ships, oares, masts, and holdes, and such like, which in proceesse taking liuelie heat of the sunne, become waterfoules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or flie abroad into the aire. The same do neuer couple in the act of generation, but are from time to time multiplied, as before is exprest.

**A**ncas Syluius writeth himselfe to haue pursued the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Islands Orkades. Giraldus Cambrensis gathereth herof a pretie conclusion against the Jewes in this wise following: *Respicie infelix Iudae, respice, vel sero prima hominis generationem ex limo sine mare & femina. Secundamque ex mare sine femina, ob legu venerationem, diffiteri non aude. Tertiā solam ex mare salicet & femina, quia vsualis est, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam vero, in qua sola salus est ex femina salicet sine mare obstinata malicia in proprium perniciem detestari. Erubescet miser, erubescet, & saltem ad naturam recurrat, quae ad argumenta fidei, ad instructionem nostram noua quotidie animalia sine omni mare vel femina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & hac ultima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam a Domino natura tantum semel, ideo semper obstupenda processit. Istam vero non minus admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia saepe fit) imitatrix natura administrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, ut nihil, praeter inusitatum & raro contingens vel pretiosum ducat vel admirandum, solis ortum & occasum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, sine omni admiratione praeterimus. Eclipsin vero soli, quia rarius accidit, totius orbis obstupescit. At idem etiam facere videtur, flatus solo, & oculis quadam inspiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio.*

**P**arke thou wretched Jew, saith Cambrensis, marke yet at length the first creation (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the second, of a man without a woman (that is to saie Que) for that thou hast the old law in reuerence, thou darest not denie. As for the third, both of man and woman, because it is dastie used as stiffneck as thou art, thou dost acknowledge and confesse. **B**ut the fourth procreation, in which consisteth our onelie iustificatiō (he meaneth the incarnation of Christ)

Wes & they are genderi

Iohan. i. Gem. ir exempl mili. rei 4. c. 31. Wheth barnacle fish or f Cambr. ropog. i. rub. 15. Polych. c. 32.

Adam ontle i by God August. Genel. lib. 9. c. 1

Genel. vers. 2.

Adam of no hi Thom. 92. art. 1 m.

Exod. 8. vers. 17, 18, 19. Vide Apoc. 9. vers. 3, at 2. Reg. 8. vers. 37.

Gregor. hom. 29. in euang. Mar. 16. b. 17.

Isalun. 117. vers. 22.

The bare nacle.

Sabel. part. 3. Enc. 1. lib. 5. Cam. lib. 1. pog. dist. 1. rub. 15. Thom. p. 3. 4. 31. art. 4. corp.

of a woman without man, with sturdie and obstinat  
rancor: to thine utter destruction thou dost detest.  
Blush therefore thou unhappie Jew, be ashamed of  
this thy follie, and at the least wise haue recourse to  
nature, and settle hir woorks before thine eyes, that  
for the increase of faith, and to the lessening of vs,  
dailie breedeth & ingendzeth new liuing creatures,  
without the coupling of male or female. Adam  
was created of earth, the barnacles are ingendzeth  
of wood, because Adam was once created by him, who  
is Lord of nature, therefore it is continuallie admi-  
red. But for that same nature the counterfeite  
of the celestiall workman, euen as breedeth barna-  
cles, therefore their wood is accounted more mar-  
vellous than to be marvelled, more wonderfull than  
wondered. For such is the framing of man his na-  
ture, as he seemeth nothing pretious or wonderfull,  
but such things as seldome happen. What may be  
thought more beautifull than the course of the sunne?  
And yet because we see it dailie rise and set, we let it  
ouerflip vs as an vsuall custome, without anie ska-  
ring or gazing. Yet we are amazed and astonied at  
the eclipse, because it happeneth verie seldome. The  
bees that are ingendzeth of the honie combe, onlie by  
a puffe or secret breathing without anie coupling,  
seeme to uphold this procreation of barnacles. Whi-  
therto Cambrensis, with whom concerning the in-  
gendzeth of bees Iohannes de sancto Geminiano  
accordeth.

Bees how  
they are in-  
gendzeth.

Iohan. de S.  
Gem. in lib. de  
exempl. & fi-  
mill. rerum li.  
4. c. 31.  
Whether the  
barnacle be  
flesh or flesh,  
Camb. lib. 1.  
topog. dist. 1.  
lib. 15.  
Polychr. lib. 1.  
c. 12.

Adam & Eue  
onlie created  
by God,  
August. super  
Genes. ad lit.  
lib. 9. c. 18.

Genes. 11.  
vers. 29.

Adam & Eue  
of his kin.  
Thom. p. 1. q.  
2. art. 2. ad 3.  
m.

The inhabitants of Ireland are accustomed to  
moue question, whether barnacles be fish or flesh, &  
as yet they are not fullie resolved; but most vsuallie  
the religious of strictest abstinence doe eat them on  
fish daies. Giraldus Cambrensis, and after him Po-  
lychricon suppose, that the Irish cleargie in this  
point strae. For they hold of certaintie that barna-  
cles are flesh. And if a man saie they had eaten a  
collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten flesh. And yet  
Adam was not ingendzeth of male or female, but  
onlie created of claie, as the barnacles of wood &  
rotten timber. But the Irish cleargie did not so farre  
strae in their opinion, as Cambrensis & Polychro-  
nicon, in their dispute. For the framing of Adam  
and Eue was supernaturall onlie done by God,  
& not by the helpe of angels or anie other creature.  
For like as it surpasseth natures course to raise the  
dead, to lighten or insight the blind, so it good not  
with the vsuall & common linage of nature, but onlie  
with the supereminent power of God, to frame a  
man of claie, and a woman of a mans rib. But the  
ingendzeth of barnacles is naturall, & not so won-  
derfull as Cambrensis maketh it. And therefore the  
examples are not like.

How it should seme that in Cambrensis his time,  
the Irish cleargie builded their reason vpon this plot.  
What soener is flesh, is naturallie begotten or in-  
gendzeth of flesh; barnacles are not naturallie in-  
gendzeth of flesh, but onlie of timber and wood; bar-  
nacles therefore are not flesh, vnlesse you would haue  
them to be wooden flesh. And if the reason be so knit  
it may not be disioined by Cambrensis his example.  
As if a man should argue thus. She that is begotten  
of anie man, must be of force daughter to that man;  
Melcha was begotten of Aran; Ergo Melcha was A-  
rans daughter. This argument is of all parts so for-  
tified, as it seemeth of all sides to be impregnable.  
Yet a busie braine sophister cauilling on the terme  
(begotten) might saie, that Eue was begotten of A-  
dam, and yet she is not Adams daughter. True it is  
that Adam was not Eues father, no more than Eue  
was Adams mother, neither by that ingendzeth  
was there anie degree of consanguinitie sprong be-  
twene them. But because the word (begotten) is ta-  
ken in the argument for the naturall ingendzeth of

man and woman, the instance giuen of Eue doth  
not disproue the Maior. And yet for the better un-  
derstanding of the question, it is to be noted that the  
philosophers distinguish *Animalia sensitiua*, that is, sen-  
sible liuing things, in two sorts, perfect and imper-  
fect. The perfect are they that are ingendzeth of seed,  
the imperfect without seed. Those that are naturallie  
ingendzeth with seed, can neuer be naturallie ingen-  
dized without seed: albeit Auicenna berie erroneously  
lie holdeth the contrarie: as for example.

Because man is naturallie ingendzeth of man and  
woman, no man may naturallie be ingendzeth with-  
out the copulation of man and woman: yet super-  
naturallie it may be. As Adam was made without  
man and woman: Eue framed without woman:  
our sauiour Christ begotten without man. And there-  
fore the diuell could not haue attainted him of origi-  
nall sinne. Contrariwise, the imperfect may be in-  
gendzeth without seed by mire, mud, dong, carien,  
rotten timber, or anie other thing; and chieslie by the  
secret influence and instillation of the celestiall pla-  
nets, as the sunne and such other. As if you put the  
haire of an horse taile in mire, puddle, or in a dong-  
hill for a certeine space, it will turne to a little thin  
spralling worme, which I haue often sene & experi-  
mented. And they are termed imperfect, not in re-  
spect of their owne nature, in which they are perfect,  
but in comparison of other sorts of liuing things.  
Among this crue must barnacles be setled. But here  
some will saie; Let them be perfect or imperfect, what  
then? I would faine know, whether Cambrensis be  
in an error, or the Irish cleargie. For hitherto I see  
nothing, but Cambrensis his reason disproued. And  
it is often sene that a sound opinion may be weak-  
ned by a feeble reason, as we see manie false gar-  
ments made in the making. It is true: and if anie  
be desirous to know my mind herein, I suppose, ac-  
cording to my simple iudgement, vnder the correc-  
tion of both parties, that the barnacle is neither fish  
nor flesh, but rather a meane betwene both. As put  
the case it were enacted by parlement, that it were  
high treason to eat flesh on fridaies, and fish on sun-  
daies. True I thinke that he that eateth barnacles  
both these daies, should not be within the compasse  
of the estatute: yet I would not wish my friend to  
hazard it, least the barnacle should be found in law  
fish or flesh, yea and perhaps fish and flesh. As when  
the lion king of beasts made proclamation, that all  
hoyned beasts should auoid his court, one beast ha-  
uing but a bunch of flesh in his forehead departed  
with the rest, least it had bene found in law that his  
bunch were an hozne.

But some will peraduenture maruell, that there  
should be anie liuing thing, that were not fish nor  
flesh. But they haue no such cause at all. Spits,  
fleshwormes, bees, butterflies, caterpillers, snailles,  
grasshoppers, beetles, earewicks, ceremise, frogs,  
toads, adders, snakes, & such other, are liuing things,  
and yet they are neither fish nor flesh, nor yet red her-  
ring: as they that are trained in scholasticall points  
may easilie iudge. And so I thinke, that if anie were  
so sharpe set (the estatute aboue rehearsed, presuppo-  
sed) as to eat fried flies, butterd bees, stued snailles,  
either on fridaie or sundaie, he could not be therefore  
indicted of hauile treason; albeit I would not be his  
ghest, vnlesse I took his table to be furnisht with  
more wholesome and licorous viands. The like que-  
stion may be moued of the fell, and if it were well  
canuaased, it would be found at the leastwise a moot  
case. But thus farre of barnacles.

Ireland is stozed of colwes, of excellent hozses, of  
hawkes, of fish and of fowle. They are not without  
wolves & greihounds to hunt them, bigger of bone  
and lim than a colt. Their colwes as also the rest of  
their

Thom. p. 1. q.  
91. art. 2. ad 2. m  
Liuing  
things are of  
two sorts.  
Thom. p. 1. q.  
71. l. 1. o. 1. 10.  
Auicenna.

Gen. 2. vers. 7.  
Gen. 2. vers. 21.  
Mat. 1. vers. 10  
Luc. 1. vers. 34

Vide Arist. lib.  
1. Meteor. ca. 3.  
6. 7.

The barnacle  
neither fish  
nor flesh.

The fell wher  
ther it be fish  
or flesh.  
Thom. p. 1. q. 71  
a. 1. o. 3. o.

he bare  
it.

del. part. 3.  
c. 1. o. lib. 5.  
m. lib. 10.  
p. dist. 1.  
15.  
om. p. 3. q.  
ar. 4. corp.



Sheepe.

Egle.

The Irish hobbie.

The nag.

The chiefe hobbie.

The mongrell hobbie.

Volat. lib. 3.  
Geog.  
Athurcones.

their cattell, and commonlie w<sup>at</sup> else fouer the countrie ingendeth (except man) is much lesse in quantitie than those of England, or of other realmes. Sheepe few, and those bearing course fleeces, whereof they spin notable rug. Their sheepe haue short and curt tailes. They there their sheepe twice yearelie, and if they be left unshorne, they are therewith rather pained than otherwise. The countrie is verie fruitfull both of cozne and grasse. The grasse (for default of good husbandrie) suffered incut, groweth so ranke in the north parts, that oftentimes it rotteth their cattell. Egles are well knowne to breed in Ireland, but neither so big, nor so manie as bookes tell. The hobbies are of pale easie, in running wonderfull swift, in gallop both false and full indifferent. The nag or the hackeneie is verie good for traueiling, albeit others report the contrarie. And if he be broken accordinglie, you shall haue a little tit that will traueil a whole daie without ante bait. Their hobbies of seruice are called chiefe hobbies, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. They reine passinglie, and champe vpon their bydels bzanelle, commonlie they amble not but gallop and run. And these hobbies are but for skirmitches, not for traueiling, for their stomachs are such, as they disdain to be hacknied. Thereof the report grew, that the Irish hobbie will not hold out in traueiling. You shall haue of the third sort a bassard or mongrell hobbie, nere as tall as the hobbie of seruice, strong in traueiling, easie in ambling, and verie swift in running. Of the hobbie of seruice they make great stoe, as wherein at times of need they repose a great pece of safetie. This word Volaterane writeth to haue come from Aulturea, the countrie of Hispanie, betwene Gallicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Athurcones, a name now properlie applied to the Hispanish genet.

### The names of the ciuities, boroughs and hauen townes in Ireland.

The third chapter.

Dublinum.



Dublin the beautie and eie of Ireland, hath bene named by Ptolome, in ancient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublinia, others Dublinda, manie write it Dublinum, authors of better skill name it Dublinium. The Irish call it, Balla er Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdels. For the common opinion is, that the plot vpon which the ciuitie is builded, hath bene a marish ground; and for that by the art or inuention of the first founder, the water could not be voided, he was forced to fasten the quakemire with hurdels, and vpon them to build the citie. I heard of some that came of building of houses to this foundation: and other hold opinion that if a cart or waine run with a round and maine pale through a street called the high street, the houses on eche side shall be percerued to shake. This citie was builded, or rather the buildings thereof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lord 1155. For about this time there arrived in Ireland thre noble Easterlings that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Pucorus. Auellanus being the eldest brother builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterford, and Pucorus Limerike. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of speech Eblana. This citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferior to any citie in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chualrie, in

Dublin builded.

Auellanus the founder of Dublin.

Auellana. Eblana.

obedience and loialtie, in the abundance of wealth, in largenesse of hospitalite, in maners and ciuilitie it is superiour to all other citie and townes in that realme. And therefore it is commonlie called the first or yong London. The seat of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and whole some. If you would traueise hils, they are not far off. If chample on ground, it lieth of all parts. If you be delited with fresh water, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnum, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. The onlie fault of this citie is, that it is lesse frequented of merchant estrangers, because of the bare hauen. Their charter is large. King Henrie the fourth gaue this citie the sword, in the yeare of our Lord 1409, and was ruled by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes by a charter granted by Edward the first, in the yeare of our Lord 1547. In which yeare John Mians and Robert Jans, two worshipfull gentlemen, were colleagues in that office, & thereof they are named the last bailiffes & first shiriffes that haue bene in Dublin. It appereth by the ancient seale of this citie, called *Signum prepositurae*, that this citie hath bene in old time gouerned by a pponost.

Dublin the Irish London. The situation of Dublin. The Liffie.

The sword given to Dublin. Shiriffes of Dublin 1547.

Dublin gouerned by a pponost.

The hospitalitie of the maior and the shiriffes for the yeare being, is so large and bountifull, that southlie (London excepted) verie few such officers vnder the crowne of England keepe so great a port, none I am sure greater. The maior, ouer the number of officers that take their daillie repast at his table, keepeth for his yeare in maner open house. And albeit in tearme time his house is frequented as well of the nobilitie as of other potentats of great calling: yet his ordinarie is so good, that a verie few set feasts are provided for them. They that spend least in their maiorzaltie (as those of credit, yea and such as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinarie account of five hundred pounds for their bland and delight that yeare: which is no small summe to be bestowed in housekeeping, namelie where dittels are so good cheape, and the presents of friends diuerse and sundrie.

The hospitalitie of the maior and shiriffes.

Tom drun his interment.

Chaucer &amp; the prolog of his Canterbury

There hath bene of late yeares a worshipfull gentleman, named Patrike Scarlesfield, that bare the office of the maiorzaltie in Dublin, who kept so great port in this yeare, as his hospitalitie to his fame and renoume resteth as yet in fresh memorie. One of his especiall and entire friends entring in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well nere expired, moued question, to what he thought his expenses all that yeare amounted? Tullie James (so his friend was named) quoth maister Scarlesfield, I take betwene me and God, when I entered into mine office, the last saint Hierome his daie (which is the morrow of Michaelmasse, on which daie the maior taketh his oth before the chiefe baron, at the exchequer within the castell of Dublin) I had thre barnes well stozed and thwacht with cozne, and I assured my selfe, that ante one of these thre had bene sufficient to haue stozed mine house with bread, ale, and bere for this yeare. And now God and good companie be thanked, I stand in doubt, whether I shall rub out my maiorzaltie with my thied barne, which is well nigh with my yeare ended. And yet nothing limiteth me so much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellows that you see here (he ment the sergeants and officers) are readie to sit from me, and make their next yeares abode with the next maior.

1551

Patrike Scarlesfield his hospitalitie.

The maior of Dublin when he is sworn.

Nicholas Stanbury

The host his of D.

And certes I am so much wedded to good fellowship, as if I could mainteine mine house to my contentation, with defraing of five hundred pounds yearelie; I would make humble sute to the citizens, to

to be their officer these thre yeaeres to come. Duer this, he did at the same time protest with oth, that he spent that yeaere in housekeeping twentie tuns of claret wine, ouer and aboue white wine, sacke, malmesey, muscadell, &c. And in vertie deed it was not to be marvelled: for during his maioraltie, his house was so open, as commonly from fwe of the clocke in the morning, to ten at night, his butterie and cellars were with one crew or other frequented. To the haunting of which, ghests were the soner allured, for that you should neuer marke him or his bedfellovs (such was their burromnesse) once strowne or twinkle their foreheads, or bend their browes, or glowme their countenances, or make a fowze face at anie ghest, were he neuer so meane. But their interteiment was so notable, as they would saunce their bountifull & deintie faire with heartie and amiable chiere. His poster or anie other officer durst not for both his eares giue the simplest man that resorted to his house Tom dym his interteiment, which is, to hale a man in by the head, and thrust him out by both the shoulders. For he was fullie resolved, that his worship and reputation could not be moze disfaigned, than by the curtilly interteiment of anie ghest. To be brieve (according to the golden verses of the ancient and famous English poet Geffreie Chaucer:

Tom dym his interteiment.

Chaucer in the prolog of his Canterbury tales

An housholder, and that a great, was hee, Saint Iulian he was in his countrie. His bread, his ale, was alwaie after one, A better viended man was no where none. Without bakte meat was neuer his house, Offish and flesh, and that so plenreoufe. It fiewed in his house of meat and drinke, Of all deinties that men could thinke. After the sundrie seasons of the yere, So changed he his meat and his suppere. Full manie a fat partrich had he in mew, And manie a breime, and manie a luce in stew. Some of his friends, that were smudging penie-fathers, would take him by vertie roughlie for his launshing & his outrageous expenses, as they tearme it. Tush my maisters (would he saie) take not the matter so hot: who so commeth to my table, and hath no need of my meat, I know he commeth for the god will he beareth me; and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he resort for need, how maie I bestow my goods better, than in releneyng the pore? If you had percelued me so far behind hand, as that I had bene like to haue brought haddocke to paddocke, I would patientlie permit you, both largelie to controll me, and friendlie to repproue me. But so long as I cut so large thongs of mine otone leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I keepe my selfe so farre asote, as that I haue as much water as my ship draweth: I prate pardon me to be liberall in spending, with God of his godnesse is gracions in sending.

Nicholas Stanburth.

And in deed so it fell out. For at the end of his maioraltie he thought no man a doctin. What he dispended was his owne: and euer after during his life, he kept so worshipful a standing house, as that he seemed to surrender the princes sword to other maiors, and reserued the port & hospitalitie to himselfe. Not long before him was Nicholas Stanburth their maior, who was so great and good an housholder, that during his maioraltie, the lord chancellor of the realme was his daillie and ordinarie ghest. Where hath bene of late worshipfull ports kept by maister Jhan, who was twise maior, maister Sedgraue, Thomas Jfitz Simons, Robert Cusacke, Walter Cusacke, Nicholas Jfitz Simons, James Wedlotw, Christopher Jfagan, and diuerse others. And not onelie their officers so farre excell in hospitalitie, but al-

The hospitallie of Dublin.

so the greater part of the ciuitie is generallie addicted to such ordinarie and standing houses, as it would make a man muse which waie they are able to beare it out, but onelie by the goodnesse of God, which is the bpholder and furtherer of hospitalitie. What should I here speake of their charitable almes, daillie and honrelle extended to the needie? The pore prisoners both of the Fleetgate and the castell, with thre or foure hospitals, are chieflie, if not onelie, relieued by the citizens.

Furthermoze, there are so manie other extraordinarie beggers that daillie swarme there, so charitable succored, as that they make the whole ciuitie in effect their hospitall. The great expenses of the citizens maie probablie be gathered by the worshipful and fauorlike markets, wecklie on wednesday and friday kept in Dublin. Their shambles is so well stozed with meat, and their market with coyne, as not onelie in Ireland, but also in other countries you shall not see anie one shambles, or anie one market better furnished with the one or the other, than Dublin is. The citizens haue from time to time in sundrie condits so galled the Irish, that euen to this date, the Irish feare a ragged and fagged blacke standard that the citizens haue, almost through tract of time worne to the hard stumps. This standard they carrie with them in hostings, being neuer displayed but when they are ready to enter into battell, and come to the shocke. The sight of which danteth the Irish about measure.

The shambles and markets at Dublin.

The blacke standard.

And for the better training of their youth in martiall exploits, the citizens vse to muster foure times by the yeaere: on Blacke mondaie, which is the morrow of Easter daie, on Maie daie, saint John Baptist his eue, and saint Peter his eue. Whereof two are ascribed to the maior & shiriffes: the other two, to wit, the musters on Maie daie and saint Peter his eue, are assigned to the maior and shiriffes of the Bull ring. The maior of the Bull ring is an officer elected by the citizens, to be as it were capteine or gardian of the batchelers and the vnbweddend youth of the ciuitie. And for the yeaere he hath authoritie to chastise and punish such as frequent brothelhouses, and the like vnchast places. He is tearmed the maior of the Bull ring, of an iron ring that sticketh in the cozne, market, to which the bulles that are yeaerlie bated be vsuallie tied: which ring is had by him and his companie in so great price, as if anie citizen batcheler hap to marrie, the maior of the Bull ring and his crue conduct the bridegrome vpon his retarne from church, to the market place, and there with a solemn blisse for his *plimum vale*, he doth damage vnto the Bull ring.

The musters of Dublin.

The maior of the Bull ring

The Blacke mondaie muster sprong of this occasion. Some after Ireland was conquered by the Britons, & the greater part of Leinster pacified, diuerse to townemen of Wikkow flitted from thence to Dublin, and in short space the ciuitie was by them so well inhabited, as it grew to be vertie populous. Wherevpon the citizens hauing ouer great affiance in the multitude of the people, and so consequentlie being somewhat retchlesse in heeding the mounteine enemie that larked vnder their noses, were wont to come and roile in clusters, sometime thre or foure miles from the towne. The Irish enemie speng that the citizens were accustomed to fetch such ordagaries, especiallie on the holie daies, & hauing an inkling withall by some false clatterfert or other, that a companie of them would haue ranged abrode, on mondaie in the Easter weeke towards the wood of Cullen, which is distant two miles from Dublin, they laie in scale verie well appointed, and laid in sundrie places for their comming. The citizens rather minding the pleasure they should presentlie inoy,

The blacke mondaie.

Dublin inhabited by the Britons. This was about the yeaere of our Lord 1209.

in the situation Dublin.

the situation of Dublin 1547.

the situation of Dublin.

the situation of Dublin.

the situation of Dublin.

the situation of Dublin.

## The description of Ireland.

than forcasting the hurt that might insue, flockt un-armed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them that late howling in ambush, they were to the number of five hundred miserable slain. Whereupon the remnant of the citizens deeming that unluckie time to be a crosse or a dismall daie, gaue it the appellation of Blacke mondaie.

The citie sone after being peopled by a fresh supplie of Britfollians, to dare the Irish enimie, agreed to banket yearelie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the maior and the thiriks with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a coslie dinner within a mote or a rundell, and both the thiriks within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mounteine enimie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a passie crull from thence. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are parioch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chappels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sancta trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Ancellanus his time, yet sone after by the Danes. The building of which was both repaired & enlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and sone after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephens and Strangbow the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intombed. The chappell that standeth in the choye, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle ofildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intombed.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable linings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north dore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worthy prelate John Commin, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. This foundation was greatlie advanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christs church for antiquitie, where in doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to giue place, vnielie they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build vpon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michael, Saint Werberolle, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Cheshire virgine. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. His feast is kept the thirde of Februarie. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Andrew, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the worthies of the citie are demurant within that paroch.

Saint Cullocke now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the moze part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane cassell, to the fifth Hambles, called the Cockhill, with Wesson his innes, & the lane thereto adioining, which scope is now vnitied to Saint John his paroch. S. Katharine, S. Michan or Mighan, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the five and twentieth of Iulie, on which daie in ancient time was there a worthy faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as

well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dogchape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie stored by strangers; and the citie merchants not offering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and thereupon forced to run on the score, were verie much impouerished. Therefore partlie thorough the canuassing of the towne merchants, and partlie by the twinkling of the rest of the citizens, being won vpon manie gate glosed promises, by plaieng hope to beare themselves ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppress, and all forren saile sholde abandoned. Yet for a memorall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint James his gate. Saint Michael of Poules, *alias* Poules, Saint Brigide, Saint Benin, Saint Peter Demonte, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this daie, although not in such chast and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the erection thereof. The maior with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates nere the White friers, Saint Iacques his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poule gate, *alias* Paules gate, Newgate, a goale or prison, Wine tauerne gate, Saint Andrew his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cocke stræt. The reason why this gate, and the Wine tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruce a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots arrived in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on forwards with his armie, vntill he came as far as Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being sore amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approach of so puissant an enimie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his stræt; least he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue any succour in the suburbs. The maior (named Robert Nottingham) and communalitie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbey of the frierpreachers, called Saint Sauour his monasterie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that waie did cast a wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, mistrusting that the wals that went along both the heies, should not haue bene of sufficient force to outhold the enimie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remoued towards the Paas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbey they razed; saieing, that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuited in peace. Edmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Cockholdes post. Some suppose, that one Edmundus builded this gate, and thereof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Irish assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Desmond, then by god hap sojourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the valiant exploit and famous conquest of so worthy a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Desmond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Newstræt gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The names of the streets, bridges, lanes and other notorious places in Dublin.  
John Decker.

Distmanni.

1050

1095  
Distmann-  
towne, why  
called.

The lanes.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

The contro-  
uerse be-  
tweene Christs  
church and  
saint Patrikes  
church.

Fitz Simons.

S. James his faire.

The names  
of the streets,  
bridges, lanes  
and other no-  
tious places  
in Dublin.  
John Decker.

The Damnes street, the Castle street, stretching to the pillorie, Saint Werberosses street, Saint John his street, *alias* fishamble street, Skinners row reaching from the pillorie to the tolehall, or to the high crosse. The High street bearing to the high pipe. This pipe was builded in the yeare 1308, by a worthy citizen named John Decker, being then mayor of Dublin. He builded not long before that time the bridge hard by Saint Wolstons, that reacheth over the Liffie. The Newgate street, from the Newgate to Saint Audoen his church. Saint Nicholas his street, the Wine fauerne street, the Cooke street, the Bridge street. This street with the greater part of the keie was burnt in the yeare 1304. The Woodkete, the Merchant keie, Olmon-towne, so called of certeine Casterlings or Poymans, properlie the Danes that were called Olmanni. They planted themselves hard by the water side nere Dublin, and discomfited at Clontarf in a skirmish diuerse of the Irish. The names of the Irish capteins slaine were Brian Borrough, Magh macke Ben, Ladie Dkellie, Dolin Ahertegan, Gille Barrameda. These were Irish potentates, and before their discomfite they ruled the royl. They were interred at Kilmannin ouer against the great crosse. There arriued a fresh supplie of Casterlings at Dublin in the yeare 1095, and settled themselves on the other side of the ciuitie, which of them to this daie is called Olmantowne, that is, the towne of the Olmannes, whereof there ariseth great likelihood to haue bene a separat towne from the citie, being parted from Dublin by the Liffie, as Southwooke is seuered from London by Thames. Saint Thomas his street; this street was burnt by mishap in the yeare 1343. The New buildings, the New street, Saint Francis his street, the Rowme, Saint Patrike his street, the backside of Saint Sepulchres, Saint Reuen his street, the Poule, or Paulmillstreet, Saint Brigids street, the Sheepe street, *alias* the Ship street. For diuerse are of opinion, that the sea had passage that waie, and thereof to be called the Ship street.

This as it seemeth not wholie impossible, considering that the sea floweth and ebbeth hard by it: so it carrieth a moze colour of truth with it, because there haue bene found there certeine iron rings fastned to the towne wall, to hold and grapple botes withall. Saint Werberosses lane, by to Saint Nicholas his street, now inclosed, Saint Michaele his lane, beginning at Saint Michaele his pipe, Quillchurch lane, Saint John his lane, Ram lane, *alias* the Scholehouse lane, Saint Audoen his lane, Kellers lane. This lane is strepe & slipperie, in which otherwhyles, they that make moze hast, than god speed, climbe their bums to the stoness. And therefore the ruder sort, whether it be through corruption of speech, or for that they giue it a nickename, commonlie terme it, not so homelie, as trulie, Kisse acle lane. Rochell lane, *alias* Backelane, on the southside of the fesh shambles, the Cooke street lane, Frapper lane, Giggottes hill, Marie lane, Saint Tullocke his lane, Scarlet lane, *alias* Flouds lane, Saint Pulchers lane, Saint Benin his lane, the White friers lane, Saint Stephan his lane, Hogs lane, the Sea lane, Saint George his lane, where in old time were builded diuerse old and ancient monuments. And as an insearcher of antiquities may (by the view there to be taken) coniecture, the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should seeme to haue stretched that waie. But the inhabitants being dailie and hourelie molested and preyed by their prouling mountaine neighbors, were forced to suffer their buildings fall in decaye, and embayed themselves with in the citie walls.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets innes, which in old time was the Escacar or Erchecker. Which should imple that the princes court would not haue bene kept there, unless the place had bene taken to be cockfure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnlie, and as it seemed, retchellie: the Irish espieng the oportunitie, rushed into the court in plumps, where surprizing the vnweapned multitude, they committed horrible slaughters by sparing none that came vnder their dint; and with all, as far as their Scarbozough leasure could serue them, they ransacke the prince his thesaure, vpon which mishap the erchecker was from thence removed. There hath bene also in that lane a chappell dedicated to saint George, likelie to haue bene founded by some worthy knight of the garter. The mayor with his brethren was accustomed with great triumphs and pageants perrelie on saint George his feast to repaire to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath bene of late razed, and the stoness thereof by consent of the assemble turned to a common ouen, conuerting the ancient monument of a doutie, aduenturous, and holie knight, to the cole rake sweeping of a pintoase baker. The great bridge going to Olmantowne, saint Nicholas his bridge, the Poule gate bridge, repared by Nicholas Stant, burnt about the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie & foure, the Castell bridge, S. James his bridge.

The castell of Dublin was builded by Henrie Loundres (sometime archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland) about the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twentie. This castell hath beside the gate house foure goodlie and substantiall towers, of which one of them is named Bermingham his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghams did enlarge the building thereof, or else that he was long in duresse in that tower. This castell hath bene of late much beautified with sundrie and gorgeous buildings in the time of sir Henrie Sidenele, sometimes lord deputie of Ireland. In the commendation of which buildings an expect all weltoiller of his lordships penned these verses:

*Gesta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,  
Laudis & in chartis stigmata fixa manent.  
Perum Sidneilaudes hac saxa loquuntur,  
Nec iacet in sola gloria tanta libris.  
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,  
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.  
Lignaque si pereant, non ergo saxa peribunt,  
Saxaque si pereant tempore, tempus erit.  
Si pereat tempus, minime consumitur aenum,  
Quod cum principio, sed sine fine manet.  
Dum libri florent, homines dum viuere possunt,  
Dum quoque cum lignis saxa manere valent,  
Dum remanet tempus, dum denique permanet aenum,  
Laus tua, Sidne, digna perire nequit.*

There standeth nere the castell ouer against a bold roome called Bresson his innes, a tower named Flouds tower. It took the name of la Beale Floud, daughter to Angulsh king of Ireland. It seemeth to haue bene a castle of pleasure for the kings to recreate themselves therein. Which was not unlike, considering that a meaner tower might serue such single soule kings as were at those daies in Ireland. There is a village hard by Dublin, called of the said la Beale, chappell Floud.

Saint Pulchers, the archbishop of Dublin his house, as well pleasantlie sited, as gorgeously builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of this house was of set purpose fired by an archbishop, to the end the gouernors (which for the moze part laie there) should not haue so good liking to the house: not far disagreeing from the policie that I heard a noble man

The old Escacar.

S. George his chappell.

The bridges.

1544.

The castell.

1220.

Bermingham his tower.

1566.

Olmanni.

1050

1095  
Olman-  
towne, whye so  
called.

he nameth  
the gates of  
the citie and  
burbs of  
Dublin.

The lanes.

Flouds tower.

Chappell  
Floud.

Saint  
Pulchers,

man tell he bled, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other choise horses, did bobtail him vpon his returne to the stable, least anie of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so bountifullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, of discretion he would seme to giue his friend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

The names of the fields adjoining to Dublin. Scald-brother.

Saint Stephens gréne, Hogging gréne, the Steine, Mmantoine gréne. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scald brothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious these named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hide all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath oftentimes outrun the swiftest and lustiest young men in all Mmantoine, maugre their heads, bearing a pot or apan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the gallowes, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being shotvoted within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie polling, till time he was by certeine gaping gronies that laie in wait for him, intercepted, flæing toward his couch, hauing vpon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and solitie he was wont to run. There standeth in Mmantoine gréne an hyllocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

Scaldbrother executed.

Little John. 1189.

Robert Hood.

In the yere one thousand one hundred foure score and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were chiefe, of all theues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betrayed at a nurrie in Scotland called Bicklies, the remnant of the crue was scattered, and euerie man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherevpon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartlie to trie how far he could shot at random: who yelding to their behest, stood on the bzidge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leauing behind him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be wondered, than possible by anie man liuing to be counterscored. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or village called Poonaie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue bene fourtene foot long, which was a pretie length for a little John. Whereby appereth that he was called little John ironicallic, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graine.

The king his land.

Here to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annered to the crowne, which are named

to this daie, the Kings land; to witt, Newcastle, Mallagard, Ceshire, and Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin payeth a greater cheefe rent to the prince than anie of the other three, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemeanors, toke them by verie sharple in the court, and with rough and minatozie speeches began to menace them. The lobbish and desperat cloberiousness, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the forehead, and left him there spalling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was inhaned, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other three manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is asozesato) in the yere one hundred fiftie and five. Prolome nameth it Panapia, but whie he appropriateth that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The haven is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of forren traffike in short space attaine to a bundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtil, yea nathelesse the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in good sooth the townsmen, and namelic students are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie hardie and warie in all their publicke affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke yer they leape. In choosing their magistrats, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maior neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poore. They are chersfull in the intertainment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benchwhiffers, nor luskish sailors: for young and old are wholie addicted to thriuing, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aquavite*, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The maskers had no sooner espied him, but deming he had bene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie muzzled, and partlie chained, he doubted not, but that he should haue bene well tugd in this Irish rug; wherevpon he solemnlie vowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such weed. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so lofall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue bene disstained with the smallest spot, or dulsed with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the citie's armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intacta* (The possie of *mauer*: a possie as well to be hartlie followed, as greatly admired of all true and loiall townes.

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Phozus, as is before mentioned, about the yere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notablie secured Poundster and Connaght: the Irish name this citie Lounneagh, and thereof in English it is named Limerike. The towne is planted in an Island, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was flozed with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his peers, incamped

Copie.

Waterford.

Panapia.

Drogheeda.

Roche.

The possie of *mauer*.

Limerike.

Sennan the riuer of Limerike.

Limerike towne so called.

Roche, of Roche.



incamped in that Ile, having so great a troope of horsemen, as the horses ate up the grasse in foure and twentie houres. Whereupon for the notorious number of horses, the place is called *Loun ne augh*; that is, the horse bare, or a place made bare or eaten up by horses. The verie maine sea is three score miles distant from the towne, and yet the river is so navigable, as a ship of two hundred tuns may saile to the heide of the citie. The river is termed in Irish *Shaune amne*, that is, the old river; for *Shaune* is old, & *amne* is a river, deducted of the Latine word *Amnis*. The building of *Limericke* is sumptuous and substantiall.

*Cooke*, in Latine *Coracium*, or *Corracium*, the fourth citie of Ireland happlie planted on the sea. Their haven is an haven roiall. On the land side they are inclosed with euill neighbors, the Irish outlaws, that they are faine to watch their gates hourly, to keepe them shut at seruice times, at meales from sun to sun, nor suffer anie stranger to enter the citie with his weapon, but the same to leaue at a lodge appointed. They walke out at seasons for recreation with power of men furnished. They trust not the countrie adjoining, but match in wedlocke among themselves onelie, so that the whole citie is welnigh linked one to the other in affinitie. *Drogheda*, accounted the best towne in Ireland, and trulie not far behind some of their cities. The one moitie of this towne is in *Deth*, the other planted on the further side of the water lieth in *Ulster*. There runneth a blind prophesie on this towne, that *Kosse* was, *Dublin* is, *Drogheda* shall be the best of the three.

*Kosse*, an haven towne in *Shounser* not far from *Waterford*, which seemeth to haue bene in ancient time a towne of great port. Whereof sundrie & probable coniectures are giuen, as well by the old ditches that are now a mile distant from the walls of *Kosse*, betwene which walls and ditches the reliks of the ancient walls, gates, and towers, placed betwene both are yet to be seene. The towne is builded in a barren soile, and planted among a crew of naughtie and prouling neighbours. And in old time when it flourisheth, albeit the towne were sufficientlie peopled, yet as long as it was not compassed with walls, they were forimed with watch & ward, to keepe it from the greedy snatching of the Irish enemies. With whom as they were generallie molested, so the privat consenting of one pezzant on a sudden, incensed them to inuiron their towne with strong and substantiall walls. There repaired one of the Irish to this towne on horsebacke, & espieng a peece of cloth on a merchants skall, took hold thereof, and bet the cloth to the lowest price he could. As the merchant and he stood dodging one with the other in cheaping the waire, the horseman considering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growne to a price, made wise as though he would haue dratone to his purse, to haue defraied the moine. The cloth in the meane while being tucke up and placed before him, he gaue the spur to his horse and ran awaie with the cloth, being not imbarde from his posting pace, by reason the towne was not perclosed either with ditch or wall. The townelmen being pinched at the heart, that one rascall in such scornefull wise should giue them the stampaine, not so much weening the vndernelle of the losse, as the shamefullnesse of the foile, they put their heads together, consulting how to preuent either the sudden rushing, or the posthall fleeing of anie such aduenturous rakehell hereafter.

In which consultation a famous *Wido*, a chaste widow, a politike dame, a boordistall gentlewoman, called *Kose*, who representing in sinceritie of life the wretchednesse of that hearbe whose name she bare, vnto

solded the deuise, how anie such future mischance should be preuented: and withall opened hir coffers liberalie, to haue it furthered: two good properties in a counsellor. Her deuise was, that the towne should incontinentlie be inclosed with walls, & there withall promised to discharge the charges, so that they would not sticke to find out labourers. The deuise of this worthie matrone being wise, and the offer liberrall, the townelmen agreed to followe the one, and to put their helping hands to the atching of the other. The worke was begun, which though the multitude of hands seemed light. For the whole towne was assembled, tag and rag, cut and long talle: none exempted, but such as were bedded and impotent. Some were tasked to delue, others appointed with mattocks to dig, diuerse allotted to the vntreaping of rubbish, manie bestowed to the carriage of stones, sundrie occupied in tempering of mortar, the better sort busied in ouersaweing the workmen, ech one according to his vocation imployed, as though the ciuitie of *Carthage* were afresh in building, as it is featlie verified by the golden poet *Virgil*, and neatly Englished by master doctor *Phaer*.

The Moores with courage went to worke, some vnder burdens grones:

Some at the wals and towrs with hands were tumbling vp the stones.

Some measurd out a place to build their mansion house within:

Some lawes and officers to make in parlment did begin.

An other had an haven cast, and deepe they trench the ground,

Some other for the games and plaies a statelie place had found.

And pillars great they cut for kings, to garnish forth their wals.

And like as bees among the flours, when fresh the summer fairs,

In shine of sunne applie their worke, when growne is vp their yong:

Or when their hives they gin to stop, and honie sweet is sprong,

That all their caues and cellars close with dulcet liquor fills,

Some do outlade, some other bring the stuffe with readie wils.

Sometime they ioine, and all at once doo from their mangers fet

The slothfull drones, that would consume, and nought would doo to get.

The worke it heats, the honie smells of flours and thime ywert.

But to returne from *Wido* of *Carthage*, to *Kose* of *Kosse*, and hir worke. The labourers were so manie, the worke, by reason of round and ercheher payment, so well applied, the quarrie of faire marble so nere at hand (for they affirme, that out of the trenches and ditches hard by their rampers, the stones were had: and all that plot is so stonie, that the foundation is an hard rocke) that these wals with diuerse haue turrets more suddenlie mounted, and in manner sooner finished, than to the Irish enemies notified: which I write was no small cosse to them. These wals in circuit are equall to *London* wals. It hath three gorgeous gates, *Bishop* his gate, on the east side: *Algate*, on the east southeast side: and *Southgate*, on the south part. This towne was no more furnished for these wals, than for a notable wooden bridge that stretched from the towne onto the other side of the water, which must haue bene by reasonable suruete twelue score, if not more. Diuerse of the poales, logs, and stakes, with which the bridge was vnderpropt, sticke to this daie in the water. A man

would here suppose, that so flourishing a towne, so frumke builded, so substantiallie washed, so well peopled, so plentifullie with thaxtie artificers stored, would not haue taken to arise sudden decaye.

Hisse search.

But as the secret and deepe iudgements of God are veiled within the couerature of his diuine maiestie, so it stanteth not with the dulnesse of man his wit, to beat his braines in the curious insearching of hidden mysteries. Therefore I, as an historian undertaking in this treatise, rather plainelie to declare what was done, than rashlie to inquire why it should be done: purpose, by Gods assistance, to accomplish, as nere as I can, my dutie in the one, leaning the other to the frivulous deciding of busie heads. This Kiole, who was the foundresse of these former repaired walls, had issue three sonnes (howbeit some hold opinion, that they were but hir nephews) who being bolstered out thorough the wealth of their mother, and supported by their traffike, made diuerse prosperous volages into foreign countries. But as one of the three chapmen was imployed in his traffike abroad, so the prettie peplet his wife began to be a fresh occupieng giglot at home, and by report fell so farre acquainted with a religious cloister of the towne, as that he gat within the lining of hir smocke. Soth the parties wallowing ouerlong in the stinking puddle of adulterie, suspicion began to craepe in some townsmens brains: and to be briefe, it came so farre, thorough the iust iudgement of God, to light, whether it were that she was with child in hir husband his absence, or that hir lover used hir fondlie in open presence, as the presumption was not onelic vehement, but also the fact too apparent: hir vnfortunat husband had no sooner notice giuen him vpon his returne of these sorrowfull newes, than his fingers began to nibble, his teeth to grin, his eyes to tricke, his eares to dindle, his head to dazell, insomuch as his heart being scared with gelousie, and his wits insailed thorough phrensie, he became as mad as a March hare.

The panes of gelousie.

But how beaulie sooner hir husband toke it, dame Kiole and all hir friends (which were in effect all the townsmen, for that she was their common benefactresse) were galled at their hearts, as well to heare of the enomious adulterie, as to see the bedlams pangs of brainesicke gelousie. Wherevpon diuerse of the townsmen granting and grudging at the matter, said that the fact was horrible, and that it were a deed of charitie utterlie to grub aboute such wild thubs from the towne: and if this were in a mie dishonorable wife raked vp in the ashes, they should no sooner trauesse the seas, than some other would kindele the like fire afresh, and so consequentie dishonest their wines, and make their husbands to become changelings, as being turned from sober mood to be home wood, because rutting wines make often rammiss husbands, as our prouerb doth inferre. Others sothing their fellows in these mutinies, turned the priuat iniurie into a publike quarrell, and a number of the townsmen conspiring together stocked in the dead of the night, well appointed, to the abbey, wherein the frier was cloistered (the monument of which abbey is yet to be seene at Kiole on the south side) where underparrying the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doze, they stabbed the adulterer with the rest of the couent thorough with their weapons. Where they left them goaring in their blood, roaring in their cabins, and gasping vp their sitting ghosts in their couches.

The vprore was great, and they to whome the slaughter before hand was not imparted, were wonderfullie thereat assonied. But in especiall the remnant of the cleargie bare verie hollow hearts to the

townsmen; and how scandalie their outward countenances were, yet they would not with inward thought forget nor forgive so horrible a murder, but were fullie resolved, whensoever oportunitie serued them, to sit in their skirts, by making them foullie as sootiefull a kyrie. These three brethren not long after this bloudie exploit, sped them into some outlandish countie to continue their trade. The religious men being done to understand, as it seemed, by some of their neighbors, which foresailed them homeward, that these three brethren were ready to be embarked, sunkt priuillie out of the towne, and resorted to the mouth of the hauen, nere a castell, named Houke tower, which is a notable marke for pilots, in directing them which waie to sterne their ships, and to elchew the danger of the craggie rocks there on euerie side of the thore peking. Some iudge that the said Kiole was foundresse of this tower, and of purpose did build it for the safetie of hir children, but at length it turned to their bane. For these reuengers nightlie did not misse to laie a lanterne on the top of the rocks, that were on the other side of the water. Which practise was not long by them continued, when these three passengers bearing saile with a lustie gale of wind, made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had bene the Houke tower. But they toke their marke so farre amisse, as they were not ware, till time their ship was dashed and pasht against the rocks, and all the passengers ouerwhelmed in the sea.

This beaunie hap was not so sorrowfull vnto the townsmen, as it was glad some to the religious, thinking that they had in part cried them acquittance, the more that they, which were drowned, were the archbishops of their brethrens blood. Howbeit they would not crie ho here, but sent in post some of their couent to Rome, where they inhaunted the slaughter of the fraternitie so heinouslie, and concealed their owne pranks so covertlie, as the pope commenced the towne, the towne accursed the friers: so that there was such cursing and banning of all hands, and such dissentions burlie burlie raised betwene themselues, as the estate of that flourishing towne was turned arlie verie, topside the otherwaie, and from abundance of prosperitie quite exchanged to extreame penurie.

The walls stand to this daie, a few streets and houses in the towne, no small parcell thereof is turned to orchards and gardens. The greater part of the towne is steepe and steaming vpwart. Their church is called Chills church, in the north side whereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke his tome: where by coniecture may rise, that the Danes were founders of that church. This Kiole is called Kiole Nova, or Kiole Ponti, by reason of their bidge. That which they call old Kiole, beareth east three miles from this Kiole, into the countie of Weifford, an ancient manour of the earle of Kildares. There is the third Kiole on the other side of the water, called Kiole Zbarcan, so named, for that it standeth in the countie of Kilkennie, which is diuided into three parts, into Zbircan, Zda, & Zdouth. Weifford a hauen towne not far from Kiole, I find no great matters thereof recorded, but onelic that it is to be had in great price of all the English posteritie, planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the first fostresse and harborresse of the English conquerors.

Kilkennie, the best vplandish towne, or as they terme it) the properest vbie toln in Ireland, it is parted into the high towne, and the Irish towne. The Irish towne claimeth a corporation apart from the high towne, whereby great factions grow daillie betwene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irish towne

140  
Robert  
Walsh

William  
Garrath

The ch  
of Kildar

The gr  
mar ch  
puer  
Bader  
Murga  
Kuzge

Peter

The present  
estate of Kiole

New Kiole,  
old Kiole.

Kiole Z-  
barcan.

Weifford.

Kilkennie  
Wine  
led.  
The h  
Kianie

towne is the ancienter, and was called the old Kilkennie, being vnder the bishop his seeke, as they are ought to be at this present. The high towne was builded by the English after the conquest, and had a parcell of the Irish towne thereto united, by the bishop his grant, made vnto the founders vpon their earnest request. In the yeare 1400, Robert Talbot a worthy gentleman, inclosed with wals the better part of this towne, by which it was greatlie fortified. This gentleman deceased in the yeare 1415. In this towne in the choyse of the frier preachers, William Marshall earle marshall and earle of Penbrooke was buried, who departed this life in the yeare 1231. Richard brother to William, to whome the inheritance descended, within thre yeares after deceased at Kilkennie, being wounded to death in a field giuen in the heath of Kildare, in the yeare 1234, the twelue of Aprill, and was intombed with his brother, according to the old epitaph here mentioned:

*Hic comes est positus Richardus vulnere fossus,  
Cuius sub fossa Kilkennia continet ossa.*

This towne hath thre churches, saint Bennies church, our ladies church, alias S. Maries church; and S. Patrikes church, with the abbey of S. John. S. Bennies church is their chiefe and cathedrall church, a worthy foundation as well for gorgeous buildings, as for notable livings. In the west end of the churchyard of late haue bene founded a grammar schoole by the right honorable Pierce or Peter Butler erle of Ormond and Ossorie, and by his wife the countesse of Ormond, the ladie Margaret fitz Gerald, sister to Gerald fitz Gerald the earle of Kildare that last was. Out of which schoole haue sprouted such proper impes, through the painefull diligence, and the labourious industrie of a famous lettered man M<sup>r</sup>.

Peter White (sometime fellow of Oxiall college in Oxford, and scholemaister in Kilkennie) as generally the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especially the southerne parts of that Island are greatlie thereby furthered. This gentlemen's method in training vp youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholars betine. If he found him stæ, he would bide him like a wise Isocrates from his booke; if he percieued him to be dull, he would spur him forward; if he vnderstood that he were the worse for beating, he would win him with rewards: finally, by interlasing studie with recreation, forrow with mirth, paine with pleasure, sweetness with sweetnesse, roughnesse with mildnesse, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good sooth I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no grammar schoole so good, in England I am well assured none better. And because it was my happie hap (God and my parents be thanked) to haue bene one of his cruse, I take it to stand with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifest my good will in remembryng his paines. And certes, I acknowledge my selfe so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest stone cemented in the wals of that famous schoole.

This towne is named Kilkennie, of an holie and learned abbat called Kiancus, borne in the countie of Wicklowe, or (as it is in some booke recorded) in Connaght. This prelat being in his suckling yeres fostered, through the prouidence of God, with the milke of a cow, and baptized and bishoped by one Liracus, thereto by Gods especiall appointment deputed, grew in tract of time to such deuotion and learning, as he was reputed of all men to be as well a mirror of the one, as a paragon of the other: whereof he gaue sufficient coniection in his mino<sup>r</sup>itie. For being turned to the keeping of sheepe, and his fellow shepherds, wholie yeelding th<sup>e</sup> miselues like lusty

bagabunds to slouth and sluggishnesse, yet would he still find himselfe occupied in framing with osiers and twigs, little wooden churches, and in fashioning the furnitures thereto apperteyning. Being slept further in yeares, he made his repaire into England, where cloistering himselfe in an abbey, wherof one named Doctus was abbat, he was wholie vnderded to his booke, and to deuotion: wherein he continued so painefull and diligent, as bring on a certeine time penning a serious matter, and hauing not fullie dyaloue the fourth vocall, the abbey bell tinge to assemble the couent to some spirituall exercise. To which he so hastened, as he left the letter in semicirclewise vnfinisshed, untill he returned backe to his booke. Some after being promoted to ecclesiasticall orders, he trauelled by the consent of his fellow monks to Rome, and in Italie he gaue such manifest proofe of his pietie, as to this daie in some parts thereof he is highlie renowned.

Thomas towne, a proper towne builded in the countie of Kilkennie, by one Thomas Fitzantonie an Englishman. The Irish thereof name it Ballie mac Andan: that is, the towne of Fitzantonie. This gentleman had issue two daughters, the one of them was espoused to Denne, the other married to Archdeacon, or Packodo, whose heires haue at this daie the towne betwene them in coparcenarie. But because the reader may see in what part of the countie the cities and chiefe townes stand, I take it not far amisse to place them in order as inueth.

Drogheda, Carrigfargus, Downe, Armagh, Arglagh, Clogher, Muncighan, Donnegaulle, Karrigmac Kesse, Petrie, Carlingford, Ardee, Donnalke, Louth, Dublin, Bulwerdie, Lusk, Swords, Caghagard, Lions, Newcastle, Rathcoule, Dagher arde, Paas, Clane, Paimoth, Killocke, Keshmangan, Kildare, Louanne, Castletowne, Philips towne, Pariborough, Kilkullen, Castle Marten, Thistledermot, Kilca, Athie, Catherlaugh, Leighe-

len, Gauranne, Thomas towne, Enellocke, Callan, Kilkennie, Knocktofer, Kossé, Clonmelle, Weiseford, Fernes, Fidderd, Chelcoy tie, Caghmon, Wicklow, Ackloa, Waterford, Lismore, Dongaruan, Poghill, Corke, Limerike, Kilmallocke, Aloane, Caluoe, Anrie, Louaghbragh, Clare, Toame, Sligagh, Kosscommann, Araloune, Crimme, Donaghlenne, Rathlouth, Nauanne, Aboie, Scrine, Taraugh, Kemles, Donboine, Greenocke, Dulake. Polingare, Fowre, Lough-

scunde, Kilkenniewest, Pollagagh, Delouine. In the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, it was enacted in a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie of Ireland, that Wexth should be diuided and made two shires, one of them to be called the countie of Wexth, the other to be called the countie of Wexthmear, and that there should be two shiriffes and officers conuenient within the same shires, as is more exprest in the act. Loughfoile, the Banne, Melberfrish, Crarog, fergus, Strangford, Ardglass, Loughneuen, Carrigford, Kilkale, Killogher, Dunane, Drogheda, Hoalepatrike, Panie, Baltraie, Birmore, Balbriggen, Roggers towne, Sherrish, Rath, Malahide, Banledwile, Youth, Dublin, Dalke, Wickinloa, Archloa, Weisford, Bagganbun, the Passage, Waterford, Dungaruan, Koss noua, Poughille, Corke mabegge, Corke, Kinsale, Kierie, Koss Albere, Doyrie, Balintmore, Downenere, Downesthead, Downeloune, Attannanne, Craghanne, Downenebloune, Balinekilliedge, Daghine, Schoole, Eratie, Deninne, Callan, Kilmewine, Limerike, Inniskartee, Belalenne, Arine newne, Glanemaugh, Ballisweham, Wintwarre,

Thomas towne.  
Thomas Fitzantonie.

The names of the chiefe townes in Ulster.

The names of the chiefe townes in Leinster.

Chiefe townes in Munster.

Chiefe townes in Connaght.

Chiefe townes in Wexth.

Chiefe townes in Wexthmear.

1542

The names of the chiefe haueu townes in Ireland.

1400  
Robert Talbot.

William Marshall.

1234

The churches of Kilkennie.

The grammar schoole.  
Pierce Butler.  
Margaret Fitzgerald.

Peter White.

sent  
Walls

offe.

Kilkennie  
towne so called.  
The life of  
Kiancus.

Dowry, Wozan, Roskam, Galwate, Killinille, Innesbosinne, Dwan, Poare, Kilcolken, Burtke, Belleclare, Katherilbene, Bierweislowe, Buraueis hare, Ardone makow, Rosbare, Kilgolinne, Malalele, Kahanne, Strone, Burweis now, Zaltra, Kalballe, Ardnoche, Abzotole, Sligaghe, Innes Boswenne.

Camb. lib. 1.  
top. dist. 2. rub.  
3. & 4.

Cambrensis obserued in his time, that when the sea doth eb at Dublin, it ebbeeth also at Wicklow, and floweth at Milford and Wexford. At Wicklow the sea ebbeeth when in all other parts it commeth floweth. Furthermore this he noted, that the river which runneth by Wicklow upon a low eb is salt, but in Arkloa the next haven to come, the river is fresh when the sea is at full. He writeth also, that not far from Arkloa standeth a rocke, and when the sea ebbeeth in one side thereof, it floweth in the other side as fast. Cambrensis insearcheth diuerse philosophicall reasons in finding out the cause, by obseruing the course of the mone, who is the emperesse of moisture. But those subtilties I leaue for the scholestricks.

### Of the strange and woonderfull places in Ireland.

The fourth chapter.

S. Patrike  
his purgatorie.

**T**hinke it good to begin with S. Patrike his purgatorie, partly because it is most notoriouslie knowne, & partly the more, that some writers, as the author of Polychronicon and others that were miscaried by him, seeme to make great doubt where they need not. For they ascribe the finding out of the place not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie, but an other Patrike an abbat, whom likewise they affirme to haue bene imployed in conuerting the Island from heathenrie to christianitie.

Camb. lib. 1.  
top. dist. 2.  
rub. 6.

But the author that brogeth this opinion, is not found to carrie anie such credit with him, as that a man may certeinlie affirme it, or probablie conjecture it; vnlesse we relie to the old withered woyme eaten legend, loaded with as manie lowd lies, as lewd lines. The better and the more certeine opinion is, that the other Patrike found it out, in such wise as Cambrensis reporteth. There is a poole or lake, saith he, in the parts of Ulster, that inuironneth an Island, in the one part whereof there standeth a church much lightned with the brightsome recourse of angels: the other part is ouglie and gasslie, as if were a bedlem allotted to the visible assemblies of horrible and grislie bugs. This part of the Island containeth nine caues. And if anie dare be so hardie, as to take one night his lodging in anie of these ins, which hath bene experimented by some rash & harebraine aduenturers, streight these spirits clau him by the backe, and tug him so ruggedlie, and tolle him so crabbedlie, that now and then they make him more franke of his bum than of his tong; a painment correspondent to his interteinement. This place is called S. Patrike his purgatorie of the inhabitants. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuersion of the people of Ulster, by setting before their eyes in great heat of spirit, the creation of the world, the fall of our progenitors, the redemption of man by the blessed and pretious blood of our sauiour Iesus Christ, the certeinie of death, the immortallitie of the soule, the generall resurrection, our latter dome, the ioies of heauen, the paines of hell, how that at length euerie man, small and great, yong and old, rich and poore, king and healer, potentate and pezzant must

either through Gods gracious mercie be exalted to the one, to slozish in perpetuall felicitie; or through his vnsearchable iustice tumble downe to the other, to be tormented in eternall miserie. These and the like graue and weightie sentences, wherewith he was abundantlie storied, so far sunke into their harts, as they seemed verie flexible in condescending to his behest: so that some proofe of his estrange preaching could haue bene berefted. Whereupon, without further delate, they spake to the prelat in this wise.

Sir, as we like of your preaching, so we dislike not of our libertie. You tell vs of manie gubages and estrange dreames. You would haue vs to abandon infidelitie, to rage by our libertie, to bryble our pleasure: for which you promise vs for our toile and labour a place to vs as vnknown, so as yet vncreine. You sermon to vs of a dungeon appointed for offendours and miscredents. In deed if we could find that to be true, we would the sooner be weaned from the sweet napple of our libertie, and frame our selues pliant to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs. S. Patrike considering, that these seallie soules were (as all dulcarnanes for the more part are) more to be terrified from infidelitie through the paines of hell, than allured to christianitie by the ioies of heauen, most hartilie besought God, so it stood with his gracious pleasure, for the honour and glorie of his diuine name, to giue out some euident or glimring token of the matter they importunatie required. Finally by the especiall direction of God, he found in the north edge of Ulster a desolate corner hemmed in round, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a church, called Reglis or Reglaffe. At the east end of the churchyard a doze leadeeth into a closet of stone like a long ouen, which they call S. Patrike his purgatorie, for that the people resort thither euen at this date for penance, and haue reported at their returne estrange visions of paine and blisse appearing vnto them.

Reglaffe.

The author of Polychronicon writeth that in the reigne of king Stephan, a knight named Owen pigrimaged to this purgatorie, being so appalled at the strange visions that there he saw, as that upon his returne from thence he was wholly mortified, and sequestering himselfe from the world, he spent the remnant of his life in an abbey of Lundenis. Also Dyonisius a charterhouse monke reco:rdeth a vision scene in that place by one Agneius, or Egnorius, whereof who so is inquisitiue, may resort to his treatise written *De quatuor nonisimis*. Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, which he surmisseth upon the gesse of other, that Claudius writeth of this purgatorie. Which if it be true, the place must haue bene ertant before saint Patrike, but not so famouslie known. The poet his verses are these following:

Polychr. lib. 1. c. 36. 1138

Dyon. Cart. in lib. de quatuor nonisimis, art. 48.

Ioh. Camert. in lib. Solini, cap. 35.

Claud. lib. 1. in Rutha.

*Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia lissim.  
Oceani pratentus aquis, quo fertur Vlysses  
Sanguine libato populum mouisse silentum,  
Flebilis auditur questus, simulachra coloni  
Pallida, defunctisque vident migrare figuras.*

There is a place toward the ocean sea  
from brim of Gallish shore,  
Wherein Vlysses pilgrim strange  
with offred blood ygore,  
The people there did mooue, a skrit-  
ching shrill from dungeon lug  
The dwellers all appall with gass-  
lie galpe of grislie bug.  
There onelie shapies are scene to stare  
with visage wan and sad,  
From nouke to nouke, from place to place,  
in eluish skips to gad.

They that repaire to this place for deuotion his lake

The  
mes  
entri  
Patri  
purg

Camb.  
topog.  
arub

Infal-  
cium,

The ceremony  
used in  
entering S.  
Patrick his  
purgatorie.

take life to continue therein foure & twentie houres,  
which doing otherwhile with ghostly meditations,  
and other while a bread for the conscience of their de-  
serts, they take they see a plaine resemblance of their  
owne faults and vertues, with the hozor and com-  
fort thereunto belonging, the one so terrible, the o-  
ther so ioyous, that they verelie deeme themselves for  
the time to haue sight of hell and heauen. The reue-  
lations of men that went thither (S. Patrick yet li-  
uing) are kept written within the abbete there adioy-  
ning. When anie person is disposed to enter (for) the  
doze (as ever spard) he repaireth first for deuote to the  
archbishop, who casteth all pericles, and dissuadeth  
the pilgrime from the attempt, because it is knowen  
that diuerse entering into that cause, neuer were  
faine to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fol-  
lie resolved, he recomendeth him to the prior, who  
in like maner fauourable exhorteth him to chole  
some other kind of penance, and not to hazard such a  
danger. If notwithstanding he find the partie fullie  
bent, he conducteth him to the church, inioyneth him  
to begin with prayer and fast of sixtene daies, so long  
together as in discretion can be indured. This time  
expired, if yet he perseuere in his former purpose, the  
whole convent accompanieth him with solemne pro-  
cession & benediction to the mouth of the caue, where  
they let him in, and so bar up the doze untill the next  
morning. And then with like ceremonies they a-  
wait his returne and receiue him to the church. If he  
be faine no more, they fast and praye sixtene daies  
after. Touching the credit of these matters, I see no  
cawse, but a christian being perswaded that there is  
both hell and heauen, may without vanitie vpon suf-  
ficient information be resolved, that it might please  
God, at sometime, for considerations to his wisdom  
knowen, to reueale by miracle the vision of ioies  
and paines eternal. What that altogether in such sort,  
and by such maner, and so extraordinary, and to such per-  
sons, as the common fame doth utter; I neither be-  
lieue nor wish to be regarded. I haue conferrd with  
diuerse that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed  
the order of the premises to be true, but that they  
saw no sight, save onelie fearefull dreames when they  
chanced to nod, and those they said were exceeding  
horrible. Further they added, that the fast is rated  
more or lesse, according to the qualitee of the peni-  
tent.

Camb. lib. r.  
topog. distinct.  
arab. s.

Insula vici-  
tium.

Cambrensis affirmeth, that in the north of Spour  
ter there be two Ilands, the greater and the lesse. In  
the greater there neuer entereth woman or anie li-  
uing female, but forthwith it dieth. This hath bene of-  
ten proued by bitches and cats, which were brought  
thither to trie this conclusion, and presently they  
died. In this Iland the rocks or male birds are  
faine to chirpe, and yearch by and doctore the twigs,  
but the females by instinct of nature abando-  
neth it as a place vnder the poisoned. This Iland were  
a place alone for one that were bered with a thirde  
wife. The lesse Iland is called *Insula quentum*, be-  
cause none died there, ne maie die by course of na-  
ture, as Giraldus Cambrensis saith. Whombeit the  
dweller when they are soe frucht with sickness, or  
so farre impured with age as there is no hope of life,  
they request to be conueied by boate to the greater  
Iland, where they are no longer inhozred, than they  
vield by their ghosts. For my part, I haue bene he-  
rie inquisition of this Iland, but I could neuer find  
this strange propertie, topped by anie man of cre-  
dit in the whole countie. Neither trallis would I  
with anie to be so light, as to lend his credit to anie  
such feined gloses, as are rather berefted by experi-  
ence, nor warranted by anie colourable reason.  
Wherefore I see not why it should be termed *Insula vi-  
centium*, whilest it be that none dieth there, as long

as he liueth.

Cambrensis telleth further, that there is a church  
yard in Wlger, which no female kind maie enter. If  
the cocke be there, the hen hath not follow. There  
is also in the west part of Connaught an Iland, pla-  
ced in the sea, called Aren, to which saint Brendan  
had often recourse. The dead bodies need not in that  
Iland take grauelled. For the aire is so pure, that  
the contagion of anie carren maie not infect it.  
There, as Cambrensis saith, maie the sonne see his  
father, his grandfather, his great grandfather, &c.  
This Iland is inimie to misce. For none is brought  
thither, but either it leapeth into the sea, or else being  
straited it dieth presentlie. There was in Bilsare an  
ancient monument named the Firehouse, wherein  
Cambrensis saith, was there continuall fire kept day  
and night, and yet the ashes neuer increased. I tra-  
uelled of set purpose to the towne of Bilsare to see  
this place, where I did see such a monument like a  
vault, which to this daie they call the Firehouse.

Cambren. in  
codem loco,

Aren.

The Fire  
house of Bilsa-  
re.

The heath of  
Bilsare.

The stones of  
Saintburie  
plaine.

Spollegagh  
maist.

Touching the heath of Bilsare Cambrensis tel-  
leth that it maie not be tild: and of a certieintie with-  
in this few yeares it was tried, and found, that the  
corne which was sowed did not growe. In this plaine  
(saith Cambrensis) stand the stones that now stand in  
Salisbury plaine, which were conueied from thence  
by the sleight of Merlin the Welsh prophet, at the  
request of Aurelius Ambrosius king of the Britons.  
There is also in the countie of Bilsare a goodlie field  
called Spollegaghmaist, betwene the pporough and  
Bilka. Diuers blind propheties run of this place, that  
there shall be a bisshope fought there, betwene  
the English inhabitants of Ireland and the Irish,  
and so bloody forth it shall be, that a mill in a vale  
hard by it shall run foure and twentie houres with  
the streame of blood that shall pouze downe from  
the hill. The Irish doubtlesse repose a great affiance  
in this baluchkum dreame. In the top of this height  
stand moies or rundels herie formalie fashioned,  
where the strength of the English armie (as they say)  
shall be incamped.

The earle of  
Sunder.

The Geraldine  
dines thow,

1470.

The Earle of Sunder being lord lieutenant of  
Ireland, was accustomed to wish, that if anie such  
prophesie were to be fulfilled, it should happen in his  
gouernement, to the end he might be generall of the  
field. Not farre from Spollegaghmaist, within a mile  
of Castledermot, or Whistledermot, is there a place  
marked with two hillocks, which is named the Ge-  
raldine his thorn or cast. The length of which in be-  
ried is wonderfull. The occasion proceeded of  
this. One of the Geraldines, who was anecester to those  
that now are lordes of Lackath, predeed an enimie of  
his. The earle of Bilsare hauing intelligence therof,  
supprelling affection of kined, and moued by zeale  
of iustice, pursued him with a great trope of horse-  
men, as the other was bringing of the prede home-  
ward. The Geraldine hauing notice given him, that  
the earle was in hot pursute, and therefore being  
warned by the messenger to his him with all speed  
possible: the gentleman being metled, that his  
kinsman should seme to rescue the prede of his dead  
lie in; and as he was in such fretting with his friend  
in his greafe, he brake out in these cholerike wordes: And  
dost thou conuise Bilsare pursue me in deede? I am in  
good faith, whereas he semeth to be a suppresser of his  
kinsman, and an upholder of my mortall enimie. I  
would with him no more harme, than that this dart  
were as fat in his bodie, as it shall sicke forthwith  
in the ground: and therewithall giuing the spurres  
to his horse, he hurled his part so farre, as he abashed  
with the length thereof aswell his companie as his  
posteritie.

The Geraldine  
dines with.

The Geraldine was not verie farre from thence,  
when the earle with his hand made hot foot after, and



The earle of  
Aildares  
answer.

The hill of  
Caragh.

Castelnocke.  
The strange  
wells.

Camb.in lib. 1.  
topog. dist. 1.  
rub. 8. & 10.

dogging still the tracke of the pedours, he came to the place where the hart was hurled, where one pick-  
thank or other let the earle to understand of the Ge-  
raldine his wiltspeeches there deliuered. And to in-  
hanke the heinousnesse of the offense, he shewed how  
farre he hurled his hart; when he wished it to be pit-  
ched in his lordship his bodie. The erle assented at the  
length thereof, said: *Noto in god soth, my counse in*  
*behauing himselfe so couragiouslie, is worthy to*  
*haue the prede shot free. And for my part I purpose*  
*not so much to stomach his cholerike wish, as to im-*  
*bace his vallant prowesse. And therewithall com-*  
*manded the retreat to be blowne and reculed backe.*  
There is in *Maethan* hill called the hill of *Caragh*;  
wherein is a plaine twelue score long, which was na-  
med the *Kempe* his hall: there the countrie had their  
meetings and folkemotes, as a place that was ac-  
counted the high palace of the monarch. The *Irish*  
historians hammer manie fables in this forge of *Fin-*  
*mac Colle* and his champions, as the *French* histo-  
rie doth of king *Arthur* and the knights of the round  
table. But doubtlesse the place seemeth to beare the  
shew of an ancient and famous monument.

There is in *Castelnocke* a village not far from  
Dublin, a window not glazed nor latticed, but open,  
and let the weather be stormie, the wind bluster bo-  
sterouslie on euerie side of the house; yet place a can-  
dle there, and it will burne as quietlie as if no pufte  
of wind blew. This maie be tried at this date, who so  
shall be willing to put it in practise. Touching the  
strange wells that be in Ireland, I purpose to speake  
little more than that which I find in *Cambrensis*, whose  
words I will English, as they are Latinized in his  
booke. There is (saith he) a well in *Spounster*, with the  
water of which if aie be washed, he becometh sooth-  
with hoare. I haue seene a man that had one halfe of  
his beard, being died with that water hoare; the other  
halfe unwashed was bygone, remaining still in his  
naturall colour. Contrariwise, there is a fountaine  
in the further edge of *Ulster*, and if one be bathed  
there with, he shall not become hoare: in which well  
such as loath greie beares are accustomed to dye.  
There is in *Connaght* a well that springeth on the  
top of an hill farre and distant from the sea; ebbling  
and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the sea  
doth; and yet the place is bylandish, and the water  
fresh. There is another spring in the same countrie,  
the water of which is verie wholesome to men and woo-  
men, but poison to beastes: and if a man put but the  
grainell of this well into his mouth, it quencheth pre-  
sentlie his thirst.

There is in *Ulster* a standing pole thirtie thou-  
sand paces long, and fiftene thousand paces broad,  
out of which springeth the noble motherne riuer, cal-  
led the *Banne*. The fishers complaine more often for  
burling of their nets with the oter great lake of  
fish, than for aie want. In our time vpon the con-  
quest a fish swam from this pole to the shore, in shape  
resembling a salmon, but in quantitie so huge,  
that it could not be drawne or caried whole together,  
but the fishmongers were forced to hacke it in gobs-  
bets, and so to carrie it in porceraine throughout the  
countrie, making thereof a generall dole. And if the  
report be true, the beginning of this pole was  
strange. There were in old times where the pole now  
standeth, viciuous and beaustie inhabitants. At which  
time was there an old said said in euerie man's  
mouth, that as soone as a well there springing (which  
for the superstitious reuerence they bare it was con-  
tinuallie covered and signed) would be open and dis-  
signed, so soone would so much water gush out of that  
well, as would forthwith overwhelm the whole ter-  
ritorie. It happened at length, that an old frowe came  
thither to fetch water, and hearing his child's weine, the

rant with might and maine to dandle his babie, for,  
getting the obseruance of the superstitious order to  
fore-bid. But as she was returning backe to haue  
couered the spring, the land was so farre ouerflowne,  
as that it past his helpe: and shortly after she, his  
suckling, & all those that were within the whole ter-  
ritorie were drowned. And this seemeth to carie more  
likelihood with it, because the fishers in a cleare sun-  
nie date for the sheepes and other piles plainlie and  
distinallie in the water. And hie would be noted,  
that the riuer of the *Banne* flowed from this head  
spring before this flood, but farre in lesse quantitie  
than it doth in our time. *Hitherto Giraldus Cam-*  
*brensis.*

Boetius telleth a rare propertie of a pole in Ire-  
land, & for that he maketh himselfe an euidentie of  
the matter, he shall tell his owne tale. *Ac quoniam*  
*Albionis inuadit mentio, prater infinita in ea rerum miracu-*  
*la, haud importunum fore existimem, si vnum, quod ob porten-*  
*tuosam nouitatem fidem omnium excutere videatur, nota-*  
*men verum experti sumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in caest,*  
*circa quem amplissimo circumquaque spatio nec herba nec ar-*  
*bor vlla nascitur, &c: in quem filignum infra annu circi-*  
*ter vnius curriculo, id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem*  
*conuertitur: quod deinceps aqua operietur, in ferrum: reli-*  
*quum aqua exstans ligni formam naturamque seruat. Ita*  
*coniuuncta, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in stipite inaudita*  
*nouitate conspectantur. Vbi for that mention is made*  
of Ireland, oter and above the infinite number of  
wonders in that land, it will not be whole before the  
purpose: to insert one marvellous thing, which al-  
though it may seeme to some to haue no colour of  
truth: yet because it hath bene by vs experimented,  
and found out to be true, we maie the better aduouch  
it. There is a standing pole in that land, nere  
which of all sides groweth neither herbe, shrub, nor  
bush. If you sticke a rod or peece of timber in this  
pole, that which sticketh in the earth within the space  
of one yeare turneth to a stone: as much as is dipt  
in the water, is conuerted to iron: all that is above  
the water remaineth still in the pristinat and former  
wooden shape. So that you may see that which is  
strange, *Wike-Stocke* or *Sticke*, *Stone*, *Iron* and *Wood*  
liuit and liuit together. Thus much *Hector Boetius*.

In the countrie of *Bilhemie* and in the borders  
thereto continuing, they used a tolemne trial by a wa-  
ter they call *Welathie*. The propertie of this water  
is, as they say, that if a persured person drinke there-  
of, the water will gush out at his belste, as though  
the drinker his nauill were bored with an auger. The  
riuer that runneth by *Dublin* named the *Little* hath  
this propertie for certeine, and I haue obserued it at  
sundry times. As long as it reigneth, yea if it fudd  
polorizing the daies, you shall find diuerso shallow  
brookes, and the riuer will be nothing thereby in-  
creased: but within foure and twentie houres after  
the showres are ceast, you shall perceiue such a sud-  
den spring flow, as if the former raine were great;  
a verie few places or none at all will be found pasa-  
ble. *Cambrensis* writeth, that in the south part of  
*Spounster*, betwixt the maine sea coasting on *Wyl-*  
*patne* and *Saint Brendan* his hills, there is an I-  
land of the one side inclosed with a riuer abun-  
dantly flowd with fish: & on the other part inclosed  
with a litle brooke. In which place *Saint Brendan*  
was bette much resiant. This plot is taken to be  
such a *Paradise* for beastes, as if aie hare for tag,  
or other wild beaie be chased nere that land by  
dogs, it maketh straight vpon the brooke: and al-  
thoie as it passeth the stream, it is so rocketed, as  
the hunter may perceiue the beaie resting on the  
one bankie, & the dogs quelling on the other brim,  
being as it were by some inuisible railles imberd  
from dipping their feet in the shallow ford, to pursue  
the

The  
leap

Hector Boet.  
in Scouting  
descriptio;  
Sect. 50.

311

Tri-  
the-  
nat

Camb.in lib.  
1. dist. 2. rub. 4.



Of the lords spirituall of Ireland,  
their names and dignities.

The fift chapter.



The spirituall jurisdiction is ordered into foure provinces, whereof the primasie was ever giuen (in reuerence of saint Patrike that converted the countrie) to the archbishoppe of Armagh, who is called *Primas totius Hibernie*, and the archbishop of Dublin, *Primas Hibernie*. This custome was since confirmed by Eugenius the third, 1148, or 1152: who sent withall three other pallies of archbishops to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashill, & the last at Twene. So these are suffragans in right nine and twentie, and they all to the *Primas* of Armagh, under whose province are the bishopps of Meath and Deren, Ardagh, Kilmore, Clogher, Doune, Coner, Clonknoos, Kesh, Down, Under Dublin, whereunto Innocentius the third v. nited Candelagh, the bishop of Elghine, Kildare, Fernes, Droghda and Leighlin. Under Cashill, the bishop of Waterford, to whom Kilmore is united, Cozke and Clone, Kofse, Ardigh, Limerike, Emelie, Killaloe, and Ardfer. Under Twene, Kilma-co, Doline, Auaghbourne, Clonfert, Moxro. In this recount some difference hapneth by reason of personal and real union of the sees, and for other alterations. I haue obserued in perusing of old booke the names of certeine bishops and archbishops of Dublin: and albeit I could not find a full register or catalog of them, yet I toke it to be better to place such as I could find, than to omit the whole. Cosmachus was one of the first bishops that I haue read of, but I am well assured, that there were diuerse others before his time. He flourished about the yeare 893, of this bishop Hector Boetius maketh mention. Dunanus was bishop of Dublin long after Cosmachus: for Dunanus died in the yeare 1074. He was buried in Christs church in Dublin, in the upper part of the chancel on the right hand.

Patricius was consecrated bishop of Dublin in Paule his church at London by the archbishop of Canturburie Lanfrancus or Lanfrancus. The reason of this consecration was, for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland receiued not their pall. A pall is an indowment appropriated to archbishops, made of white silke the breadth of a stole, but it is of another fashion. And where you shall espye the armes of anie archbishop blazed, there you may perceiue the pall set out in white, with a great manie blacke crosses upon it. An archbishop within thre moneths after his consecration or confirmation ought to demand his pall; otherwise he may be removed; neither ought he to name himselfe archbishop before the receipt, neither may he before summon or call a council, make churche, dedicate churches, giue viders, or consecrate bishopps. He may not weare his pall with out the churche, neither in other provinces; albeit in another province he may be in his pontificalibus, so that pontificalia differeth from the pall. Further, thre, an archbishop may not lend his pall vnto another, but it ought to be interred with him. But to returne to Patricius his time was but short, for some after as he was crossing the seas to Dublin ward, he was distressed with his fellow passengers the same yeare that he was consecrated, the ninth of October.

Donatus, of some called Bungus, succeeded Patricius, and likewise consecrated by Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturburie, at the instance of Deruinnacus king of Ireland, the bishops of Ireland, the clergie and the citizens of Dublin: he deceased

the beast chased. On the other side of this Island there runneth a riuer flozed above measure with fresh water fish, and in especiallie with salmon. Which abundance, as Cambrensis writeth, proceeded of God, to mainteine the great hospitalitie that was kept there. And because the dwellers thereabout shall not like pincying colds make any sale of the fish, let it be powdered as artificiallie as may be, yet it will not keepe (as though it were manna) above the first night or date that it be taken. So that you must eate it with that short compasse, otherwise it putrifieth and standeth to no feed.

The Salmon leapt.

This riuer overfloweth a great rocke, vsuallie called the Salmon leape: for as it is commonlie the propertie of all fish to swim against the tide, as for birds to sitter against the wind; so it is naturallie giuen to the salmon to struggle against the streame, and when it approacheth nere this high rocke, it bendeth his taile to his head, and sometime taketh it in his mouth; and therewithall beareth it selfe ouer the water, and suddenlie it leitheth such a round whirle, that at a trice it skipeth to the top of the rocke. The like salmon leape is nere Leship, but not so high as this. There be also, as witneseth Cambrensis, in the further part of Ulster, certeine hills nere to saint Beane his church, where cranes pearlie breed. And when they haue laied their eggs, if anie purpose to ransacke their nests, let him but attempt to touch the eggs, they will shew like young scrawling pullets without feather or downe, as though they were new hatchen, and presentlie brought out of their shels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the nest, forthwith they shew (whether it be by anie metamorphosis, or some singling legier be maine by bazeling the eyes) as though they were transformed into eggs. And further, saith Cambrensis, let two at one instance be at the nest, and let the one of them onelie giue the gaze, and the other attempt to take awaie the eggs, they will seeme to the looker on as eggs, and to the taker as young red little cranets, being as bare as a bird his egge.

Armagh.

The towne of Armagh is said to be enemie to rats, and if anie be brought thither, presentlie it dieth. Which the inhabitants impute to the praiers of saint Patrike. But to omit the strange places, that either by false reports are furnished, or by proofe and experience baillie berefted: there are in this Island such notable quarties of greie marble and touch, such store of pearle and other rich stones, such abundance of cole, such plentie of lead, iron, laton and tin, so manie rich mines furnished with all kind of metals, as nature seemed to haue framed this countrie for the storehouse or treasurehouse of hir chiefest thesaure. Howbeit she hath not shewed hir selfe so bountifull a mother in powring forth such riches, as she proueth hir selfe an enuolous stepdame; in that the instilleth in the inhabitants a droule litherness to withhold them from the insearching of hir boundles and hidden treasures. Wherein the faeth like one, that to purchase the name of a sumptuous frankeliner, a good vander, would his diuerse ghesse to a cosse and deintie dinner, and withall for sauing of his meat with wins secret enchantment would becum them of their livers, or with some hidden lothsomnesse would dull their stomachs, as his ghesse by reason of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking their repast to refresh themselves, in so much as in my phantasie it is hard to verifie whether estate is the better: either for a diligent laborer to be planted in a barren or stonie soile, or for a lazily loiterer to be settled in a fertill ground; because the one will and may not, the other may not will nor through his painefull trauell reape the fittest and commoditie that the earth yieldeth.

Ireland the storehouse of nature.

Lib. 10. Scot. Hist. fol. 212. sect. 40.

1074

shall shew it is.

c. quoniam. c. d.

c. quod sicut de elect. penul. De priuil. & excess. priuil. cap. Archie. & in gloss. c. ex tunc, & c. ad hoc. de auct. & viul. pal.

1075.

# The description of Ireland.

12

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129

Scorchy  
billein.

Math Paris,  
in vita Ioan,  
pag 316.

128

in the yere one thousand nine hundred and five. Samuel  
succeeded Donatus, and died in the yere one thou-  
sand one hundred two and twentie. Gregorius did  
not succeed him in diatlie after Samuel, for there be  
thirte yeres betwene the in both. This Gregorius  
was the first metropolitan of Dublin, and was con-  
secrated archbishop in the yere one thousand one  
hundred fiftie and two, and died in the yere one thou-  
sand one hundred three score and two.

S. Laurentius Othoille. This prelat was  
first abbat of S. Iacutus in Glindelagh, and after  
he was solemnlie consecrated and installed in Christi  
church at Dublin by Gelactus the pimat of Ar-  
magh, and not by Canturburie, as the bishops of  
Dublin were before the pall given them. He died in  
Normandie, and was buried in our ladie church of  
Angie in the yere one thousand one hundred and  
four score, the fourteenth of Nouember.

Johan Cummin an Englishman succeeded Laurence.  
This famous prelat being cloistered vp in  
the abbey of Eufham in Worcesterhire was high-  
lie renowned of all men, as well for his deepe lear-  
ning, as for the integritie of his life. The clergie of  
Dublin being giuen to vnderstand of so worthy a  
clerke, became humble petitioners to the king his  
maestie Henrie the second, that through his means  
such an vnbuallable telwell should be installed in  
Laurence his dignitie. The king bowing to their  
earnest sute agreed he should be consecrated their  
archbishop; which was an happie houre for that coun-  
trie. For besides the great trauell he endured in edi-  
fying his flocke in Christian religion, he was found-  
er of S. Patrike his church in Dublin, as is before  
specified. He decessed in the yere one thousand two  
hundred and twelue, and was intomed in the quere  
of Christs church.

Henrie Londres succeeded Cummin. This man  
was nicknamed Scorchbill, or Scorchbillein tho-  
rough this occasion. Being settled in his see, he gaue  
commandement to all his tenants to make their ap-  
pearance before him at a date appointed: and for that  
he was rath as yet in his reuenues, he toke it to  
stand best with their ease and quietnes, and his com-  
moditie, that ech of them should shew their euiden-  
ces, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they  
held of him. His tenants mistrusting no subtilly  
dealing, but construing all to be meant for the best,  
deliuered their euidences to their landlozd, who did  
scantlie well peruse them when he siong them all in  
the fire. The poore tenants espiesng this subtil pranke  
to be verie vnfitting for a bishop, could not bryde  
their twinges, but brake out on a sudden: Whon an  
archbishop: Haie, thou art a scorchbillein. But it  
could not be gelled to what end this fact of his ten-  
ded; for notwithstanding this, the tenants intoted  
their lands, unlesse he did it because they should be ten-  
nants at will, and so to stand to his deuotion. This  
prelat doubtlesse was polittike, and well lettered, and  
for his wisdom and learning he was elected lozd  
iustice of Ireland. He was the founder of the castell  
of Dublin, as is before mentioned. He decessed in  
the yere one thousand two hundred twentie & fise,  
and lieth buried in Christs church. Wherby appereeth  
that Marthaus Parisiensis did ouershot himselfe, in  
layting one Hu or Hugo to be archbishop of Du-  
blin in the yere one thousand two hundred and thir-  
tene, whereas Londres at that time was in the see,  
as from his consecration to his death may be gather-  
ed, being the space of thirtene yeres.

Johan Stamford succeeded Londres, but not  
immediatlie, and was consecrated in the yere one  
thousand two hundred four score and fise. This  
man, vpon the death of Stephan Fulborne archbi-  
shop of Lüne, was made lozd iustice of Ireland in

the yere one thousand four hundred four score and  
seauen. And some after being in England he was  
sent from Edward the first as ambassador to the  
French king, and vpon his returne he decessed in  
England, & some after was buried in saint Patrike  
his church at Dublin.

Williamus Iphodum is placed by some antiqua-  
ries to be archbishop of Dublin, much about this  
time, but whether the man here bene installed in  
this see at all or no, I am not able to affirme, nor to  
denie: but certene it is that the date is mistaken, for  
vpon Johan Stamford his death, Richard Flerings  
was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, betwene  
whome and the lozd Edmund Butler the re arose a  
great controuersie in law, touching the manner of  
Holliswood with the appertenances. Which manor  
the lozd Butler recovered by an arbitrement or com-  
position taken betwene them in the king his bench  
at Dublin. This prelat departed this life in the yere  
one thousand three hundred and six.

Richard de Hanerings was successor vnto Fle-  
rings, who after that he had continued in the  
space of fise yeres in the see, was soze appalled, by  
reason of an e strange and wonderfull dreame. For  
on a certene night he imagined that he had sene an  
vnglie monster standing on his breast, who to his  
thinking was once weightie than the whole world,  
in so much as being as he thought in maner squised  
or prest to death with the heft of this huge monster,  
he would haue departed with the whole substance of  
the world, if he were therof possessed, to be disbur-  
dened of so heante a load. Vpon which with he sud-  
denlie awoke. And as he beat his brynes in di-  
uining what this dreame should import, he bethought  
himselfe of the flocke committed to his charge, how  
that he gathered their flaeces yeatelie, by receiuing  
the reuenues and perquitts of the bishoprike, and yet  
suffered his flocke to starue for lacke of preaching  
and teaching. Wherefore being for his former slack-  
nesse soze wounded in conscience, he trauelled with  
all speed to Rome, where he resigned vp his bishop-  
rike, a burthen too heauie for his weak shoulders,  
and being vpon his resignation competentlie bene-  
ficed, he bestowed the remnant of his life whole in  
deuotion.

Johan Lech nephew to Hanerings, vpon the re-  
signation was consecrated archbishop. This prelat  
was at contention with the pimat of Armagh, for  
their iurisdiction: insomuch as he did imbarre the  
pimat from hauing his crosse borne before him  
within the prouince of Leinster, which was contra-  
rie to the canon law, that admitteth the crosse to  
beare the crosse before his archbishop in an other prou-  
ince. This man decessed in the yere one thousand  
three hundred and thirtene.

Alexander Bigeno was next Lech consecrated  
archbishop with the whole consent aswell of the chap-  
ter of Christs church as of S. Patrike. Whobett vpon  
the death of Lech there arose a schisme & diuision  
betwene Walter Thornebarie lozd chancelour of  
Ireland and Bigeno: then treasurer of the same  
countrie. The chancelor to further his election deter-  
mined to haue passed to Rome, but in the waie he  
was drowned with the number of 156 passengers.  
Bigeno: staing in Ireland, with lesse aduenture  
and better speed, with the consent of both the chapters  
was elected archbishop. And in the yere 1317 there  
came bulls from Rome to confirme the former elec-  
tion. At which time the archbishop and the earle of  
Ulster were in England. This prelat some after re-  
turned lozd iustice of Ireland, and some after he had  
landed at Poghill, he went to Dublin, where as well  
for his spirituall iurisdiction, as his tempozall pro-  
motion he was receiued with procession and great  
solemnities.

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1340. solemnitie. In this man his time was there an vniuersitie founded in Dublin, whereof maister William Rodiard was chancelloz, a well learned man and one that proceeded doctor of the canon law in this vniuersitie. Bigenor deceased in the yeare 1349.

1349. John de saint Paule was consecrated archbishop vpon Bigenor his death. He deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred sixtie and two. Thomas Spinot succeeded John, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred seuentie & six. Robert Wikeford succeeded Thomas, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and nintie. Robert Waldebie succeeded Wikeford, this prelat was first an Augustine frier, and a great preacher, and accounted a vertuous and sincere liuer. He deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred nintie and seauen. Richard Dozthalis was removed from an other see and chosen archbishop of Dublin, who likewise deceased the same yeare he was elected. Thomas Craulie an Englishman succeeded him the same yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the duke of Surreie. This archbishop was chosen lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtie. In whose gouernement the English did skirnish with the Irish in the countie of Kildare neere Kilka, where the English banquished the enimie, slue an hundred of the Irish. During which time the archbishop being lord iustice, went in procession with the whole clergie in Trisfeldermot, or Castle dermot, a towne adioining to Kilka, praiering for the prosperous successe of the subjects that went to skirnish with the enimie. This prelat was of stature tall, well featured, and of a sanguine complexion, decking his outward comelienesse with inward qualities. For he was so liberall to the rich, so charitable to the poore, so deepe a clerke, so profound a doctor, so sound a preacher, so vertuous a liuer, and so great a builder, as he was not without god cause accounted the phenix of his time. In dallie talke as he was shyrt, so he was sweet. Hard in promising, bountifull in performing. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and seuentie, he sailed into England, and ended his life at Faringdon, and was buried in New college at Orford. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirtie & nine, there hath bene one Richard archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland, before whome a parlement was holden at Dublin, in the eighteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and sixtie, Walter was archbishop of Dublin, & deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, lieutenant of Ireland.

1413  
The skirnish  
of Kilka.

1439. I found in an ancient register the names of certeine bishops of Kildare, that were in that see since the time of saint Brigide; the names of whome I thought here to insert. Aontie was bishop in saint Brigids time, which was about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred fortie and eight; the rest doe here follow:

|              |                         |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Ino.       | 14 Robert.              |
| 2 Conle.     | 15 Bonifacius.          |
| 4 Donatus.   | 16 Padogge.             |
| 5 Dauid.     | 17 William.             |
| 6 Magnus.    | 18 Calfride.            |
| 7 Richard.   | 19 Richard.             |
| 8 John.      | 20 James.               |
| 9 Simon.     | 21 Wale.                |
| 10 Nicholas. | 22 Baret.               |
| 11 Walter.   | 23 Edmund Lane, who     |
| 12 Richard.  | flourished in the yeare |
| 13 Thomas.   | 1518.                   |

Maurence  
Jake.  
1319  
The bridge of  
Kilcollen, and  
Leighlin.

There hath bene a worthy prelat, canon in the cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurence Jake, who among the rest of his charitable deeds, builded the bridge of Kilcollen, and the next yeare following he builded in like maner the bridge of Leighlin, to

the great and dallie commoditie of all such as are occasioned to trauell in those quarters.

The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countie of Ireland.

The sixt chapter.



10 Gerald Fitzgerald, earle of Kildare. This house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thence into Normandie, and so with the ancient earle Strangboin his kinsman, whose armes he giueth, into Wales, neere of blood to Alice ap Griffyn, prince of Wales by Bessa the mother of Maurice Fitzgerald & Robert Fitzstephans, with the said earle Maurice Fitzgerald removed into Ireland, in the yeare one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. The familie is verie properlie toucht in a sonnet of Surreies, made vpon the earle of Kildares sister, now countesse of Lincolne. From Tuscan came my ladies worthe race,  
Faure Florence was sometime hir ancient seat:  
The westerne Ile whose pleasant shore doth face  
Wild Cambers clifles, did giue hir luelie heat;  
Fostred she was with milke of Irish brest,  
Hir fire an earle, hir dame of princes blood,  
From tender yeares in Britaine she doth rest  
With kings child, where she tafts costlie food.  
Hunfdon did first present hir to mine eie,  
Bright is hir hew, and Geraldine she hight,  
Hampton me taught to wish hir first for mine:  
And Windsor, alas, doth chafe me from hir sight;  
Hir beautie of kind, hir vertues from aboue,  
Happie is he, that can obtaine hir loue.

1168

The corrupt orthographie that diuerse vse in writing this name, doth incorporat it to houses thereof linked in no kinned, and consequentlie blemisheth diuerse worthie exploits atchieued as well in England and Ireland, as in forren countries and dominions. Some write Gerold, sundrie Gerald, diuerse verie corruptlie Gerrot, others Gerard. But the true orthographie is Girald, as maie appeare both by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Italian authors that make mention of the familie. As for Gerrot it differeth flat from Girald: yet there be some in Ireland, that name and write themselves Gerrots, notwithstanding they be Giraldins, whereof diuerse gentlemen are in poeth. But there is a sept of the Gerrots in Ireland, and they seeme foolishly by threatening kindnesse and kindred of the true Giraldins, to fetch their petit degrees from their ancestors, but they are so neere of blood one to the other, that two bushels of beanes would scantlie count their degrees. An other reason why diuerse strange houses haue bene confused in among this familie, was, for that sundrie gentlemen at the chustening of their children, would haue them named Giralds, and yet their surnames were of other houses, and if after it happened that Girald had issue Thomas, John, Robert, or such like, then would they beare the surname of Girald, as Thomas Fitzgirald: and thus taking the name of their ancestors for their surname, within two or three descents they shoue themselves among the kindred of the Giraldins. This is a generall fault in Ireland and Wales, and a great confusion and extinguishtment of houses.

This noble and ancient familie of the Giraldins, haue in sundrie ages flourishd in the most renowned countries of Europe. Marring Fitzgirald was one in great credit with king John. I find another Giraldine

Matth. Paris in  
vita loh. pag.  
316. vers. 40.

## The description of Ireland.

Giraldus  
Cambrensis.Ioannes de lo-  
co fumentis  
part prima  
granarij.Cambrensis  
lib. 2. conqu.  
Hib. rub. 17.

raldine *Archiepiscopus Burdegalensis*, who flourished in king Henrie the third his time. There was an other Giraldine patriarch of Ierusalem, in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, as witnesseth Mattheus Parisiensis. There was one Girald of Berneill an excellent poet in the Italian tong: an other named Baptiste Girald, was a famous citizen of Ferrara, an expert physician, and an excellent philosopher, being publike professor of philosophie in the said citie, during the space of ten yeaers. I haue sene a booke of one *Gregorium Giraldum Ferrariensis de dyi gentium*, dedicated to Hercules duke of Ferrara, a pittie booke and verie well penned. Also Syluester Giraldus Cambrensis hath bene one of this familie, nere of kin to sir Maurice Fitzgirald. This gentleman was borne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrensis, of the word *Cambria*, that in old time was adapted to that part of *Britannia*. He was verie inward with Henrie the second, conqueror of Irelund, being at that time the kings secretaire. And for that speciall affiance king Henrie reposed in him, he was appointed to accompanie prince John the kings sonne into Irelund, as one of his chiefest and discrettest counsellors.

This gentleman was verie well learned, a tolerable divine, a commendable philosopher, not rude in physike, skilfull in cosmographie, a singular good antiquarie, an orator, in indubious comparable to the best, in his stile not in those dates taken for the worst, rather exceeding the name of a rude writer, than purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Among other his works, he wrote one booke of the description of Irelund, other two of the conquest thereof. John the abbat of saint Albons saith, that this clerke was somewhat spare in words, and liberal in sentences. What he meaneth by this verdit I know not, unlesse he taketh the man to be overlaushy of his pen in frumping of his aduersaries with quipping satyrs, which (as I geise) flowed rather from a flanting offention of a roiling kind of rhetorike, than from anie great malice he bare anie one. Whobeyt, I maye not gaine saie, but as he was kind where he toke, so he was somewhat biting where he disliked. But what his iudgement is of the Giraldins maie plainlie appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled this praiseworthy sentence insuing.

*Hoc est huius generis omen & hac conditio. Semper in armat a militia chori semper primum semper rebus in Marijs ausu nobili praesentis sumi. Cessante vero necessitate articulo, statim exosi, statim ultimi, statim ad ima liuore depressi. Peruntamen tanta generis status suam liuor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Unde & usque in hodiernum gens hac novis plantularum succrementis vires in insula non modicas habet. Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostium penitralia? Giraldida. Qui sunt, qui patriam conseruant? Giraldida. Qui sunt, quos hostes formidant? Giraldida. Qui sunt, quos liuor detraxit? Giraldida. Si principem tantae strenuitatis merita digne pensantem reperissent, quam tranquillum, quam pacificum olim Hiberniae statum reddidissent? Sed horum sine causa semper est suspecta strenuitas.* This hath ben continuallie, saith Cambrensis, a detestable or fatall propertie annexed to this house. In warre and martiall broiles they are banded, they are colled, they are lulled, who but they? They rule the roff. But when these martiall garboiles are appeased, they are either through false informations wrongfullie behated, or else by envious carpers sinisterlie suspected. Whobeyt, enuie with all hir malicious distes, could neuer wholie supplant the fertill groue of this couragious & noble progenie. And managre the heads of all malicious promoters, this sept, yea euen at this daie beareth with the few slips there ingrafted, no small stroke in Irelund. Who are they that scale the enemies fort? The Giraldines; who are they

that defend their countrie? The Giraldines. Who are they that make the enemie quake in his skin? The Giraldines. And who are they whome cruie backbiteth? The Giraldines. If it had stood with the good fortune of the Giraldines, that the king with equall balance would posse their valure, long yea this had all Irelund bene put in quiet and peaceable staie. But their valiantnesse and power hath bene from time to time without sufficient cause suspected. Therto Cambrensis.

And lastly, as often as I call to mind the saying of this historiographer, I may not but muse how sompe he hitteth the naile on the head. And who so will conferre their continuall successe from the penning of this sentence (which was written about 400 yeaers and byward) with this age of ours, shall some perceiue, that these words were rather propheties of future mishap, than complaints of former injuries. At this daie let them behaue themselves ballantlie in warre, and loiallie in peace; yet notwithstanding, such standers are raised, such rumors noised, such tales bruted, such fables twittled, such vntrue reports twatled, such malicious inuentions forged, that such as are in authoritie cannot but of force suspect them, unlesse they were able, like gods, to pise in the botome of each mans conscience. But who so witheth anie godnesse to that miserable countrie, and noble progenie, let him with all the veins of his heart beseech God, first that the higher powers be slowe in beleneing the despittefull reports of envious backbiters. Secondlie, that the Giraldines beare themselves in all their affaires so dutifullie, that these curious inferchers be not able to depaint their feigned gloses with anie probable colours. So shall suspicion be abandoned, so shall malicious standers be squatted, so shall that noble house be trusted, and consequentlie the battered weale-publike of Irelund reedified. The familie is English, and it is well knowne that the Irish rather feare their force, than loue their persons. And reason god pardie. For the Irish bearing in mind, that the Giraldine being thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their lands, abated their courages, discomfited their men, vanquished their armies, daunted their power, suppressed their force, and made them become true and tributarie subiects to the crowne of England: they haue god cause to beare that sept but holow hearts, that theto so euer they make in outward asperance. Thus much generallie of the Giraldines, now I purpose particularlie to treat of the house of Bildare.

Maurice Fitzgirald, one of the earles progenitors, was lord iustice of Irelund in the yeaer 1242, at which time he builded the castell of Shligagh. This Maurice was lord of Tirconille, and being entirly lie seized of the whole countrie, he gaue the one moiety thereof to Cormocke mac Dermot, mac Morie. I read the Giraldine baron of Dphale, in the yeaers 1270. I haue sene it registred, that there died a Giraldine the fourth earle of Bildare, in the yeaer 1287. But I take that calendar to beare a false date. Wherefore the truth & certaintie is, that John Fitzgirald, sonne to Thomas Fitzgirald, was the first earle of Bildare, and was created earle vpon this occasion.

In the yeaer 1290, and in the eightenth yeaer of Edward the first, William Uesce was made lord iustice of Irelund. This man being either negligent or rath in the gouernment of the countrie, emboldened the Irish enemie to indamage the kings subiects more eassones than they were accustomed to do. These enormities being for the space of foure yeaers tolerated, the subiects mistaking of the slacknesse of their gouernour, gaue out such sinister speeches of the

The castell of  
Shligagh.  
Tirconille.  
Baron of  
Dphale.The first earle  
of Bildare.1290  
Uesce  
lord iustice

Wescie accus-  
eth the lord  
Fitzgerald.

The lord Fitz-  
geralds answer.

The lord Fitz-  
geralds reply.

lord iustice, as he was glad to the hart rot. Some af-  
ter, as the nobles in open assemblie were ripping up  
by pcernele the seuerall harms their tenants suffe-  
red, the lord iustice willing to disburden himselfe of  
the crime, began with mistie kind of speeches to laie  
the whole fault on the lord John Fitzgeralds shoul-  
ders, sateng in parable wise, that he was a great oc-  
casion of these disorders, in that he bare himselfe in  
puiat quarrels as fierce as a lion, but in these pub-  
like intories he was as meeke as a lambe. The bar-  
on of Dhalie spelling and putting these syllables  
together, spake in this wise.

My lord, I am hartlie soie that among all this  
noble assemblie, you make me your onelie marke  
whereat to shoot your bolt. And trulie were my de-  
serts so heinous as I suppose you would wish them  
to be, you would not labour to cloud your talke with  
such darke riddles, as at this present you haue done;  
but with plaine & flat English, your lordship would  
not sticke to impeach of felonie or treason. For as  
mine ancestors with spending of their blood in their  
soveraignes quarell aspired to this type of honour, in  
which at this date (God and my king be thanked) I  
stand: so your lordship taking the higher waie to the  
wood, by charging me with treason, would gladlie  
trsp to roundlie on my top, that by shedding of my  
blood, and by catching my lands into your clouches,  
that butt so neere vpon your manors of Kildare and  
Kathingam, as I dare saie they are an cie-foze vnto  
you, you might make my maister your sonne a pro-  
per gentleman.

A gentleman: quoth the lord iustice: Thou bald  
baron, I tell thee the Wescies were gentlemen before  
the Geraldines were barons of Dhalie, yea and be-  
foze that Wescie bankrupt thine ancestour (he meant  
sic spaurice Fitzgerald) fettered his nest in Lein-  
ster. And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in  
snuffe, I will teach thee thy lyxtipps after an other  
fashion than to be thus malepertlie cocking and bil-  
ling with me that am thy gouernour. Wherefoze,  
albeit thy taunts are such as they might force the pa-  
tientest philosopher that is, to be chokt with choler:  
yet I would haue thee ponder my speeches, as though  
I deliuered them in my most sober and quiet mod.  
I saie to the face of thee, and I will anow what I say  
vnto thee, that thou art a supporter of theues, a bolste-  
rer of the kings enemies, an upholder of traitors, a  
murderer of subiects, a firebrand of dissention, a  
ranke theefe, an arrant traitor: and before I eate  
these words, I will make thee eate a peece of my  
blade.

The baron bnteling with might and maine his  
choler, bare himselfe as cold in countenance, as the  
lord iustice was hot in words, and replied in this  
wise. My lord I am verie glad, that at length you  
vntwapped your selfe out of that net, wherein all this  
while you masked. As for mine ancestour, whome you  
terme a bankrupt, how rich or how poze he was  
vpon his repaire to Ireland, I purpose not at this  
time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldlie saie,  
that he came hither as a bier, not as a begger. He  
bought the enemies land by spending his blood: but  
you lurking like a spider in his copweb to intrap  
flies, endeuor to beg subiects liuings wrongfullie, by  
despoiling them of their innocent liues. And whereas  
you charge me with malepertnes, in that I presume  
to chop loglike with you being gouernour, by answe-  
ring your snappish *Quid*, with a knappish *Quo*, I wold  
wish you to vnderstand, now, that you put me in  
mind of the dissention, that I as a subiect honour  
your roiall authoritie, but as a noble man I despise  
your dunghill gentilitie. Lastlie, whereas you charge  
me with the odious termes of traitor, murderer, and  
the like, and therewithall you wish me to resolue my

selfe, that you rest vpon reason, not vpon rage: if  
these words proceed from your lordship, as from a  
magistrate, I am a subiect, to be tried by order of  
law, and am soerie that the gouernour, who ought by  
vertue of his publike authoritie to be my iudge, is by  
reason of priuat malice become mine accuser.

But if you utter these speeches as a priuat per-  
son, then I John Fitzgerald, baron of Dhalie, doe  
tell thee William Wescie, a single sole gentleman,  
that I am no traitor, no felon; and that thou art the  
onelie buttresse, by which the kings enemies are sup-  
ported, the meane and instrument by which his maie-  
ties subiects are daily spoiled. Therefore I as a lo-  
all subiect saie traitor to thy teeth, and that shalt thou  
well vnderstand when we both shall be brought to the  
reherfall of these matters before our betters. How-  
beit, during the time you beare office, I am resolu-  
ed to giue you the maister in words, and to suffer you  
like a bialling cur to barke, but when I see my time  
I will be sure to bite.

These biting speeches passing to and fro, great  
factions on both sides were raised, with high and  
mightie words, and deepe othes; till time either part  
appealed his owne. The baron of Dhalie not sleep-  
ing nor slacking his matter, quadded with all hast in-  
to England, where he was no sooner inchozed, than  
Wescie, after he had substituted William Haie in  
his come, was imbarked, making as hot foot after  
the baron as he could. The king and his counsell vnder-  
standing the occasion of their sudden arrivals, to  
the end the truth should be brought to light, appoin-  
ted a set date for the deciding of their controuersie,  
and that each of them should speake for himselfe what  
he could. Wherevpon Wescie being commanded to  
begin, spake to this effect.

My dread soueraigne, as I must acknowledge  
my selfe somewhat agreed, to be intangled in so in-  
tricate a matter, so I am as glad as hart can thinke  
that so weightie a controuersie is brought to the deci-  
ding of so vpright an vmpire. And whereas it stood  
with your maiesties pleasure, with the aduise of this  
your honourable counsell, that I, as vntwistie,  
should haue the gouernment of your realme of Ire-  
land; and during my time, your maiesties subiects,  
haue bene, I may not denie it, diuerslie annoied, for  
my discharge, as I said in Ireland: so I auow here  
in England, that he knealeth here before your high-  
nesse (pointing to the baron of Dhalie) that is the  
rot and crop of all these enozmities. For it is well  
knowne, that he beareth that stroke with the Irish,  
as if he once but strooke at them, they dare not be so  
hardie as once to peake out of their cabbins. And  
whereas his force doth greatly amaze them, thinke  
you but his countenance doth wonderfullie incor-  
rage them: To the furtherance of which, it is appa-  
rantlie knowne, and it shall be proued, that he hath  
not onelie in hucker mucker, by sundrie messages  
imboldden your maiesties enemies, to spoile your  
subiects, but also by his personall presence, in secret  
meetings, he gaue them such courage, as neither the  
roialtie of your highnesse, nor the authoritie of your  
deputie, neither the force of your lawes, nor the  
strength of your puissant armie, was able to quench  
the flame of these hartie burlies, that through his  
traitorous drifts were inkindled. These and the like  
enozmities through his priate packing with rebels  
being daily committed, to bring me your maiesties  
gouernour in the hatred of the people, his adherents  
both secretlie muttered, and openlie exclaimed a-  
gainst me and my gouernment, as though the re-  
uerse of all these harmes had wholie lien in mine  
hands.

Wherevpon being in conference with such as  
were the chieftains of your realme of Ireland, al-  
beit

The lord Fitz-  
geralds reply  
into England

Wescie fol-  
loweth.

Wescies  
oration.



"beit I take it to be expedient, to point with my finger to the berie sinke or headspring of all the treasons, that by secret conspiracies were pretended and practised against your maiestie and your subjects, yet notwithstanding having more regard to modestie, than to the defects of the baron of Ophalie, I did but glasse at his packing in such secret sort, as none or a berie few of the companie could gesse, whome with my mistie speeches I did touch. And as commonlie the gald horse doth sonest kicke, so this gentelman being prickt, as it should seme with the sting of his gilltie conscience, brake out on a sudden, and forgetting his allegiance to your highnesse, and his dutie to me your deputie, he toke me vp so roughlie, as though I had bene rather his underling than his gouernour. The summe of which despitfull speeches I refer to the testimonie of the honorable audience where they were deliuered. As for his manifold treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse such things as he did not sticke to commit. And if it shall stand with your maiesties pleasure, to adiourne the triall for a few daies, I will charge him with such apparent crimes, as were his face made of brasse, he shall not be able to denie anie one article that shall be looked against him. When Clescie had ended, the baron of Ophalie prest himselfe somewhat forward, and in this wise spake.

The lord Gervais oration.

"Most puissant prince and my dread souereigne, were master Clescie his mouth so iust a measure, as what he spake, should be holden for gospel, this had bene no fit place for so arrant a traitor, as he with his feigned glossing would gladlie proue me to be. But sith it pleased your maiestie, with so indifferent balance to ponder both our tales, I am thoroughlie perswaded, that my loiall innocencie shall be able, to ouerpoisse his forged treacherie. Your maiestie hath heard manie words to small purpose. And as his complaint hitherto hath bene generallie huddled by, so mine answer thereto may not particularlie be framed. Whereas therefore he termeth me a supporter of thieues, a packer with rebels, a conspirator with traitors, if I should but with a bare word denie the premises, all his gaie glose of glittering speeches would suddentlie fade awate. Yea, but he craueth respit for the booking of his articles. Trulie so he hath need. For loitering and lingring is the onlie waie he may deuise to cloke his feigning and forging. Wherein he sheweth himselfe as craftie, as the philosopher was accounted wise that promised a tyrant vpon menacing wordes, to schule his alle in philosophie, so he had seuen yeares respit; because that in that space he was perswaded, that either the tyrant, the alle, or he would die. In likewise master Clescie, vpon respit granted him, would hang in hope, that either the life of your maiestie (which God forbid) should be shortened; or that I, in tract of time, would be disfauoured; or that he by one subtill pranke or other should be of this beaute load disburdened.

"But if I haue bene as manie yeares a malefactor as he aduoucheth, how happeneth it, that his tong was tied before this late dissention begun? Whie did he not from time to time aduertise the councill of my treasons? Whereas now it may be probable conjectured, that he was egd to this seruice rather for the hatred he beareth me, than for anie loue he oweth your rotall maiestie. Touching the words I spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I heard as yet, to eat them in England. And when I shall be cald to testifie such speeches as I deliuered there, I will not be found so raw in my matter, as to lose my errant in the carriage, as master Clescie hath done, or to craue further respit for the registering of his manifold treasons. As for my secret meetings with Irish rebels, where I perswaded master Clescie,

that you were able to proue them, I would be found willing to acknowledge them. For if my conscience were so deepe lie strong, as you pretend, I would take it for better policie, by acknowledging my trespass, to appeale to my king his mercie, than by denieng my faults, to stand to the rigor of his iustice.

"And as for meetings, I had neuer so manie in woods with rebels, as you master Clescie, haue had in your chamber with colwers. For it hath bene manifestlie aparented, that when the baron of Ophalie, and the best of the nobilitie of Ireland haue bene imbarde from entring your chamber, an Irish colw should haue at all times accesse vnto you. No, master Clescie: a colw, an horse, an hantke, and a silver cup haue bene the occasion of your slacknesse. When the subjects were preided, you would be content to winke at their miserie, so that your month were stoppt with byberie. And when you had gathered your crums sufficientlie together, you held it for a pretie policie (and yet it was but a bare thift) to charge the nobilitie with such packing, as you dastie did practise. But you must not thinke that we are babes, or that with anie such stale deuise, or grosse joggling trickes, you may so easilie dulse or dazell our eyes. Can anie man that is but slenderlie witte, so far be caried, as to beleue, that master Clescie, being the kings deputie in Ireland, hauing his maiesties treasure, hauing the nobilitie at his becke, the kings armie at his commandement; but that, if he were disposed to bestirre himselfe, he were able to ferret out such barebreach bzats as swarme in the English pale? If he said he could not, we must smile at his simplicitie; if he could and would not, how may he colour his disloialtie?

"Yea, but I beare such stroke with the Irish, as that vpon anie priuat quarrell I am able to annoie them. What then? Because the baron of Ophalie can reuenge his priuat iniuries without the assistance of the deputie; therefore the deputie may not vanquish weak and naked rebels without the furtherance of the baron of Ophalie: whereas the contrarie ought to be inferd, that if a priuat person can tame the Irish, what may then the publike magistrat do, that hath the princes power? But in deed it is hard to take hares with fores. You must not thinke, master Clescie, that you were sent gouernour into Ireland to dandle your trulls, to pen your selfe by within a towne or citie to giue rebels the gaze, to pill the subjects, to animat traitors, to fill your coffers, to make your selfe by marring true men, to gather the birds whilst other beat the bushes, and after to impeach the nobilitie of such treasons, as you oncelie haue committed.

"But for so much as our mutuall complaints stand vpon the one his yea, and the other his naie, and that you would be taken for a champion, & I am knowne to be no coward: let vs, in Gods name, leaue lieng for varlets, berding for ruffians, facing for crakers, chatting for twattlers, scolding for callets, boking for scriueners, pleading for lawyers; and let vs trie with the dint of sword, as become martiall men to do, our mutuall quarrels. Wherefore to iustifie that I am a true subject, and that thou Clescie art an arrant traitor to God & to my king, here in the presence of his highnesse, and in the hearing of this honorable assemblie, I challenge the combat. Whereat all the auditozie shouted.

"Now in god faith, quoth Clescie, with a right good will. Whereupon both the parties being dismist by till the kings pleasure were further knowne, it was agreed at length by the councill, that the fittest triall should haue bene by battell. Wherefore the parties bring as well thereof aduertised, as the daie by the king appointed, no small promise was made for so eager

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Wescie fled into France. Baidare descended on the lord Gerald.

The first erle of Baidare created. 1315

The number of the earles of Baidare.

Lord Gerald.

Earle of Desmond.

1247 The Butlers (as I am informed) are found by ancient records to have bene earles of the Carricks. 1299

1309

1313

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1315

1316

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eager a combat, as that was presupposed to have bene. But when the prestred daie approached nere, Wescie turning his great boast to small roff, began to crie creake, and secretlie sailed into France. King Edward thereof advertised, bestowed Wescies lordships of Baidare and Kathingan on the baron of Ophalie, saying that albeit Wescie conveyed his person into France, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

The baron returned to Ireland with the gratulation of all his friends, and was created earle of Baidare, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second his reigne, the fourteenth of Gaie. He deceased at Larraghbyne (a village nere to Wainmoth) in the yeare 1316, and was buried at Baidare, so that he was earle but one yeare. The house of Baidare among diuerse gifts, wherewith God hath abundantlie imbued it, is for one singular point greatlie to be admired, that notwithstanding the severall assaults of diuerse enemies in sundrie ages, yet this earle that now lieth is the tenth earle of Baidare, to whome from John the first earle, there hath alwaies continued a lineall descent from father to son: which trulie in mine opinion is a great blessing of God. And for as much as this earle now living as his ancestors before him, have bene thewolicke thownd at by his enuill willers, saying that he is able, but not willing to profit his countrie: the poeie that is framed for him, signifieng his mind, runneth in this wise:

*Quid possum iactant: quid vellem, si reuerentant:*

*Et utique Regina sunt, ego nota mea:*

His eldest sonne is lord Gerald, baron of Ophalie, for whom these two verses following are made:

*Te pulchrum natura fecit, fortuna potenter:*

*Formam faciat Christi, virtutis honorem:*

Sir Thomas Butler earle of Desmond and of Denie. The Butlers were ancient English gentlemen, and were the first in all ages. Theobald Butler lord of Carrick and John Cogan were lord justices of Ireland. This Butler died in the castle of Arklow in the yeare 1284. This lord Theobald Butler the younger, and son to the elder Theobald, was sent for by Edward the first, to serve against the Scots. This noble man deceased at Weneie, and his bodie was conveyed to Weneie, a towne in the countie of Limerike. Sir Edmund Butler a wise and valiant noble man was dubbed knight at London by Edward the second.

This man being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, upon the repairs of John Wogan (who before was lord justice) to England, besieged the Obenies in Glindaloe: and were it not that they submitted themselves to the king and the lieutenants mercie, they had not bene onelie for a season vanquished, but also utterly by him extirped. This noble man was in his gobernement such an incourager and furtherer of seruitors, as that he dwelt on saint Michael the archangels daie with knightie in the castle of Dublin. He was a seburgie into the Scots that invaded Ireland, when he was lieutenant. He discomfited Donoughs motions to rebellion: heare a totime named Wallie lehan after diuerse victorious exploits by him atchased, he sailed into England, and so to his pilgrimage to saint James. Upon his returne to England, he deceased at London, and his bodie being conveyed into Ireland was interred at Ballinacorney.

James Butler earle of Desmond was lord justice of Ireland in the yeare 1359. The lord Butler and vicount Charles was dubb knight by Henrie the first in England, in the yeare 1425, at which time Sir James Butler, Sir John Butler, Sir Kate Butler, were in like manner knighted. James Butler, who married the earle of Desmond daughter, was preferred

red to the earldome of Desmond in the first yeare of Edward the third, which fell upon the heirs generall, lastlie upon Sir Thomas Butler earle of Wiltshire, after whome it couerled to Pierce Butler, whome a little before king Henrie the eight had created erle of Ossie. I read Butler earle of Tipperarie in the yeare 1300. The Latine historie calleth him *Domum de pincerna*, the English le Butler. Whereby it appeareth, he had some such honour about the prince. His verie name is Becket, who was advanced by Henrie the seconds eldest sonne, lord Butler, in recompense of the death of Thomas of Canturburie their kinsman. His eldest sonne is the lord Butler and vicount Charles. For the earle now living these two verses (in the remembrance of him) are made:

*Magnus animi maiorq; pater, sed natus utroq;*

*Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.*

Gerald Fitz Gerald earle of Desmond. Maurice Desmond, Fitz Thomas a Geraldine, was created earle of Desmond the same yeare, some after that Butler became earle of Desmond. His eldest sonne is lord Fitz Gerald of Desmond. The erle now living, thus speaketh:

*Knafstandom, iactans fluctibus alii,*

*Et precor in portu sit mea tuta ratia.*

Sir Richard Bourke earle of Clenrickard, Clenrickard a branch of the English familie de Burgo. The Bourkes have bene ancient noble men before their coming to Ireland: and in old time they have bene earles of Ulster. His eldest sonne is lord Bourke baron of Cuskeeline. His verse is this:

*Quam mihi maiorum fama bona gesta dederunt,*

*Hanc mihi maiorum barbara fama negant.*

Connogher Obien earle of Comond: the name Comond of earle given to Murragh Obien for tearme of life, and after to Donogh Obien, in the fifth yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, now confirmed to the heires males; his eldest sonne is baron of Igaran. Upon the erle now living this fantasie was deuised:

*Non deset exterius sine causa, quarere reges,*

*Cum liceat in tuta viuere pace domi.*

Spac Cartie Moe earle of Clenrere, created in the yeare 1565. Vicount Barrie. Vicount Koch. Prebion Vicount of Gormanstown: wherunto is lately annexed the baronie of Lathmoe. One of their ancestors Sir Robert Preston, then chiefe baron of the exchequer, was dubbed knight in the field, by Lionell duke of Clarence. This gentleman matched in wedlocke with Margaret Birmingham la die of Carbury, who deceased in the yeare 1361. After whose death Sir Robert Preston was seized of the said lordship in the right of his wife, and being molested by rebels, placed a garison in the castle, whereby the subjects were greatlie eased, and the rebels greatlie annoyed.

There hath bene another Sir Robert Preston of this house, great grandfather to the vicount now living. This gentleman was deputie to Richard, second son to Edward the fourth, in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of his father: and after likewise in the reigne of Henrie the seventh, he was deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, erle of Penbroke, a lieutenant of Ireland: and at the same time was he appointed by the king generall receiuer of his reuerue in Ireland. How wise this noble man behaued himselfe in peace, and how valiantlie he beguitt himselfe in warre, I am sure of king Henrie the seventh his letters to him being deputie, addresed, do manifestlie witness. There was a parlement holden before him at Drogheda, which was repealed in the tenth yeare of Henrie the seventh. Sir Christopher Preston was dubbed knight in the field by Edmund earle of March, lord deputie of Ireland. William Preston was lord justice of Ireland in Henrie the eight his reigne. The house is ancient planted in Lancashire, and

Tipperarie.

1550

Clenrere. Barrie. Koch. Gormanstowne.

1361

1367

1476

1492

1494

1397

Preston came  
from Lancashire.

and from thence departed into Ireland, being to this date seized of a manour in Lancashire, named of the house Preston. The vicount now living speaketh in this wise, as it were present in person, and saith:

*Si quantum vellem, tantum me posse putarem,*

*Nota esset patria mens mea firma mea.*

Waltinglasse.

Eustace *alias* Polwar, vicount of Waltinglasse, lord of Kilcullen to him and his heires males, the foure and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Their ancestor Robert de Polwar was sent into Ireland with commission, and his offspring hath resided there since the yeare 1175. Polwar *alias* Eustace is twit-  
ten baron of Downe in the yeare 1317. The vicounts poeise now living is this that followeth:

*Cum bonus ipse maneat, an non laus magna putatur,*

*Prudenter cuius posse placere viro?*

Mountgaret.

1550

Dece.

Athenrie.

Sir Richard Butler vicount Mountgaret to him and his heires males in the fift yeare of Edward the first. Vicount Dece. Lord Bermingham baron of Athenrie, now degenerate and become mere Irish, against whome his ancestors served valiantlie in the yeare 1300. John Bermingham was lord of Athenrie Anno 1316. John Bermingham baron of Ardigh, called in Latine de alio Dei, in the yeare 1318. Mac Maurice, *alias* Fitzgerald, baron of Berie. L. Courcie, not verie Irish; the ancient descent of the Courcies planted in Ireland with the conquest. Fleming baron of Slane. Simon Fleming was baron of Slane, 1370. The L. now living thus speaketh:

*Slanus inquit princeps mihi nomen adaptat,*

*In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.*

Killine.

Plunket baron of Killine, his familie came in with the Danes, whereof they have as yet speciall monuments. Sir Christopher Plunket lord of Killine, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, which title is to be seene at this day in Killine, grauen on his tombe. The baron that now liueth, thus frameth his poeise:

*Ornant viuente maiorum gesta meorum,*

*Talia me nequeunt viuia cadente mori.*

Deluin.

Pugent baron of Deluin, an ancient house. Sir Gilbert de Bogent, or Pugent, came into Ireland, with sir Hugh de Lacie, one of the first and valiant conquerors of the countrie. This Gilbert matched with Rosa de Lacie, sister to Hugh de Lacie. He had giuen him vpon the conquest the baronies of Fontre, and of Deluine by the said sir Hugh, of whose brother Richard de Bogent, otherwisse called Richardus de Capella, the house of Deluin is descended. In a conuenance past from sir Gilbert to his brother Richard, these words are inserted: *Deus & concessi fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conquestum meum in Hibernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, qui vocatur Deluin, & totam terram meam in Anglia.* The baron now living & louing his countie thus speaketh:

*In patria natus, patria prodesse laboro,*

*Viribus in castris, consilijs domi.*

Howth.

S. Laurence, baron of Howth, signifieng the disposition of his mind, he speaketh in this wise:

*Si redamas, redamo, si sperna, sperno. Vnde ergo?*

*Non licet absq. tuis viuere possibon?*

Dunfanie.

Plunket baron of Dunfanie. Upon the baron now living, this deute was framed as you see:

*Gratia quod dederat, si non fortuna negabit,*

*Dux tam praeclaro stemmate dignus eris.*

Crimes-  
towne.

Barnetwall baron of Crimesstone. They came from litle Brittain, where they are at this day a great surname. Upon their first arrivall, they waite great possessions at Berthauen, where at length by consp-  
race of the Irish they were all slaine, except one yong man, who then studied the common lawes in England, who returning, dwelt at Dumnagh besides Dublin, where his heires to this date are settled. This house as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worshipfull gentlemen that be of the surname,

beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ire-  
land: howbeit of late it hath bene greatlie mained thorough the decease of thre twofte and famous Barnetwalls. The first was Robert Barnetwall L. of Crimesstone that last was, a rare noble man, and indued with sundrie good gifts, who hauing wholie wedded himselfe to the reformation of his miserable countrie, was resolved for the bettering of his wit, which nathelesse was pregnant and quicke, by a short trade and method he toke in his studie, to haue spt by the verie sap of the common law, and vpon this determination salking into England, sickened shortly after at a worshipfull matrones house at Cornberie, named Margaret Eller, where he was to the great græfe of all his countrie pearled with death, when the weale publike had most need of his life. The second Barnetwall that deceased was sp. Marcus Barnetwall of Donbroa, whose credit and authority had it bene correspondent to his valure and abilitie, he would (I doubt not) haue bene accounted and knotone for as od a gentleman (none dispraised) as ante in the English pale of Ireland.

The third of the surname that departed this life, was sir Christopher Barnetwall knight, the lantern and light as well of his house, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who being sufficientlie furnished as well with the knowlege of the Latine tong, as of the common lawes of England, was zealouslie bent to the reformation of his countrie. A depe and a wise gentleman, spare of spech, and therewithall pithie, wholie addicted to grauitie, being in ante pleasaunt conceipt rather giuen to simper than smile, beris vsight in dealing, measuring all his affaires with the safetie of conscience, as true as Steele, close and secret, fast to his friend, stout in a good quarell, a great houlholder, sparing without pinching, spending without wastling, of nature mild, rather choosing to pleasure where he might harme, than wilking to harme where he might pleasure. He sickened the thre and twentieth of Julie of an hot burning ague, and ended his life at his house of Currie the fift of August, to the great losse as well of his friends as of his countrie; vpon whose death a sonne in law of his framed this epitaph consisting of sixtene verses.

*Lata tibi, sed magis tuis mors accidit ista,*

*Regna dat alta tibi, damna dat, ampla tuis*

*Beatos in caelis, villo sine fine triumphans,*

*Mæltus at in terris dines inopsque iacet.*

*Non sapienter caret diues, qui parca gubernet.*

*Nec, qui dei misero munera, pauper habet.*

*Te generis iste caret, viduae, te rustica turba,*

*Atque urbana cohors, te (acer alma) carat.*

*Non est digna viro talis respublica tanto,*

*Non sanctus sedes non nisi sancta decet.*

*Adiuvator, sed vera loquar, non ficta renoua,*

*Si maiora loquar, nil nisi vera loquar.*

*Mirum es? Nobis hoc crimina nostra dederunt.*

*Mortuus es? Virtus hoc tibi sacra dedit.*

*Plus in celo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Christi,*

*Plus in mundo sis, tibi fama dedit.*

For the lord of Crimesstone now living, desiring a name of fame after death, this was devised.

*Quid mihi cura dedit, fratri. Mori sua negotia,*

*Quod doloat fratri, deo mihi fama precor.*

Edward Butler baron of Donboin, giuen to Edmund Butler esquier, and his heires males, in the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight.

For the baron now living, these verses are made.

*Dum sequitur natus summi vestigia patri,*

*Illius optato tramite cuncta geret.*

Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick baron of Upper Osserie, giuen to Barnabie Mac Collopatrike and his heires males, in the thre and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Donat Clonagh apachilpatrick

Robert  
Barnetwall

1574

1574

Baron  
Barnetwall

Sir Christo-  
pher Barnet-  
wall knight.

1175

1575

1575

1541

1541

1558

trike was a p̄relesse warriour in the peare 1219. Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, now lord of Hyper Deserie, was knighted by the duke of Northfolke at the siege of Leith in Scotland: in the beginning of Elizabeths reigne, for whom these verses are made:

*Principis in gremio summi nutritus & altus,  
Hæsit ab illustri regia dona schola.*

Louth.  
1541

Plunket, baron of Louth, to sir Christopher Plunket and his heires males, in the 33 yeare of Henrie the eight. His baronie was an erldome pertaining to the Berminghams, in the peare 1316, & soner. For the baron now living, this was devised:

*Nobilis, ingenuus, firmis quoque firmus amicus,  
Nubila seu calum luxue serena regat.*

Dungauon.

Curragh-  
more.  
Desert.

Insholme.  
1543

Baronets.

Barret what  
it signifyeth.

Onelle, baron of Dungauon, to whom the earldome of Tron was intailed by gift of king Henrie the eight. Polwar, baron of Curraghmore. Mac Surtan, lord Desert, his ancessors were lords in the time of Lionell duke of Clarence, earle of Ulster, in the peare 1360: now verie wild Irish. Curraghmore, baron of Insholme, to him and his heires males, in the fine and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. There are besides these noble men, certaine gentlemen of worship, commonlie called baronets, whom the ruler for doth register among the nobilitie, by terming them corruptlie barons; whereas in verie deed they are to be named neither barons, nor baronets, but banrets. He is properlie called a banret, whose father was no carpet knight, but dubbed in the field under the banner or ensigne. And because it is not vsuall for anie to be a knight by birth, the eldest sonne of such a knight with his heires, is named a bannerret, or a banret. Such are they that here insue. Sentleger, banret of Flemarge, meere Irish. Den, banret of Dozmannstowne, waring Irish. Fitzgiralde, banret of Bornechurch. Wellesle, banret of Curraghmore, Hulseie, banret of Galtrim. Saint Pigbell, banret of Scrine. And Pangle, banret of the Pauan. English gentlemen of longest continuance in Ireland are those, which at this day either in great povertie or perill doe keepe their properties of their ancessors lands in Ulster, being then companions to Courcie, the conqueror and earle of that part. These are the Sauages, Jordans, Fitz Simons, Chamberleins, Russels, Bensons, Audletes, Whites, Fitz Ursulies, now degenerat and called in Irish Mac Mahon, the Beares sonne.

The names or surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote.

The seventh chapter.

Ardericus.



Ardericus, whome Marianus Scotus termeth Barbofus, because of his long beard, a learned man, greatlie in old time renowned in Ireland. But for as much as in his age the countrie was not stored with such as imploied their labors in gathering together the sayings and doings of sage persons, the discontinuance of his name is rather to be imputed to the ignorance of the time, than to the want of his deserts. He flourished in the peare 1053. Alen, a learned physician. James Archer a student of diuinitie. Argobastus, the second bishop of Argentine, successor to the holie prelat saint Amand, bozne in Ireland, a learned and deuout clerke: who leauing his countrie and liuing in heremit wile, in certaine solitarie places of France, instructed the people of that realme in the feare of God, and the knowlege of the scriptures.

Alen.  
Archer.  
Argobastus.

In his preaching he was noted to haue so singular a grace, and so prosperous successe, that such as were by anie worldlie misadventure afflicted, upon the hearing of his godlie sermons would suddenlie be comforted. The French king Dagobertus, aduertised of his learning and vertue, caused him to be sent for, vsing him as his chiefe counsellor in all his weightie affaires; and after aduanced him to be bishop of Argentine: he wrote a booke of homilies. He decessed in the peare 658: & was buried hard by a gibbet nere the citie, pitcht on the top of an hill called saint Michaels hill, which was done by his owne appointment, in that he would follow the example of his massier Christ, who did vouchsafe to suffer without the citie of Ierusalem, where offenders and malefactors were executed. Barnwall. Bzadie a preacher. Bzendan an abbat bozne in Connagh, in his youth trained by under Percus a bishop: and being further kept in yeares, he travelled into England, where he became a profess monke, vnder an abbat named Congellus, he flourished in the peare 560: and wrote these bookes insuing. Confessio christiana lib. 1. Charta celestis hereditatis lib. 1. Monachorum regula lib. 1.

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Barnwall.  
Bzadie.  
Bzendan.

Edmund Bernerden a frier, he proceeded doctor Bernerden, of diuinitie in Dublin, in the peare 1320. Brigide the virgin, bozne in Leinster, she flourished in the peare 510: she wrote a booke of hir reuelations. Browne a ciuillian. Burnell. Butler a Waterfordian, sometime scholer to maister Peter White; he translated Marcurius Corderius his booke of phrases into English, in the peare 1562. James Caddell, he wrote Diuerse epigrammata. Carberie a profound ciuillian. Cellus archbishop of Armagh, bozne in Ireland, and schooled in the vniuersitie of Oxford, he flourished in the peare 1128: he wrote these bookes following. Testamentum ad ecclesias lib. 1. Constitutiones quadam lib. 1. Ad Malachiam epistolæ complures. Clere, bozne in Kilkennie, and proceeded maister of art in Oxford. John Clere, Cln bozne in Leinster, being profess a greie frier, he bestowed his time in preaching, chiefe in the towne of Kilkennie. This man was a god antiquarie, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, beginning at the natiuitie of Christ, and stretching to the peare 1350: in which yeare he flourished. He wrote these bookes following. Annalium chronicon lib. 1. De regibus Anglorum lib. 1. De custodijs prouinciarum lib. 1. De Franciscanorum cenobijs & eorum distinctionibus lib. 1.

Browne.  
Burnell.  
Butler.

Caddell.  
Carberie.  
Cellus.

Clere.  
Cln.

Henrie Cogie doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the peare 1320. Colme, Cogie, a learned and an holie monke, he flourished in the peare 670: he wrote a booke intituled Pro socijs Quartadecimanis. Columbanus, bozne in Ulster, and trained in learning and knowledge as well in England as in France, for his learning and vertue, was elected to be abbat. Having trauelled diuerse countries, at length he repaired to Italie, and there in an abbey by him founded, called Monasterium Bobiense, he ended his life the twentieth of Nouember. He left to his posteritie these bookes: In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos librum 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Monasteriorum methodos lib. 1. Epistolas ad commilitones lib. 1. Aduersus regem adulterum lib. 1. Conganus an Irish abbat, of whom saint Bernard maketh great account, he flourished in the peare 1150: and wrote to saint Bernard Gesta Malachie archiepiscopi lib. 1. Ad Bernardum Clareuallensem epist. plures. in prefat. Connour. Walter Conon: he wrote in the Latine tongue diuerse epigrams and epitaphs. Simon Conicell a diuine. Cornelius Hibernus, otherwise named

Columbanus,

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Conganus,

Barnardus in  
vita Malachie  
in prefat.  
Connour.  
Conon.  
Conicell.  
Cornelius.

D. 2.

Hector Boetius  
procul. Scot.  
lib. 1.

Creagh.

Crumpe.

Curren.  
Cusacke.

Dalke.

Darrie.

Delahide.

Deutor.

Dillon.  
Dondall.

Dozmer.

Duns Iohannes  
maior lib.  
4. cap. 10.

Cicilia orat.  
pro Arch.  
poeta.

named Hector Boetius, by reason that he was taken in his time for an erquist antiquarie, as may appeare by the Scottish historian Hector Boetius, by whom he acknowledged himselfe to be greatly furthered. He flourished in the yeare 1230; and wrote Multarum rerum Chronicon. lib. 1. Richard Creagh borne in Limericke, a diuine, he wrote Epistolae complures, Responsiones ad casus conscientiae. De vitis sanctorum Hiberniae. Topographiam Hiberniae, with diuerse other bookes.

Hencie Crumpe borne in Ireland, and brought up in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he grew by reason of his profound knowledge in diuinitie to no small credit. Having repaired to his native countie, minding there to defraie the talent therewith God had endued him, he was suddenly apprehended by Simon bishop of Metch, and kept in duresse, by reason that he was suspected to be of no sound religion. He flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred ninety and two, and wrote these bookes: Determinationes scholasticarum lib. 1. Contra religiosos mendicantes lib. 1. Responsiones ad obiecta lib. 1. Edmund Curren archdeacon of old Lagglin, there hath bene an Irish bishop of the name. Patrike Cusacke a gentleman borne, and a scholar of Oxford, sometimes scholemaster in Dublin, and one that with the learning that God did impart him, gaue great light to his countie; he imployed his studies rather in the instructing of scholars, than in penning of bookes, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred three score and six, and wrote in Latine Diuersa epigrammata.

Dalke schooled in the vniuersitie of Paris, having a pretie insight in scholasticall diuinitie, he made Diuersas conciones. Sir Willielme Darrie knight, a wise gentleman, he wrote a booke intituled, The decate of Ireland. Dault Delahide, an erquisite and a profound clerke, sometime fellow of Mertton college in Oxford, verie well sene in the Latine and Greeke tongues, expert in the mathematicals, a proper antiquarie, and an exact diuine. Whereby I gather that his pen hath not bene lazie, but is daily breeding of such learned bookes as shall be available to his posteritie. I haue sene a proper oration of his in the praise of master Heitwood being Christmasse lord in Mertton college intituled, Deligmo & sceno, also Schemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta. Deutor, there are two brethren of the name learned, the elder was sometimes scholemaster in Meiseford.

Peter Dillon a diuine, and John Dillon likewise a student in diuinitie. Dondall, sometime prelat of Armagh, a graue, a learned, and a politike prelat, verie zealouslie affected to the reformation of his countie, he made Diuersas conciones. Dozmer a lawyer, borne in Kossle, scholar of Oxford, he wrote in ballat rotall, The decate of Kossle. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish choncler would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith he was borne in England. So that there shall as great contention rise of him, as in old time there rose of Homers countie. For the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie; the Chians claimed him to be theirs, the Salaminiens aduouched that he was their countie: but the Smirniens were so stiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, & therupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But that countie man souer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound clerke. The onelie fault therewith he was duffed, was a little spice of baine glorie, being giuen

to carpe and taunt his predecessour diuinites, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Whereupon great factions are growen in the scholes betwene the Thomists and Scotists; Thomas being the ring-leader of the one sect, and Scotus the belwaader of the other. He was fellow of Mertton college in Oxford, and from thence he was sent for to Paris to be a professor of diuinitie. Finally, he repaired into

10 Cullen, where in an abbete of greie friers (of which profession he was one) he ended his life. The bookes he wrote are these: Commentarij Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. Quodlibeta scholastica lib. 1. In Analytica posteriora lib. 2. In metaphysicam quaestiones lib. 12. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. De perfectione statuum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de Sanctis lib. 1. Collationes Parisienses lib. 1. Lectura in Genesim lib. 1. Dererum principio lib. 1. Commentarij in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli lib. plures. Quaestiones vniuersalium lib. 1. Quaestiones predicamentorum lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In categorias Aristotelis lib. 1. Tetragrammata quaedam lib. 1. Commentariorum imperfectorum lib. 1.

Cusacke a doctor of diuinitie, a verie good scholemaster, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and six. Oliver Cusacke a student of the ciuill and canon law, a good humanitian, and a proper philosopher. Nicholas Cusacke a gentleman borne, surpassing birth by learning, and learning by vertue. Maurice Cusacke a student of diuinitie, one that notwithstanding he were borne to a faire lining, yet did wholie sequester himselfe from the world.

Fagan a batchellor of art in Oxford, and a scholemaster in Waterford. Daniell Ferrasse, a diuine and a scholemaster. Fergusius son to Fergubardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part suppose him to haue bene an Irish man. He flourished in the yeare of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and before the incarnation two hundred ninety and two, in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was by misaduenture drowned nere a rocke in the north of Ireland that of him is called to this daie Carregfergus; vpon whose mishap these verses were made: Carregfergus.

*Icarus Icareis ut nomina fecerat undis,*

*Fergusius petra sic dedit apta sua.*

50 This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, Leges politicae lib. 1. Finnanus scholar to one Bennius and Segenius, taken for a deepe diuine in his age; he flourished in the yeare six hundred sixtie and one; he wrote Pro veteri paschatis ritu lib. 1. Field a physickian. Thomas Field a master of art. John Fitzgerrald, commonlie named John Fitzedmund, a verie well lettered ciuillian, a wise gentleman, and a good household.

Robert Fitzgerrald alias Robert Fitzmaurice Fitzgerrald borne in the countie of Kilbare. David Fitzgerrald, usuallie called Dault Duffe, borne in Kerie, a ciuillian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of musike, skilfull in physike, a good & generall craftsman much like to Hippias, surpassing all men in the multitude of crafts, who comming on a time to Pisa to the great triumph called Olympicum, wore nothing but such as was of his owne making; his shoes, his patters, his cloke, his cote, the ring that he did wear, with a signet therein verie perfectlie wrought, were all made by him. He played excellentlie on all kind of instruments, and song thereto his owne verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logicke, rhetorike, and philosophie he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none.

Richard



# The description of Ireland.

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*Fitzrat.*

Richard Fitzrat, priuat of Armagh, scholer in the vniuersitie of Oxford to Baconthorpe a good philosopher, no ignorant diuine: an enemy to friers, namelie such as went begging from doze to doze, whereby he purchased the hatred of all religious persons. He was by Edward the third his means made archdeacon of Lichfield, after created priuat of Armagh, being cited before pope Clement the first, for reprobating the begging friers. In the heat of the said contention he deceased in Italie, whose bones were carried into Ireland, and buried at Donalke, where he was borne. He wrote these bookes ensuing: De paupertate seruatoris lib. 7. Contra fratres mendicantes lib. 16. In extrauagantem Ioannis 23 lib. 1. Determinationes ad eundem lib. 1. Contra suum archidiaconum lib. 1. Propositiones ad papam lib. 1. Contra fratrum appellationem lib. 1. Sermones ad crucein Pauli lib. 1. Sermones coram pontifice lib. 1. De statu vniuersalis ecclesie lib. 1. Lectura sententiarum lib. 4. Quaestiones earundem lib. 1. Lectura theologica lib. 1. Sermones ad clerum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 1. Mariae laudes Auenioni lib. 1. Illustrationes euangeliorum lib. 4. De passione dominica lib. 1. De peccato ignorantie lib. 1. De iure spiritali lib. 1. De vassicis Iudaeorum lib. 1. Propositionum suarum lib. 1. Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Dialogorum plurium librum vnum.

*Fitzsimons.*

Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice and lord chancellor of Ireland at one time, a famous clerke, and exquisite learned both in philosophy and diuinitie: being in companie with king Henrie the seventh, and hearing an oration that was made in his praise, the king demanded him, what fault he found most in the oration: Trulie (quoth he) if it like your highnesse, no fault, saving onelie that the orator flattered your maiestie ouermuch. How in god faith, our father of Dublin (quoth the king) we minded to find the same fault our selues. Thomas Fitzsimons, a verie proper diuine: he wrote in English a treatise of the church. Leonard Fitzsimons, a deepe and pithie clerke, well scene in the Greeke and Latine tong, sometime fellow of Trinitie college in Oxford, perfect in the mathematical, and a painefull student in diuinitie: he hath a brother that was trained vp in learning in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim. Michael Fitzsimons, scholemaster in Dublin, a proper student, and a diligent man in his profession, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Essexie Dublinum, Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihursti, Diuersa epigrammata.

*Flattisburie.*

Phillip Flattisburie, a worthy gentleman, and a diligent antiquarie, he wrote in the Latine tong, at the request of the right honourable Girald Fitzgiralde erle of Kilbare, Diuersas chronicas: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and seauenteene, & deceased at his towne named Johnstowne nere the Haas. Thomas Fleming: there is a Fleming now liuing, of whome I heare great report to be an absolute diuine, and a professor thereof. Foillanus a learned monke, he travelled into France, where thorough the liberalitie of an holie virginie, named Gertrude, he founded an abbey called Monasterium Fossense, where at length he suffered martyrdome. Fursus peregrinus, so called, because he was borne in Ireland, and was before his yeares as an estranger in France, where he founded an abbey named Coenobium Latiniacense: he wrote certeine pamphlets, that by tract of time are perished, he flourished in the yeare six hundred and fiftie, and was buried in his owne monasterie.

*Gogane.*

Robert Gogane, fellow of Wyll college in Oxford, a student of both the lawes, a man well spoken

as well in the English as in the Latine. Robert Gogane a preacher. William Harbit a doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and thertie. Hickie, physicians, the father and his sonne. Hugo de Hibernia, so called, because his surname is not knowne, he was a greie frier, and a great traveller, he flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fiftie, he wrote Itinerarium quoddam lib. 1. Diuer Hulseie, a professor of the arts in Dowais. Werbie Hurlie, a ciuillian, and a commendable philosopher: he wrote In Aristotelis physica. Robert Josse, borne in Kilkennie, a good humanician. Kadulthus Kellie a monke, brought bp in the knowledge of the Latine tong in Kilbare, in which he profited so well, that for his eloquence and wisdom he was sent to Clement the first, as the speaker or prolocutor of all his order, and also was appointed the generall aduocat or deputie vnder Petrus de Casa, master generall of the order. After he was aduanced to be archbishop of Cashill, in which honour he deceased, hauing at vacant houres written In iure canonico lib. 1. Epistolarum familiarium lib. 1. Thomas Kenedie, a ciuillian.

Kernie, he wrote in Irish Catechismum, Translationem bibliae. Cagher, a nobleman borne, in his time called Mac Murrough, he descended of that Mac Murrough that was sometime king of Leinster, he was a surpassing diuine, and for his learning and vertue was created bishop of Leighlin and abbat of Grage: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and fiftie, and was an hundred yeares old when he deceased. James King, borne in Dublin, and scholer to M. Patrike Cusacke, vnder whose being commendable trained, he repaired to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he deceased before he could attaine to that ripenesse of learning, whereto one of so pregnant a wit was like in time to aspire, he wrote Carmina in laudem Henrici Sidnai, Diuersa epigrammata. Kete, a learned and an expert physician. Leurouse a learned diuine, sometime bishop of Kilbare, and deane of saint Patriks in Dublin. Aeneas Loghlen, or Macleighlen, master of art, and a preacher. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare one thousand five hundred seuentie and six in August, he is a proper philosopher, no stranger in scholasticall diuinitie, a pretie Latinist: he wrote De speciebus contra mendacem monachum, In Aristotelis physica, Theeses ex praeceptis iuris vtriusque partibus selectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali consecratas.

Peter Lombard borne in Waterford, scholer to Lombard, master Peter White, hauing imployed two yeares and a halfe in the studie of philosophie at Louaine, he was chosen when he proceeded master of art, Primus vniuersitatis, by the vniuersite consent of the foure principals, which preferment did hapen to none in such consenting wise, in manie yeares before: he wrote Carmen heroicum in doctoratum Nicholai Quemerfordi. Doobie Macchragh, a student in diuinitie. Macgrane, a scholemaster in Dublin, he wrote carols and sundrie ballads. Malachias borne in Ulster, his life is exadlie written by saint Bernard, in whose abbey he died in the yeare one thousand one hundred fiftie and eight, he wrote Constitutionum communium lib. 1. Legum coelibatus lib. 1. Nouarum traditionum lib. 1. Ad D. Barnardum epist. plures. Malachias, the minorit or greie frier, a student in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he attained to that knowledge in diuinitie, as he was the onelie man in his time that was appointed to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a sharpe reprobator of vice, a zelous imbracer of vertue, enemy to flatterie, friend to simplicitie: he flourished in the yeare

D. 3.

one

Mauricius,  
Iohannes Cam-  
erici in cap.  
35. fol.

one thousand three hundred and ten; he wrote De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1. Conciones plures, lib. 1.

Mauricius Hybernus, of him Iohannes Camertes, thus writeth. *Annis ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea insula oriundus Mauricius, D. Francisci ordinis professor, in dialecticis, utraque philosophia, metaphysica, ac sacra theologia plurimum eruditus. Vir in super dici potest, qua humanitate, quidam morum sanctimonia praeditus fuerit. Is cum annis plurimis in Patavino gymnasio bonas artes docuisset, cum summa omnium gratia, ob eius singularem eruditionem, ac candidissimos mores, à Iulio secundo pontifice maximo in Tuvanensem archiepiscopum creatus est. Quo cum relicta Italia bellis in ea saevientibus proficisceretur, non multum post, magna studiorum iactura, cum nondum quinquagesimum aetatis suae attigisset annum, mortem obiit. Erant plurima suae doctrina in manibus monumenta, sed ea ob immaturam eius mortem edere non licuit. Quantum fuerit inter eum, dum viveret, & me necessitudinis vinculum, testantur sexcentae epistolae, quas plenas charitatis indicys, varijs temporibus ad me dedit. Eis quanta verae amicitiae vis post amici obitum, relegens soleo assidue recreari.*

There did (saith Ioannes Camertes) of late yeares one Mauricius borne in Ireland excell, a greite frier profess, verie well sene in logike, deaplie grounded in philosophie, both morall & naturall, learned in the metaphisiks, in divinitie pœrelesse. Scantlie maie I tell with how great cartesse & vertue he was indued. When he had professed at Padua the liberall arts manie yeares with no small renomete; he was created by Julius the second, not onelie for his profound knowledge, but also for the sinceritie of his life, archbishop of Tuen. When he was travelling thitherward, being departed frō Italie, by reason of the byzores that were there daily increasing, he ended his life to the great losse of learning, before he was full fiftie yeares old. He had sundrie woorks in hand, which he could not have finished by reason of his brutellie death. How deere and entier friends he and I were one to the other during his life, the letters he addresed me from time to time, to the number of six hundred, sheweth with loue and kindnesse, too manifestlie declare. And by perusing of them after his death (such is the force of friendship) I am greatlie comforted. Thus saith Camertes. This Mauricius wrote Commentarios super Scotum in pradicabilia, In magistrum sententiarum lib. 4. Mauricius archbishop of Cashill, he flourished in king Johns reigne. Giraldus Cambrensis, upon his coming into Ireland, and debating the countrie in the hearing of this prelat, saieing that albeit the inhabitants were wont to brag of the number of their saints, yet they had no martyrs: Pourfate verie well sir (quoth the archbishop) indeed as rude as this countrie is o; hath bene, yet the dwellers had the saints in some reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrie is come to your kings hands, we shall (I trust) shortly be stored with martyrs.

Mauricius  
Cashillensis.

Magh.

Monke.  
Deitan.

Magran.  
Morris.

Agent.

Obuge.

John Magh a diuine, he wrote a treatise, De possessione monasteriorum. Ponete a ciuilian and a god Latinist. Pellan, sometime fellow of Alfoles college in Orford, a learned physician. Patrike Magran a diuine. Philip Morris a scholer of Orford and after deane of S. Patriks in Dublin, he flourished in the yeare 1446, and wrote these woorks. Declamationes quasdam lib. 1. Lecturas scripturarum lib. 1. Sermones ad populum, lib. 1. Contra mendicantem validam lib. 1. Agent, baron of Deluin, scholed in the vniuersitie of Cambridge. Wilkain Agent a proper gentleman, and of a singular god wit, he wrote in the English tong diuerse sonets.

Dauid Obuge, borne in the towne of Bildeare, for his learned lectures, and subtile disputations openlie published in Orford and Treuers in Germanie, he

was taken for the gem and lanterne of his countrie. In his time Giraldus Bonontensis, being master generall of the Carmelites, was at war with William Aidington, the ppointiall of all the English Carmelites. Whereupon tenne of the wisest and learnedest Carmelites that then were resident in England, being fullie elected to resist their generall, Obuge was chosen to be the forman of all the said crew. Giraldus Bonontensis vnderstanding that he being an Irishman, was so hot in the controuersie, was egerly bent against Obuge, because he assumed himselfe to haue had fauour at his hands, by reason Obuge was borne in that countrie where the Giraldines his kinsmen were planted, and thereby on he was banished Italie. This storme in pcesse of time being appeased, the outcast Carmelite was made the generall gardian of all his fraternitie in Ireland: which countrie by his continuall teaching and preaching was greatlie edified. Duer this he was so politike a counsellor, that the nobilitie and estates in causes of weight, would haue recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophie an Aristotle, in eloquence a Tullie, in diuinitie an Augustine, in the ciuill law a Iustinian, in the canon a Panoymitane, he flourished in the yeare 1320, he deceased at Bildeare, leauing these learned woorks intrested to posteritie. Sermones ad Clerum lib. 1. Epistolae 32 ad diuersos lib. 1. Propositiones disputatas lib. 1. Lectiones Treuerenses lib. 1. Regulae Iuris lib. 1. Contra Giraldum Bononiensem.

Owen Odehwe, a preacher, and a maker in Irish. Thomas Oheirnaie, deane of Cozke, a learned diuine, he wrote in Latine Ad Iacobum Stanhurstum epist. plures. Thomas Oheirigh, bishop of Koffe, an exquisite diuine, brought vp in Italie. Pander, a man zelouslie addicted to the reformation of his countrie, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latine, intituled Salus populi. Patricius, who notwithstanding he be no Irishman borne, yet I may not ouerslip him in the catalog of Irish authors, for as much as his whole woorks tended to the conversion and reformation of that countrie: he was surnamed Succetus or Apagonius, an absolute diuine, adorning his deepe knowledge therein with sinceritie of life. Being sent into Ireland by the appointment of Celestinus the first, accompanied with Segestius a priest, he converted the Island from idolatrie and paganism to christianitie. He wrote these bookes following. De antiquitate Aualonica lib. 1. Itinerarium confessionis lib. 1. Odorporicon Hybernicae lib. 1. Historia Hybernica ex Ruano lib. 1. De tribus habitaculis lib. 1. De futura electorum vita lib. 1. Abiectionis quaedam 366 lib. 1. Ad Cereticum tyrannum epist. 1. Sermones lib. 1. Ad Aualonicos incolae epist. 1. Ad Hybernicae ecclesias epist. plures. Ad Britannos epist. plures. He deceased, being one hundred, twentie, and two yeares old, in the yeare 458, or as some suppose 491, and lieth buried in an ancient citie, in the north of Ireland, named Downe, according to the old verse, which saith: *Hi tres in Duno tumulo, tumulantur in vno, Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pium.*

Patricius Abbas a learned man, and much giuen to the edifying of his countriemen: he flourished in the yeare 856, and deceased at Claconburie. Some ascribe the finding of saint. Patrikes purgatorie to this abbat, not to Patrike that converted the countrie; but that error hath bene before sufficientlie reprobated. This abbat wrote Homilies lib. 1. Ad Hybernicae epist. plures. Petrus Hybernicus, professor of philosophie in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lanterne of scholemen, both in philosophie and diuinitie, was his scholer; being therefore as highlie renowned as Socrates is

Giraldus  
Bonontensis.

Odehwe.  
Oheirnaie.  
Oheirigh.  
Pander.  
Patricius.

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Patricius  
abbas.

Petrus  
Hybernicus.

for being master to Plato; or Plato is, for having Aristotle to his scholar. This Petrus flourished in the yeare 1230, he wrote Quodlibeta theologica lib. 1. Plunket, baron of Dunlany, scholar in Kington, to Mr. Staghens, after sent by Sir Christopher Barnewall knight, his frendlie father in law, to the universitie of Oxford. Where, how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of his acquaintance presently perceiue, so hereafter when his workes shall take the aire, that now by reason of bathfull modestie, or modest bathfullnesse are wrongfull imprisoned, and in manner stifled in shadowed couches, I doubt not, but by his fame and renowne in learning, shall be answerable to his desert and valure in writing.

Pointell, a batchelor of diuinitie, sometime chapleine in New college in Oxford, after returning to his countrie, he was beneficed in Drogbeda, from thence fitted to Louaine, where through continuall hearing of lectures and disputations, more than by his priuat studie, he purchased a laudable knowledge in diuinitie. Whereby he gaue manifest shew of the profit that riseth of exercise and conference. Upon this occasion, one of his acquaintance was accustomed to tell him that he had all his diuinitie by hearefate. He deceased at Louaine in the yeare 1573. Nicholas Ruemeford, doctor of diuinitie, proceeded the thre and twentieth of October, he wrote in English a vertie pithie and learned treatise, and therewithall exquisitelte pend, intituled; Answers to certeine questions propounded by the citizens of Waterford; Diuerse sermons. There liued latelie of the surname a graue prelat in Waterford, and properlie learned.

Rian, there liued two brethren of the surname, both scholars of Oxford, the one a good ciuillan, the other verie well seme in the mathematicals. Richard archdeacon of saint Patriks, chancelor in the universitie of Dublin, proceeded doctor of the canon law, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie. Robert Rochford bozne in the countrie of Welesford, a proper diuine, an exact philosopher, and a vertie good antiquarie. There is another Rochford that is a student of philosophie. Roth, batchelor of law, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Oxford. There hath bene another Roth vicar of S. Johns in Kilkennie prestlie learned. Iohannes de sacro bosco, bozne in Holwood, and thereof surnamed De sacro bosco; he wrote an excellent introduction, De Sphera. Sedgrau, two brethren of the name, both students in diuinitie. Shaghens fellow of Balioll college in Oxford, after scholemaster in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man. Sheine, scholar in Oxford and Paris; he wrote, De Repub. Elias Sheth bozne in Kilkennie, sometime scholar of Oxford, a gentleman of a passing good wit, a pleasant conceited companion, full of mirth without gall; he wrote in English diuerse sonets. Michael Sheth bozne in Kilkennie, master of art. Skidmo, bozne in Croke, and gardian of Poghill.

Richard Smith bozne in a towne named Rackmackie, three miles distant from Welesford, surnamed Smith; of his father who was by occupation a smith, being foureteens yeeres of age he stole into England, and repaired to Oxford, where in tract of time he proceeded doctor of diuinitie, was elected doctor of the chaire, taken in those daies for a paretelle pearle of all the diuines in Oxford, as well in scholasticall as in positive diuinitie. Upon the death of quene Marie he went to Louaine, where he read openly the apocalypse of saint John, with little admiration and lesse reprehension; he wrote in English against licentious fasting; of the libertie of fasting; The assertion of the sacrament of altar; A defense of

the sacrifice of the masse one booke; Of vntowitten verities one booke; Retractions one booke. In the Latin tongue he wrote De coelitu sacerdotum lib. 1. De votis monasticis lib. 1. De iustificatione hominis librum vnum.

Nicholas Stanishurst, he wrote in Latine Dierum medicorum lib. 1: he died in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure. James Stanishurst, late recorder of Dublin, ouer his exact knowledge in the common lawes, he was a good orator, and a proper diuine. He wrote in English, being speaker in the parlements; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c: in the third and fourth yeares of Phillip and Marie; An oration made in the beginning of the parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, in the second yeare of the reigne of our soueraigne ladie quene Elisabeth; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Sir Henrie Stohne knight, &c: in the eleuenth yeere of the reigne of our soueraigne ladie quene Elisabeth. He wrote in Latine, Pias orationes. Ad Coraciensem decanum epistolas plures: he deceased at Dublin the seuen and twentieth of December, being one and fiftie yeares old. Upon whose death, I, as nature and dutie bound me, haue made this epitaph following:

*Vita brevis, mors sancta fuit (pater optime) visa,  
Vita timenda malis, mors redamanda bonis.  
Vrbs est orba sopho, legum rectore tribunal,  
Causidicoque cliens, atque parente puer.  
Plurima proferrem, sed me prohibere videtur,  
Fingere vera dolor, fingere falsa pudor.  
Non opus est falsis, sed quae sunt vera loquenda,  
Non mea penna notet, buccina fama sonet.  
Hoc scripsisse satis, talem quandoque parentem  
Est habuisse decem, sed caruisse dolor.  
Filius hac dubitans, talem vix comperit usquam,  
Villus in orbe patrem, nullus in vrbe parem.  
Mortuus ergo, pater, poteris bene viuum haberi,  
Vivus enim mundo nomine, mente Deo.*

Walter Stanishurst, sonne to James Stanishurst, he translated into English Innocent de contemptu mundi: There flourished before anie of these Stanishurst, that was a scholar of Oxford; brother to Gennet Stanishurst, a famous and an ancient mactrone of Dublin, he lieth buried in saint Michaels church. Sutton, one of that name, is a vertie good maker in English. Matthew Talbot scholemaster, a student in Cambridge. William Talbot, John Talbot sonne to William, a master of art, he wrote in Latine, Orationem in laudem comitis Essexiae, Diuerfa epigrammata. Edmund Tanner a profound diuine, he wrote Lectiones in summam D. Thomae. Taster batchelor of art, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Oxford, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuerfa.

Thomas Hybernus bozne in Palmerstonone nere the Paas, he proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Paris, a deepe clerke and one that read much, as may easlie be gathered by his learned workes: he flourished in the yeare 1298, and wrote with diuerse other workes, these bookes insuing: Flores bibliae, Flores doctorum lib. 2. De christiana religione lib. 1. De illusionibus demonum lib. 1. De tentatione diaboli lib. 1. De remedijs victorum lib. 1. Laurentius Toole archbishop of Dublin. Trauerie doctor of diuinitie, he flourished in the reigne of Henrie the eight. There hath bene after him a scholemaster in Dublin of that name. Tundalus Magus a knight, after he became a Charterhouse monk, much giuen to contemplation, wherein he is reported to haue seen diuerse visions of heauen and hell, and thereupon he wrote

Stanishurst.

1577.

1560

1568

1573

Circas nnum Dom. 1506.

Sutton.  
Talbot.

Tanner.  
Taster.

Thomas Hybernus.

Toole.  
Trauerie.

Tundalus.

Virgilius Soli-  
uagus.

754

Tomo primo  
conciliorum.Ultragh.  
Vitanus.

Vigalius.

Ulster.  
wadding.

wryth.

w. d. d. e. e.

white.

wyle.

william.

wille.

wrote Apparitionum suarum lib. 1. he floished in the yeare 1149.

Virgilius Soliugus a noble man borne, being first in yeares, he traueled into Germanie, where being knowne for a vertuous and learned prelat, he was chosen by Edilon duke of Saxaria, to be their rector or gardian of an ancient abbete, named S. Peters abbete, placed in the cite of Salisburgh, after he was created Episcopus Iuanienis, and founded in the said towne of Salisburgh a church. In his time one Bonifacius an Englishman, being general visitour in Saxaria, rebaptized certeine, whome he suspected not to haue bene orderlie baptized. Virgilius detesting the fact, hauing consulted with Edilon archbishop of Saxaria, withstood Bonifacius in his fond attempt. The controuersie being brought before pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius held an error, and that Virgilius and Edilon published in that point sound doctrine, as who so will read Zacharias his epistle vnto Bonifacius shall plainlie see. Virgilius deceased 784, and lieth buried in his church at Salisburgh: he wrote Ad Zachariam Rom. pont. epist. 1.

When Ultragh a physician, his father proceeded doctor of physike in Paris. Vitanus a learned monke fellow to Foillanus, with whome he traueled into France, and with continuall preaching edified the inhabitants of that realme; he floished in the yeare 640. Gilbertus Vigalius a profess Carmelite, and a student in Oxford, he floished in the yeare 1330, he wrote in two great tomes, Summam quarundam legum, De rebus theologicis lib. 1. Ulster, or Ulster a student in Cambridge, and a preacher. Wadding, a proper versifier, he wrote in Latine upon the burning of Paulus staple, Carmen heroicum, Diuersa epigrammata. Edward Wally, he floished in the yeare 1550, and wrote in English, The dutie of such as fight for their countrie. The reformation of Ire-land by the word of God. James Wally, master of art, and student in diuinitie, he translated into Eng-lish, Giraldum Cambrensem, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuersa.

Richard Wally master of art and student in diuinitie. There is a learned man of the name benesired in S. Patrikes church in Dublin, student in Cambridge, and now a preacher. Peter Wally a proper youth, and one that would haue bene an ornament to his countrie, if God had spared him life, he died of a surfer at London, about the yeare 1571. There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname, who writeth a verie proper Latine verse. Willelme deane of Bilsare, there lieth an other learned man of the name, who is archdeacon of saint Patrikes. Peter White borne in Waterford, fellow of Quail college in Oxford, the luckie scholemaster of Spourster; he bestowed his time rather in the making of scholars, than in the penning of bookes, and to the instruction of youth, he wrote Epitom. in copiam E-rafini, Epitom. figurarum rhetoricar. Annotationes in orat. pro Archia poeta. Annotat. in orationem pro T. A. Milone. Epigrammata diuersa. John White batchelor of diuinitie borne in Clonmell, he wrote in Latine Diuersa pia epigrammata. Andrew White a good humanist, a pretie philosopher. Wile, of this surname there floished sundrie learned gentlemen. There lieth one Wile in Waterford, that maketh verie well in the English. Andrew Wile a toward youth, and a good versifier. William an abbat, and (as it is thought) a scholaster, he floished in the yeare 1098, and wrote Prophetias rerum futurarum lib. 1. David Wolfe, a diuine.

Ebus far (gentle reader) haue I indurented to beape vp together a catalog of such learned Irishmen, as by diligent insearch could haue bin found.

Holubett, I am to request the not to misastere the ample number of the learned of that crumtrie by this briefe abstract: considering, that diuerse haue bene, yea and are yet liuing, of profound knowledge that to me are unknowne, and therefore in this register not recorded.

### The disposition and maners of the more Irish, commonlie called the wild Irish.

The eight chapter.



Before I attempt the unfolding of the maners of the more Irish, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne the reader, not to impute any barbarous custome that shall be here laid downe, to the citizens, towne men, and inhabitants of the English pale, in that they differ little or nothing from the ancient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Welsh men, being therefore as mortallie behated of the Irish, as those that are borne in England. For the Irish man standeth so much upon his gentilitie, that he termeth any one of the English sept, and planted in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galtragh, that is, English churle: but if he be an Englishman borne, then he nameth him, Bobdeagh Saronnagh, that is, a Saxon churle: so that both are churles, and he the onelie gentleman. And thereupon if the basest peasant of them name himselfe with his superiour, he will be sure to place himselfe first, as I and Onelle, I and you, I and he, I and my master, whereas the courtesy of the English language is cleane contrarie.

The people are thus inclined, religious, franke, amorous, restless, sufferable of infinit paines, vertiglorious, manie foxerers, excellent hostlermen, delighted with wars, great almsgiours, passing in hospitalitie. The leuder sort, both chearles and late men are sensuall and ouer laze in liuing. The same being vertuouslie bred vp or reformed, are such mirrors of holinesse and aueritie, that other nations reterne but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kind of chastisement. They follow the dead corpse to the graue with holding and barbarous outcries, pitifull in apparence: whereof grew, as I suppose, the prouerbe; Lo wepe Irish.

Credie of praise they be, & fearefull of dishonor, and to this end they esteeme their poets, who write Irish learmedlie, and pen their sonnets heretocall, for the which they are bountifullie rewarded; if not, they send out libels in dyspaise, whereof the lords and gentlemen stand in great awe. They loue tenderlie their foster children, and bequeath to them a childe's portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship: so beneficiall euertie waite, that commonlie fine humaged colues and better, are giuen in rewarde to win a noble mans child to foster, they loue & trust their foster brethren more than their owne. The men are cleane of skin and hew, of stature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire haired, big & large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of bodie.

Their infants, they of manner sort, are neither swaddled nor laped in linnen, but folded vp stark naked in a blanket till they can go. When they are of long crisped bushes of haire which they terme glabs, and the fauue they nourish with all their cunning, to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable peece

The incli-  
tion of the  
people.

To wepe  
Irish.

Poets  
esteemed.

Foster  
children.

The stature  
of the people.

Glabs.

one

Enter Diet.

of villanie. After croffes, which they tearme sham rocks, roots and other herbs they fæd upon, oſemeale and butter they cram together, they drinke wheie, milke, and beefe-broth. Feſh they denoure without bread, and that halfe raw: the reſt boileth in their ſtomachs with *Aqua vite*, which they ſwilt in after ſuch a ſarſet by quarts and pottels: they let their colwes bloud, which growne to a gellie, they bake and ouerſpread with butter, and ſo eate it in lumps. No meat they fanſie ſo much as porke, and the latter the better. One of John Onels houſhold demanded of his fellow whether beefe were better than porke: That (quoth the other) is as intricat a queſtion, as to aſke whether thou art better than Onel.

Cofhering, Followers.

Their noble men, and noble mens tenants, now and then make a ſet feaſt, which they call coſhering, where to ſtocke all their retainers, whom they name ſollowers, their riſtimours, their bardes, their harpers that fæd them with muſike: and when the harper ſwangeth or ſingeth a ſong, all the companie muſt be whiſt, or elſe he chaſeth like a cutpurſe, by reaſon his harmonie is not had in better price. In their coſhering they ſit on ſtraw, they are ſerued on ſtraw, and lie vpon mattresses and pallets of ſtraw. The antiquitie of this kind of feaſting is ſet forth by Virgil, where Dido interteineth the Troian prince and his companie. They obſerue diuerſe degrees, according to which each man is regarded. The baſeſt ſort among them are little yong wags, called Daltins, theſe are lackies, and are ſerulceable to the growncs or hoſſebotes, who are a degree above the Daltins. Of the third degree is the Kerne, who is an ordinarie ſouldior, uſing for weapon his ſword and target, and ſometimes his peece, being commonlie ſo good markemen as they will come within a ſcope of a great caſtell. Kerne ſignifieth (as noble men of deepe iudgement informed me) a ſhower of hell, becauſe they are taken for no better than for rakehels, or the diuels blacke gard, by reaſon of the ſtinking ſturte they keepe, whereſoeuer they be.

Galloglaſſe.

The fourth degree is a galloglaſſe, uſing a kind of pollax for his weapon. Theſe men are commonlie weierward rather by profeſſion than by nature, grim of countenance, tall of ſtature, big of lim, burlie of bodie, well and ſtronglie timbered, chieflie ſæding on beefe, porke & butter. The fiſt degree is to be an hoſſeman, which is the chiefeſt next the lord and capteine. Theſe hoſſemen, when they haue no ſtate of their owne, gad & range from houſe to houſe like arrant knights of the round table, and they neuer diſmount untill they ride into the hall, and as farre as the table. There is among them a brotherhood of harroddes, that proffer to plate at cards all the yeare long, and make it their onelie occupation. They plaie aſaie mantle and all to the bare ſkin, and then trulle themſelues in ſtraw or leaues, they wait for paſſengers in the high wate, inuite them to game vpon the greene, and aſke no more but companions to make them ſport. For default of other ſtuſſe, they paſuue their glbs, the naſſes of their fingers and toes, their dimſſaries, which they leſe or redæme at the courtſie of the winner.

Taleſteller.

One office in the houſe of noble men is a taleſteller, who bringeth his lord aſleepe with tales baine and friuolous, whereinto the number giue ſoth and credit. Without either precepts or obſervations of congruities, they ſpeake Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common ſcholes of leaſcraft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold on ſixtē or twentie yeares, conning by rote the aphoriſmes of Hippocrates, and the ciuill inſtitutes, with a few other parings of thoſe faculties. In their

Latin ſpoken as a vulgar language.

ſcholes they growell vpon couches of ſtraw, their bookes at their noſes, themſelues lie flat proſtrate, and ſo they chant out with a loud voice their leſſons by peecemeale, repeating two or three wordes thirtie or forty times together. Other lawyers they haue liable to certeine families, which after the cuſtome of the countrie determine and iudge cauſes. Theſe conſider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours: be it murder, felonie, or treſpaſſe, all is remedied by compoſition (except the grudge of parties ſeke reuenge) and the time they haue to ſpare from ſpoiling and preiding, they lightlie beſtow in parling about ſuch matters. The Weighon (ſo they call this kind of lawyers) ſitteth on a banke, the lords and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceed. To rob and ſpoile their enemies they deeme it none offence, nor ſeek anie meanes to recover their loſſe, but euen to watch them the like turne. But if neighbours & friends ſend their purueys to purloine one another, ſuch actions are iudged by the Weighons aforeſaid. They honour and reuerence ſtriers and pilgrims, by ſuffering them to paſſe quietly, and by ſparing their manſions, whatſoeuer outrage they ſhew to the countrie beſides them. The like fauour do they extend to their poets & riſtimours.

In old time they much abuſed the honorable ſtate of marriage, either in contracts unlawfull, meeting the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorſements at pleaſure, or in retaining concubines or harlots for wines: yea euen at this daie, where the clergie is ſaint, they can be content to marrie for a yeare and a daie of probation; and at the yeares end, or anie time after, to returne hir home with hir marriage goods, or as much in valyre, vpon light quarrels, if the gentlewomanſ friends be unable to reuenge the iniurie. In like maner mate the forſake hir husband.

In ſome corner of the land they uſed a damnable ſuperſtition, leauing the right armes of their infants bndpiffened (as they tearme it) to the intent it might giue a more vngartious and deable blow. Others

wote that gentlemens children were baptiſed in milke, and the infants of poore folke in water, who had the better or rather the onelie choiſe. Diuerſe other baine and execrable ſuperſtitions they obſerue, that for a complet ſectall would requite a ſeueral volume. Where to they ate the more ſtriſſe wedded, becauſe ſuch ſingle preachers as they haue, reſpoue not in their ſermons the penitſneſſe and ſondneſſe of theſe friuolous dreamers. But theſe and the like enormities haue taken ſo deepe root in that people, as commonlie a preacher is ſoner by their naughtie liues corupted, than their naughtie liues by his preaching amended.

Againe, the verie Engliſh of birth, conuerſant with the ſauage ſort of that people become degenerat, and as though they had taſted of Circes poiſoned cup, are quite altered. Such force hath education to make or mar. God with the beams of his grace clarifie the eyes of that rude people, that at length they maie ſee their miserable eſtate: and alſo that ſuch as are deputed to the gouernement thereof, bend their induſtrie with conſcionable policie to reduce them from rudenes to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from trecherie to honeſtie, from ſauagenelle to ciuilitie, from idleneſſe to labour, from wickedneſſe to godlienneſſe, whereby they maie the ſoner eſpie their blindneſſe, acknowledge their loſenes, amend their liues, frame themſelues pliable to the lawes and ordinances of hir maielte, whome God with his gracions aſſiſtance preſerue, aſwell to the proſperous gouernment of hir realme of England, as to the happie reformation of hir realme of Ireland.

Weighon.

Religious fauoured.

Matrimonie abuſed.

Superſtition in baptiſme.

John Cai. li. 2. Cant. ant.

Ireland whoſe ſuperſtitious.





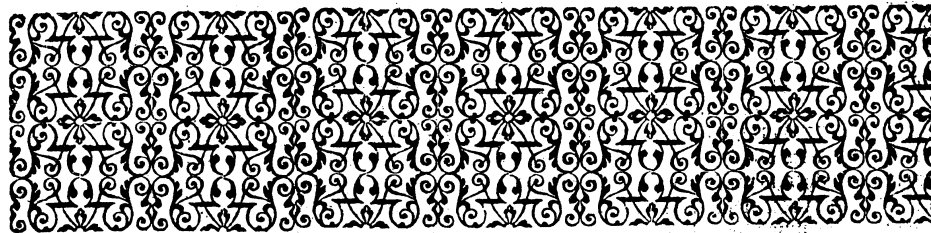
The first inhabitation of Ireland,  
by whome it vvas instructed in the faith,  
*with the seuerall inuasions of the same, &c.*

The authors preface or introduction to the  
*sequele of the historie.*



Although (vndoutedlie) the originall of all nations for the more part is so vncerteine, that who soeuer shall enter into the search thereof, further than he findeth in the holie scriptures, may seeme as it were rather to talke with men that dreame, than to gather authorities sufficient wherevpon to ground anie warranted opinion: yet for as much as the authors (whom in this Irish historie we chieflie follow) haue set downe what they haue found in the Irish antiquities, concerning the first inhabitation of this countrie of Ireland, and because the reader also may be peradventure desirous to vnderstand the same, we haue thought good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauing the credit vnto the due consideration of the circumspect reader; and where the errors are too grosse, giuing by the way some cautions, in like sort as our authors themselues haue doone. According therefore to the order of all other nations and people that seeke to aduance the glorie of their countries, in fetching their beginning with the furthest from some one of ancient antiquitie: so likewise the Irishmen haue registred in their chronicles, that their countrie was first inhabited by one of Noahs neeces, after the manner following.





# THE FIRST INHABITATION of Ireland, &c.



In the yeare of the world, 1525: the patriarch Noah began to admonish the people of vengeance to folloive for their wickednesse and detestable sins, to build his arke to foreshew his kinfolkes and friends of that

univerfall flood which was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earth should be covered with water; & that within few yeares, except they amended in time. This did he before the generall flood, one hundred & fine and twentie yeares. But then everie man seemed to neglect this wholesome admonition, one Cesara that was neece to Noah, hearing his vncles prophesie, doubted least the same should come to passe, and therefore determined with certaine his adherents to seeke adventures in some forren region, persuading his selfe, that if he might find a countrie never yet inhabited, and so with sin unspotted, the generall sentence of Gods wrath should not there take effect. Whereupon rigging a shipp, he committed his selfe to the seas, sailing forth, till at length he arrived in Ireland onelie with threemen, & fittie women, having lost the residue of his companie by misfortune of sundrie shipwacks made in that his long & troublesome journey. The names of the men were these, Wicht, Laigria, and Skirtan. The coast where the first set foot on land, and where also the lieth buried, is called *Nauidare linn*, that is, the shipping: riage or thore: The stones wherein the monozie here of was preserved from violence of waters, have bene some of some (as they themselves have reported) but how true I have not to say: within foitie daies after his coming on land there, the univerfall flood came & overflowed all that coast as well as all other parts of the world. But where as this tale begetteth selfe too manifestlie to be a more distant, if the time and other circumstances be thoughtlie examined, I will not stand longer about the proof or disprove thereof, saying that it is sufficient (as I thinke), to bring it out of credit, to consider, how that the art of sailing was unknowne to the world before the univerfall flood; and no part inhabited except the continent of Asya, and thereabouts. But to this such a forged tale, with the record thereof graven in a stone (as some have holden from Josephus, as some thinke) it shall be sufficient for the glorie of the Irish antiquitie to grant that

Ireland was discovered and peopled by some of Noahs kindred, even with the first Inhabitants of the world (if they will needs have it so, as the likelihood is great) according to that which is set forth in their histories, when about thre hundred yeares after the generall flood immediatlie upon the confusion of tongues, Japhet & his posteritie emboldened by Noahs example, adventured to commit themselves by ship to passe the seas, & to search out the unknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diverse Isles in these west parts of the world.

There was (saie they) in that retinue one of the same progenie named Bartolenus or Baskolenus, who incouraged with the late attempt and success of Japhet his kinsman to Japhet (then retolde intruded upon the monarchie of Asya) searched so far west, intending to attaine to some government, where he might rule without any partner in authoritie, till at length fortune brought him and his people upon the coast of Ireland. Here he settled himselfe with his thre sonnes Languina, Salamis, and Ruthurgus, right active and stout gentlemen, who searching the land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names in certaine notable places named after them; as Languine, Stragrins, and mount Salanga, since named Saint Duninkes hill; and Ruthurgus his pole. Little is remembered of Bartolenus; saying that in that space with many hands working at once, he rid and made plaine a great part of the countie overgrown with woods and thickets.

Thus was Ireland inhabited by this people under the government of these thre sons of Bartolenus and their offspring, about the space of thre hundred yeares. Together with Bartolenus arrived Ireland certaine goodles people of Japhets kinne, whom the Irish termed giants, as those that in bodilie shape exceeded the common proportion of others, and bled their strength to gaine some reigntie, and to oppresse the weakie with rapine and violence. That kinne (Chams kinne) did grow in short while to great numbers, and allwaie intended themselves there soener they came to beare the rule over others. One cause here of was their bodilie strength, answerable to their bignesse of stature; another, the examples of Cham or Zoroastres the magielan; and Japhet his grandfather to Japhet. Which two persons in themselves and their progenies were renowned throughout the world as victorious pitties, ruling over two mightie kingdoms Egypt and Asya. A third cause there was, as this: they repined at the blessings bestowed upon Sem and Japhet, thinking it necessarie to withstand and prevent all lawfull rule and domination, least the curse of Canerrie prophecied by Noah should light upon them, as at length it did. Hereupon

An. mundi.  
1557  
After the best  
authors make  
300 yeares,  
and not 100  
betweene  
Noahs flood  
and Babel.

Bartolenus,  
or Baskole-  
nus.  
Clem. lib. 4.  
Cambred.  
lib. 3.

Ruthurgi flag-  
num.

Ireland first  
inhabited.

Giantes.

Bergon the  
sonne of Sep-  
tane and bro-  
ther to Albion  
(as John Bale  
hath) conquest  
Ireland and the Dy-  
kens.  
Guill exam-  
ples some fol-  
lowed.

Cesara neece  
to Noah.

An. mundi.  
1556

Red. Place in  
Gen. 5.

Rebellion against governours.

A worthy resolution.

Historie too cruellie blest.

Anno mundi. 2557

Hiannus how long he lived.

Forged tales and fables soon credit in time, to passe among the brutish people for true histories.

Gen. 20.

upon rebelliouslie withstanding their due obedience from their lawfull governours here in Ireland, and taking head, set by a king of their owne faction, and maintaining his estate to the oppression of the subjects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides betwixt the lawfull governours & these usurpers, with daile raffles and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them that coveted to live in quiet under their rightfull princes, that they determined with the chance of one general battell, either wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else to end their lives in freedom, and so to be rid of further miserie. But first, where there had growen certaine debates and enmities among themselves, whereby they had inweakened their owne forces, they thought good to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the giants, concluding therefore an agreement, and joining in league with promise to assist each other to subdue their common enemies, they assemblie their power south of all parts of the land, and comming to joine battell with the giants, after they had fought right fiercelie together for the space of certaine houres, the victorie inclined to the right, so that the lawfull kings prevailing against the wicked tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole kind of that mischeifous generation. For the kings meaning to deliver themselves of all danger in time to come, bled their happie victorie with great cruellie, which turned to their owne confusion: for where they neither spared man, woman, nor child that came in the waie for more despise, & fuller satisfiing of their whole revenge, they did not bouchase to burye the carcasses of their slaine enemies; but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs: whereof through stench of the same, such an infective pestilence infused in all places through corruption of aire, that few escaped with life; beside those that got them alive by sea, & fled into other parts.

And hereby lieth a vaine tale among the Irish men, that one of the giants named Hiannus, chancing to be persecuted from this mortalitie, lived for both two thousand and one and fortie yeares; which is more than twisse the age of Jerusalem. By this man (saie they) saint Patrike was informed of all the estate of the countrey; and after that upon request he had received baptism of the said Patrike, he deceased in the yeare after the birth of our savior four hundred and thirtie, as in the Irish histories hath bin unadvisedlie registred. But such foolish tales and vaine narrations may warne the advised reader how to beware of yielding credit unto the like idle fantasies and forged tales, when they hap to light by on such blind legends. For where some of the poets bled for invention sake to saie such dreaming fables for exercise of their stiles and wits rather towards through error and lacke of knowledge, they have bene taken with the ignorant for verie true and most assured histories. But now to the matter, as we find it recorded of an infinit number of giants slaine and made slaine in manner afore rehearsed, certaine there were that got them into some lurking dens or caves, and there kept them till lacke of victuels forced them to come forth, and make shift for subsistence; and perceiuing no resistance because the land was in manner left desolat, they wared bolder; and when they understood how things had passed, they settled themselves in the best part of the countrey, easily subduing the poore feeble soules that remained, and so retaining their lineage, they became lords of the whole Island, keeping the same in subiection for the space of three score yeares together.

Among Japhets sons we read in Genesis that Japhog was one, who planted his people in Septhia nere

Tanais, from thence about the peare of the world two thousand three hundred & sequentene. Jemodus with his fourte sonnes, Starius, Garbaules, Japhinas, Fergusius, captaine over a faire companie of people; were sent into Ireland, who passing by Grecia, and taking there such as were desirous to take adventures with them, at length they landed in Ireland, inhabited the countrey, and multiplied the kin, although not without continuall warre, which they held with the giants for the space of two hundred and sixtene yeares, in the end of which terme the giants prevailing chased them thence againe, so that they retired into Syria. This was about the yeare after the creation (as by their account it should seme) two thousand five hundred thirtie and three, from which time the giants kept possession of the land without fozen invasion, till the yeare two thousand seaven hundred and foureteene; but yet in all that space they were not able to frame a common-twelve; for falling at variance among themselves, and measuring all things by might, seditionlie they bered each other. Which thing comming to the knowledge of the Grecians moved five brethren, sonnes to one Dela, being notable seamen and skillfull pilots to rig a naute, and to attempt the conquest of this Island. These were of the posteritie of Jemodus, and named Cambius, Genandius, Sagandus, Kutherantus, & Slantius. When all things were readie, and their companies assembled, they toke the sea, and finally arriving here in Ireland, found the puissance of the giants soe weakened through their owne civil dissention: so that with more ease they achieved their purpose, and won the whole countrey, bitterlie bestowing and rooting out that wicked generation enemies to mankind; and after divided the Island into foure parts, and in each of them they severallie reigned. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and avoid contention, they concluded to fix a centre-stone in the middle-point of Ireland, to the which ech of their kingdoms should reach, so as they might be equallie partakers of the commodities found within that countrey soile.

These are also supposed to have intended the distribution of thiese into cantreds, euerie cantred or baronie containing one hundred towneships. At length desire of suerietie for the five brethren at variance, agreed the hindred the growing wealths. But Slantius getting the upper hand, and bringing his four brethren to a towne, take on him as chiefe above his other brethren, incroching round about the middle shore for the space of certaine miles, which plot in time obtained the privilege & name of one entier part, & how maketh up the number of five parts (into the which Ireland is said to be diuiden) and is called *Speth*, and in Latine *Provincia*, taking that name (as some have gessed) for that in respect of the other, it contained but the most of cantreds; that is, sixtente (where ech of the other comprehended two and thirtie a piece): or else for that it lieth in the midst of the land. This part Slantius ioined as a surplussage over and above his inheritance, to his monarchie: which part notwithstanding grew to a severall kingdom. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finally Slantius departed this life, and was buried in a mountaine of *Speth*, that beareth hitherto (as they saie) the name after him. When the princes subiect to him, began to quarrell the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereupon ensued continuall warre betwixt them, falling still at debat for the land of *Speth*, which for so long time might remaine in peace. In the meane of those troubles also there arised in Ireland a new arme of *Scythians*, who made claime to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their

Anno mundi. 2317 Jemodus South his fourte sonnes.

Ireland inhabited by the offspring of Japhet. The giants prevailed. 2533

The sonnes of Dela a Grecian skillfull in the art of sailing.

They passe into Ireland, and destroyed the giants.

They divide the countrey into foure parts.

A cantred. Desire of suerietie cause of variance.

Slantius departed this life.

A new arme of Scythians land in Ireland. Partakers kings.

their forefather Remodus: and so taking & making parts, they set all in an uprore, that hauooke was made on each side with fire and sword in most miserable manner.

To be short, they spent themselves in pursuing one another with such outrage, that now they cared not what nation or what souldier they received to their aid, to keepe vp or beat downe a side. By which occasion the Britons also put in a foot among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus to direct his course thither, with the same name which he had made readie to passe over into Gallia, now called France, to the aid of Segwin then king of the Allobroges that inhabited the countries called Saunoie and the Delphinat. But his enterprise into Ireland took small effect, though there were other kings of the Britons that gat dominion there, in so much that Gurguntius, or Gurguntius, the sonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions to belong to him by lineall descent: notwithstanding the British princes neuer inioied the quiet possession thereof, longer than they held it by maine force, but were often repelled and put to the worse with seeking after it, finding there small gaine other than stripes, whereof they bare alwaie great plentie. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastlie (under the conduct of foure capteins) passed into Ireland from Wiscaie, and inhabited that Island, it shall not be impertinent in following the order which our author keepeth, to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may appere from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

2436

In the yeare of the world 2436, after the vntuerfall flood 780, whilst the Israelits serued in Egypt, Cathelus the sonne of one Peale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon dissauor exiled his countrie with a number of his factious adherents and friends.

See more of this matter in the beginning of the Scottish historie.

This noble gentleman being right wise, valiant, and well spoken, comming into Egypt, got honorable intertainment of Pharaosurnamed Dnus, as in the Scottish historie more plainelie appereth. And afterwards departing that countrie, trauesed the seas, and landing first in Doytingall, after some bickering with the inhabitants; at length yet he got by their consent a portion of the countrie, lieng by the banks of the river ancientlie called Spunda, & now Spundego, where thoxilie after he began to build a citie first named Bpachara, but now Barfalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Cathelus his people began to increase in power, through persuasion of the Spaniards their neighbors, they removed into Galicia, where they also builded a citie named Brigantium, which is now called Coruna. Finally, when they grew into such an huge multitude, that Galicia was not able to susteine them, Cathelus with a certaine number of them passed over into Ireland, and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge speciallie in all languages, he was highlie honored: for he not onelie enriched and beautified the Irish tong, but also taught them letters, sought vp their antiquities, practised their youth in warlike feats after the manner of the Grekes and Egyptians, from whence he descended.

The names of Ireland, & whereof the same were derived, as they hold opinion.

To conclude, he was so acceptable to them, that to gratifie such a benefactor, they agreed to name the Island after him Cathelia, and after his wife Scotia. This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onelie to Humfreie Lhuid, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of antiquities, by reason of the sundrie arguments of improbabilitie, as well in the miscount of yeares as other vnlkelihoods found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, thoughlie weighed, and well considered. Yet

certaine it is, that Ireland was ancientlie named Scytia, and the people Scots, as by diuerse old writers it may be sufficientlie proued: albeit by what occasion it first toke that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted. But to proceed with the historie as we find it. The residue of Cathelus his people, which remained in Spaine, founded the citie of Baion in the confines of Gascoigne, and replenished the seacoasts of Spaine with store of inhabitants, and welnere about two hundred yeares after their first arriuall there (when they were estones pestered with multitude of people) they began to fantastic a new boiage, but whether at that time they passed over into Ireland, or some whither else, it is uncerteine.

Notwithstanding sure it is, that in the daies of Gurguntius king of the Britons, the chiefe governor of Baion with foure brethren Spaniards, of the which two are said to be Hiberus and Hermion, not the sonnes (some thinke) of Cathelus (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but some other perhaps that were descended from him, who vnderstanding that diuerse of the westerne Isles were empty of inhabitants, assembling a great number of men, women, and children, imbarcked with the same in three score great vessels, and directing their course westward, hauered a long time in the sea about the Isles of Orkenie, untill by good hap they met with Gurguntius then returning from the conquest of Denmarke (as in the British historie it appereth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of vittels and other necessaries, being such as they were not able longer to abide the seas, incumbred with a sort of women and children, to direct and appoint them to some place where to inhabit; promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege people to him and his heires for ever.

Gurguntius aduising himselfe hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Irish in subiection, and conceiuing hope that those strangers should either subdue or wholly destroye that brutish generation, toke the othes of those Spaniards with hostages, and furnishing them and their ships with all things needfull, set them over into Ireland, where assisted with such Britons as Gurguntius had appointed to go with them for their guides, they made a conquest of the whole countrie, & settled themselves in the same. Some write, that Ireland was before that present void of all inhabitants: but yet they agree that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Britons, & that vnder such conditions as before is recited. So that it appereth the kings of this our Britain had an elder right to the realme of Ireland, than by the conquest of Henrie the second, which title they neuer mainteined, and sometimes preuailed in pursuing thereof, as in the daies of king Arthur, to whom the Irish (as in some histories is remembred) acknowledged their due subiection with paiement of their tribute, and making their appearance at the citie called in the British tong Caer Lheon. Wherevnto when their free assent, the submission of their princes with lawfull conquest and prescription are adioined, an inuincible title must needs be inferred.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantially abled by the Britons, settled themselves, and diuided their seats in quarters, the foure brethren reigning severallie apart in foure sundrie portions in good quiet and increase of welth, untill their pride and ambition armed two of them against the other two: as Hiberus and one of his brethren against Hermion and the other brother. In this dissention Hermion due his brother Hiberus. Of whom at the same time the countrie (as some hold) was named Hibernia, as in the description further

E. 1.

appereth,

Gurguntius.

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards to Ireland in subiection.

The arriuall of the Spaniards in Ireland, Gessie Mon.

The Irish were subiect to k. Arthur, westchester.

Dissention between the brethren.

Such are the fruits of ambition.

See more hereof in the description.

For crime so  
manifest of  
detestable  
cray wanteth  
a colourable  
pretense to ex-  
cuse it.

Ireland divid-  
ed into five  
kingdomes.  
One some-  
reigne ruler  
over the rest.

Pias arrive  
in Ireland.

The oration  
of Rodorike  
king of the  
Pias king of  
Ireland.

appeareth: although some rather hold, that it took the name of iron, of the plentifull mines of that kind of mettall wherewith that land aboundeth: and so those ancient writers which name it Ierna, named it more aptly after the speech of the inhabitants than others, which name it Hibernia. But to proceed. Hermon hereupon to avoid the ill opinion of men, for that he had thus attained to the souerainetie by the unnaturall slaughter of his brother, in that vnhappy ciuill warre, purged himselfe to his subjects, that neither maliciouslie nor contentiouselie, but for his necessarie defense and safetie he had borne armes against his brethren: and to witnesse how farre he was from all desire to rule alone, he appointed certaine captaine as kings, to rule vnder him severall countries, reseruing to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of Peth allotted to the monarchie for the better maintenance of his estate.

These parts appointed forth in this wise at length grew to five kingdomes, Leinster, Connagh, Ulster, and Downe divided into two parts, and sometime to more, by vsurping or compounding among themselves: but euer one was chosen to be chiefe soueraigne monarch over them all. Thus it seemeth that certeinly the Spaniards of the north parts of Spaine, inhabiting the countries about Biscaye and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne histories and the British do wholly agree:) but from whence they came first to inhabit those countries of Spaine, verelie I haue not otherwise to auouch: for no other writers that I can remember, but (such as haue registred the Scottish chronicles) make mention of the comming thither of Cathelus with his wife Scota and their people, in maner as by the said chronicles is pretended. But now to our purpose. An hundred and thirtie chiefe kings are reckoned of this nation from Hermon to Laogirius, the sonne of Healus Maginus, in whose time that holie esteemed man Patrike conuerted them to christianitie. But now in the meane time whilst the Irishmen liued in some tollerable order and rest vnder their severall kings, one Rodorike a Scythian prince with a small companie of men, being weather driven round about the coasts of Britaine, was by chance cast vpon the shore of Ireland.

These were Pias, and the first that had been heard of in these parties (as some authors haue recorded) a people from their vertie cradle giuen to dissention, landleapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardie. They being brought and presented to the Irish king, craued interpreters, which granted, Rodorike their chiefe made this request for him and his, as followeth: Not as denegate from the courage of our ancestors, but fashioning our selues to fortunes course, we are become to craue of Ireland, as humble supplicants that neuer before this present haue so embased our selues to anie other nation. Behold sir king, and regard vs well, no light occasion causeth these lustie valiant bodie to stoop. Scythians we are, & Pias of Scythia, no small portion of glorie resteth in these two names. What shall I speake of the ciuill warre that hath expelled vs from our native homes, or rip vp old histories to moue strangers to becom vs: Let our seruants and children discourse therof at leisure, if perhaps you will vouchsafe to grant vs some time of abode in your land, to the which effect and purpose our vrgent necessitie beseecheth your fauours, a king of a king and men of men are to craue assistance. Princes can well discern and consider how nere it toucheth their honour and suertie, to vphold and releue the state of a king, by treason decayed. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more besemeth the nature of man, than to be moued with compassion, and as it

were to feele the mischances hurt, when they heare and vnderstand of other mens calamities. Admit (we beseech you) and receiue amongst you these few scattered remnants of Scythia: if your rowmes be narrow, we are not manie: if the soile of your countrie be barren, we are borne and enured to hardnesse: if you liue in peace, we are at commandement as subjects: if you warre, we are ready to serue you as souldiours: we demand no kingdome, no state, no pompous triumph in Ireland: we are here alone, and haue left such things behind vs with our enemies: howsoeuer you esteeme of vs, we shall content our selues therewith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mind not what we haue bene, but what we are.

Great consultation was had about this request of these strangers, and manie things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the Irish laid forth for answer the opinions of their antiquaries; that is, such as were skilfull in old histories and sayings of their elders, whereunto they gaue credit, and therefore they gathered it could not be expedient to accept the Scythians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme breedeth quarels: moreover, that the multitude of the inhabitants was such, as come in the whole Ile was vnable to receiue them, and therefore those few new commers, being placed among so manie old inhabitants, might breed quicklie some disturbance to bring all out of ioint. But (said they) though we may not conueniently receiue you among vs, yet shall you find vs ready to further you to be our neighbours.

Not far hence there lieth the great Ile of Britaine, in the north part whereof, being void of inhabitants, your manhoods and policies may purchase for you rowmes to place your selues at ease: we shall appoint you captaine to guide you thither, we shall assist to settle you with our forces in that countrie, make ready your ships that ye may passe thither with all conuenient speed. Encouraged with this perswasion, they took their course towards the north parts of Britaine now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britaine was ready to await their comming, and with sharpe battell vanquishing them in field, due Rodorike with a great number of his retinnes, those that escaped with life, and sought to him for grace, he licensed to inhabit the bittermost end of Scotland. This Marius Humfreie Lhuid taketh to be the same, whome the Romane writers name Aruiragus, who reigned about the yere of our Lord seuentie, a prince of a noble courage and of no small estimation in his daies (as should seeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the said Humfreie Lhuid anoucheth) was Speurig.

But now concerning the Pias, whether that those that escaped with life, got seats by king Speurigs grant (as aboue is specified) or that getting to their ships, they withdrew into the Isles of Orkney, and there remained. Whiles they wanted also to increase their issue: and because the Britons thought scoyne to match their daughters with such an vnknotone and new come nation, the Pias continued their first acquaintance with the Irish, and by intreatie obtained wiues from them, with condition, that if the crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yeld thus much to the prerogative of the woman, that the prince should be elected rather of the blond roiall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (saith Beda) the Pias were well known to keepe vnto his time.

But howsoeuer we shall giue credit to this historie of the first comming of Pias into this land, if we grant that to be true which Geffreie of Monmouth reporteth

Donchall  
consultation.

The emper-  
of the Irish  
the request of  
the Pias.

The Irish  
persuaded  
the Pias to  
place them-  
selues in  
Britaine.

Marius  
whereof  
led Arui-  
agus king of  
Britons.

Pias mar-  
ried with the  
Irish and co-  
uenant the  
succession of  
their kings.

See  
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reporter of this victorie obtained by Marius against the Picts: yet haue I thought good to aduertise the reader, that the Britons of this Ile were disquieted by that nation long before the supposed time of the said king Marius. For Pomeritius in his oration intituled Panegyricus, Max. Dictus hath these words (speaking of the conquest which Julius Cesar had here against the Britons.) But in that age (saith he) Britaine was neither furnished with anie ships of warre for battell on the sea, and the Romans after the warres of Affrike and Asia, were well practised with the late warres against pirats, and after that against Pithyridates, in which they were exercised as well by sea as land. Whereouer, the British nation was then onskillfull, and not trained to feats of war, for the Britons then being onelie vsed to the Picts and Irish enemies, people halfe naked through lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romans force, so that Cesar might onelie as if were glorie in this, to haue passed in that iourneie ouer the ocean sea.

Whereby it should seeme that the Picts and Irish did disquiet the Britons, before the comming of Julius Cesar into this Ile of Britaine. But whether they inhabited at that time in some part of Ireland, or in some of the out Isles by Scotland, either in anie part of Germanie, or Scandinavia; or else whether they were already settled in the furthest parts of Scotland, as in Cathnessie, towards Dungsbie head: we haue not to asseme, other than that which in Scotland we haue written, in following Hector Boetius, whose opinion how farre it is to be suspected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the consideration of others. But for the first comming as well of the Picts as Scots (whom he maketh inhabitants with in this Ile so long before) either the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had anie gouernement here, by anie ancient or approued writer. I cannot perswade my selfe, that either Scots or Picts had anie settled seats within the bounds of this Ile of Britaine, till after the birth of our sauour: but that rather the Scots, as yet inhabiting in Ireland, and in the westerne Isles called by the Romane writers Hebrides, and the Picts, in the Isles of Orkneye called in Latine *Orkades*, did vse to make often inuasions vpon the Britons dwelling vpon the coasts that lie nere to the sea side ouer against those Isles.

From whence they comming ouer in such vessels or boats, as the fishermen doe yet vse, at length the Picts first about the yere of our Lord 290, as Humfric Leuid hath noted, entred generallie into Cathnessie, and other the north parts of Britaine, where they settled themselves, and removed the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and shortly the Scots likewise came ouer and got seats in the west parts ouer against the north of Ireland, and in those westerne Isles, which Isles they first got into their possession. And in this sort those nations Picts and Scots came first to inhabit here in this our Ile of Britaine, as the said Humfric Leuid, not without aduised coniectures grounded vpon good reason and sufficient authoritie to lead him so to exaeme, hath written in his short commentaries of the description of Britaine.

And verelie I thinke we may more safely beleue that which he auoucheth in this behalfe, than that which Hector Boetius setteth downe, sith for anie thing I can perceiue, his authoritie bring no such warrant with them, but we may with good reason suspect them. But for the man himselfe, euen as he hath verie orberlie, and with no lesse cunning than eloquence set downe diuerse things incredible, and reported some other contrarie to the truth of the historie for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it;

so in his excuse it may be alledged, that he was not the author of those matters, but wrote what he found in Cambell, Veremound, Cornelius Hibernensis, and such other, in like case as Gesserie of Monmouth wrote what he found in old ancient British monuments, & was not the deuiser himselfe (as some haue suspected) of such things as in his booke are by him expressed. But now to returne to the Picts. It may be that they came at severall times in like manner as the Scots did out of Ireland, of whom the first is remembred to be Fergus, the son of Fergusbar, a man right skillfull in blasoning of armes, himselfe bare a lion gules in a field of gold. The marble stone wherof in the Scottish historie is mentioned, brought into Ireland by Simon Brechus, and kept till those daies as a pretious iewel, this Fergus obtained towards the prospering of his iourneie: for that it was thought, who so had the same in possession, could not but obtaine souereigntie and rule ouer others as a king, namely those of the Scottish nation.

This stone Fergus bringing into Scotland, left it there. But although that Fergus be put in ranke among those Scottish kings that should reigne in Britaine, yet he bare small rule there, & was diuers times beaten backe into Ireland, where finally he was drowned by misfortune in the creeke of Anockfergus. That he incountred with Collus king of the Britons (as the Scots write) is not possible, as our author hath verie well noted; except they mislike the name of Collus for Cailus, with whom the age of Fergus might well meet: the rather, for that in the first yeres of Cailus reigne the Picts entered, Fergus immediately after them, 330 yeres per Christ was borne; where Collus reigned in the yere after the incarnation 124, about which time befell the second arrivall of the Picts in Britaine. And thus it may be they mislike, by error of the name, Collus for Cailus, and the second arrivall of the Picts for the first. But now to the course of the historie. Whilst the Picts were seated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude; the Irish made sundrie errands ouer to visit their daughters, nephews, and kinsfolks, and by their often comming and going they were aware of certeine waste corners, and small Islands void of inhabitants, as that which seemed rather neglected and suffered to lie waste.

Whereof they aduertised their priues, namely Keuther or Kenda, who being descended of Fergus, determined to inuest himselfe in certeine portions of land beside the Picts. He therefore well appointed passed ouer, and partly by composition, and partly by force, got possession of those quarters which were desolate, & began to erect a kingdome there, by little and little increasing his limits: and finally got betwixt the Picts and Britons, possessing that countrie which took the name of him called Kewderdaball, and now Kildesdale (as you would saie) Rheudas part; for Dahall in the Scottish tongue signifieth a part. In these quarters he could not settle himselfe, but that he was oftentimes assailed by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chance was to be slaine, but the kingdome continued still in the hands of his successors: and the Picts and Scots grew in friendship together, permitting each other to liue in quiet.

The Scots nestled themselves in the Isles and coasts along the sea side. The Picts held the middle part. But shortly after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuersitie of people, place, custome and language, together with the memory of old grudges, moued such gelousie and inward hate betwixt those nations, that it seemed they were ready to breake out into open dissention vpon the first occasion. And as in such cases there neuer

Gesserie Monmouth the translator: not the author of the British historie.

The doubt of the time of the comming of Picts and Scots into Britaine, Fergus king of Scots. The marble stone.

Anockfergus

224

Keuther or Kenda.

The amitie betwixt Scots and Picts.

Their falling out.

ibidall  
ultation.

answer  
e Irish to  
request of  
Dungs.

See Diodorus  
Siculus lib. 4.  
cap 9 who  
say they  
should inhabit  
a part out of  
Britaine.

Hea. Boetius.

Irish  
rather  
dies to  
thems  
s in  
aine.

ins or  
the case  
raising  
ing of  
ins.

See more  
harcot in  
England.  
The Picts  
when they  
first inhabited  
Britaine.

The Scots  
in Britaine.

Hum. Leuid.

mar  
th the  
ow co  
the  
on of  
ings.

Strife about  
a dog.

wanteth one deuisse or other to raise tumults: it chanced that certeine of the Scottish nobilitie had got out of Grece (as some write) a Spolian hound, which both in swiftnesse of foot, and pleasantnesse of mouth, was accounted perlesse. This hound being stollen by a Pict, was cause of the breach of peace; so that cruell wars thereof ensued, as in the Scottish historie more at large appereth. But where some write, that Eugenius should reigne ouer the Scots when this quarell fell out for stealing of this hound, Hector Boetius saith, it was in king Crathlinth's daies. Wherouer it shuld seme by that which the same Boetius writeth, that the hound or grehound for the which this trouble rose, was not fetched so far as out of Grece, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithstanding because the Latins call such kind of dogs *Molossy*, for that the first generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Grece called Apollose; it may be, that some haue thought that this grehound came from thence, for that he was so called after the name of that place from whence the breed of him first came. But to returne to the historie.

Caranus  
agrayth them.  
Anno Christi.  
288

After the Scots and Picts had tugged together a while, at length one Caranus a Briton laboured a friendship betwixt them, and bringing his purpose to passe, perswaded them to lend him their helpe to expell the Romans out of Britaine: but his hap was shortlie after to be slaine by the Romane capitaine Aleus. And so new sturs were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romans, the Scots & Picts for the most part taking part with the Britons, till at length Sparinus the Romane lieutenant found means to set the Scots and Picts at variance, and joining with the Picts in league, used their aid against the Scots, whome he so earnestlie pursued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were utterlie expelled out of all the coasts of Britaine, so that they fled some into one part, some into another, but the most number got them ower into Ireland, and the Isles, where they remained for the space of fourtie three yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Fergus, being the second of that name, as they account him. From thenceforth the Scots kept such foot in Britaine, that they inroched vpon their neighbors, in such wise as they wared stronger than the Picts, whome in the end they quite rooted forth, and nestled themselves in their seats, although now at their first returne they concluded a firme amitie with the same Picts, that joining their forces together, they might the better make head against both Romans and Britons, whome they reputed as common enemies to them both.

The Scots  
expelled.  
See more of  
this matter in  
Scotland.  
326

The Picts  
rooted forth  
by the Scots.

Giraldus  
Cambrensis.

Thus the Scots a licelie, cruell, vnquiet, ancient and vicioious people, got place within this Ile of Britaine, mixed first with Britons, secondlie with Picts, thirdlie and chieflie with the Irish, which after this time left their name of Scots vnto those in Britaine, and chose rather to be called Irish: and then came by the distinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Ireland, *Scotia minor* for the countrie inhabited by the Scots within Britaine. But Cambrensis saith, that the Scots chieflie preuailed vnder the leading of sir valiant gentlemen, sons to Murdus king of Ulster, who in the time of Ioseph, surnamed the great that inuoted the monarchie of Ireland, passing ouer into Scotland to succour their countreimen there, at length tooke vp for themselves certeine parcels of ground, which their posteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrensis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord 1200, who treateth hereof more largelie in his booke intituled *Topographia Britannia*. Since which time they haue bene ever taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictish nation being diuised into

corners, albeit the mountaine parts and out Isles vnto this daie are inhabited with a wild kind of people called Redshanks, esteemed by some to be mingled of Scots and Picts.

The Scots write, that their king Gregorie the sonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 875, pretending a title to Ireland, as belonging to him by right of lawfull succession, made a iourneie thither, and within a small time made a conquest of the countrie. This Gregorie lieth buried in one of the out Isles called Iona, or Colme-hill, where they speake naturallie Irish: and therefore some of the Scots would seme to make the conquest of Henrie the second in Ireland, a reuolting from the right inheritors: although they doe confesse they can not tell how they came from the possession of it, otherwile than by forging a tale that they willinglie forewent it, as reaping lesse by reteining it, than they laid forth, and so not able to discharge that which was to be defraied about the keeping of it they gaue it ouer, perswading themselves that the kings of England haue gained little or nothing by the hauing of Ireland. And yet in the time whilst sir Henrie Sidneie was gouernour there, when the countie of Ulster was auouched to belong vnto the crowne: it was pposed in open parlement, that the reuenues of that earldome, in the daies of Edward the third were reckoned, and found to amount vnto the summe of one and thirtie thousand marks yearelie, the same being but a fift part of Ireland: so that if things were well looked vnto, and such improuement made as might be, Ireland would suffice to beare the necessarie charges, and yeld no small surplusage vnto the princes coffers.

Gregorie  
king of Scots  
subdueth  
Ireland.  
875

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie.

But now as it falleth forth in the historie. We haue thought good here to shew in what sort Ireland came to receiue the christian faith. We find in deed that immediatlie after Christes time, saint James the apostle, & other trauellling into these west parts, did first instruct the Irish people, and teach them the glad tidings of the gospel, so that diuerse amongst them euen then were christened, and beleued, but not in such numbers (as may be thought) whereby it should be said, that the countrie was generallie conuerted. Notwithstanding, the Scottish chronicles auouch, that in the daies of their king Finco-marke, who departed this life in the yeare of our redemption three hundred fiftie and eight, Ireland was conuerted to the faith by this meanes.

Ireland in-  
structed in the  
faith by saint  
James the ap-  
ostle.

A woman of the Pictish blood chanced (saie they) to serue in those daies the queene of Ireland, which woman being a christian hir selfe, first instructed hir mistresse in the faith and true points of christianitie; and the queene hir husband, who conuerted the whole Irish nation. Howbeit, by the report of the Irish writers themselves, this should not seme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrie was rather still esteemed as one of the vnchristened Isles, till about the yeare fourte hundred twentie and six, whilst Celestine the first of that name gouerned the see of Rome, who vpon conference had with his cleargie, touching the restoring of the christian faith in the west parts of the world, greatlie decayed there by the heresie of Pelagius, vnderstood that Ireland also by reason of distance from the hart of christendome, and rudenesse of the nation, had receiued little fruit at all of true religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other that then were assembled to treat of those matters was one Paladius archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauell towards the conuersion of anie of those lands whither it shuld please them to appoint him to go. Celestine knowing the sufficiency of the man consecrated him bishop, and authorised his iourneie by letters vnder his seal,

Paladius of-  
fereth to go  
into Ireland.  
He is conse-  
crated bishop.

# In the christian faith and religion.

seale, furnished his wants, and associating to him such religious persons and others as were thought necessarie to assist him, deliuered to him the bible with great solemnitie, & other monuments in furtherance of his good speed. At length he landed in the north of Ireland, from whence he escaped right hardlie with his life into the Isles adjoining, where he preached the gospel, and converted no small number of Scots to the christian belife, and purged that part that was christened from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottish historie more at large appereth. He was required by the Scots that inhabited here in Britaine, to leaue the Isles and come ouer vnto them, there to instruct the people in the waie of true saluation, to the which with the popes licence he seemed willing enough: and the bishop of Rome the more readilie condescended thereto for that in the instant time, when Paladius was to depart, one Patrike attended at Rome, suing for licence to be sent into Ireland.

The pope therfore granted that Paladius might passe ouer to the Scots in Britaine, and appointed Patrike to go with authoritie from him into Ireland; where, vpon his arrivall he found the people so well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarie to their accustomed frowardnesse, that a man would haue thought that had seene their readines, how that the land had bene reserved for him to conuert. And because it pleased God to bestow such an vniuersall benefit to this land by his meanes, we haue thought good in following our author herein, to touch some part of the course of his life. This Patrike in Latine called *Patricius*, was bozne in the marches betwixt England and Scotland, in a towne by the sea side called Giburne, whose father hight Calphurnius, a deacon and sonne to a priest: his mother named Conches, was sister to saint Martine that famous bishop of Towres in France.

Patrike of a child was brought vp in learning, and well instructed in the faith, and much giuen to deuotion. The Irishmen in those daies assisted with Scots and Brits were become archpirats, soze disquieting the seas about the coastes of Britaine, and vsed to sacke little small villages that laie scattered along the shore, and would often lead awaie captiue the inhabitants home into their countrie. And as it chanced, Patrike being a lad of sixteen yeares old, and a scholer then in secular learning, was taken among other, and became slave to an Irish lord called Machuaine, from whome after six yeares terme he redeemed himself with a peece of gold which he found in a clod of earth, that the swine had newlie turned vp as he followed them in that time of his captiuitie, being appointed by his maister to keepe them. And as affliction commonlie maketh men religious, the regard of his former education printed in him such remorse and humilitie, that being thenceforth wearied from the world, he betooke himselfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and trust in that land: and herewith not despairing, but that in continuance some good might be wrought vpon them, he learned their tongue perfectlie. And alluring one of that nation to heare him companie for exercise sake, he departed from thence, and got him into France, euer hauing in his mind a desire to see the conuersion of the Irish people, whose babes yet vnborne seemed to him in his dreames (from out of their mothers wombs) to call for christendome.

In this purpose he sought out his uncle Martine, by whose means he was placed with Germanus the bishop of Auxerre, continuing with him as scholer or disciple for the space of fortie yeares: all which time he bestowed in like studie of the holie scriptures, prayers, and such godlie exercises. When at the age of

threescore and two yeares, being renowned through the Latine church for his wisdom, vertue and skill, he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his commendation from the French bishops vnto pope Celestine, to whom he uttered his full mind and secret vow, which long since he had conceived touching Ireland. Celestine inuested him archbishop and primate of the whole land, set him forward with all fauour he could deuise, and brought him and his disciples outward to their countrie.

In the three and twentieth yeare therefore of the emperor Theodosius the yonger, being the yeare of our Lord 430, Patrike landed in Ireland, & because he spake the tongue perfectlie, and withall being a reuerend personage in the eyes of all men, manie listened and gaue good care to his preaching, the rather for that (as writers haue recorded) he confirmed his doctrine with diuerse miracles: but speciallie those regarded his words before all others, that had some taste of the christian faith aforehand, either by the coming into those parties of Paladius, and his disciple one Albion an Irish bishop, or otherwise by some other: for it is to be thought, that continuallie there remained some sparke of knowledge of christianitie euer since the first preaching of the gospel (which was shortly after the ascension of our saviour) by saint James (as before is mentioned.) In continuance of time Patrike won the better part of that kingdome to the faith.

Laigerius sonne of Meale the great monarch, although he receiued not the gospel himselfe, yet permitted all that would to embrace it. But sith he refused to be baptized, & applie to his doctrine; the bishop denounced against him a curse from God according to his law, but tempered yet with mercie and iudgement, as thus: That during his life he should be victorious, but after him neither the kingdome should stand, nor his linage inherit. From thence he toke his waie vnto Conill lord of Connagh, who honourable receiued him, and was conuerted with all his people; and after sent him vnto his brother Logan king of Leinster, whome he likewise conuerted. In Mounster he found great friendship and fauour by means of an earle there, called the earle of Daris, who honoured him highly, and gaue him a dwelling place in the east angle of Armagh called Sozta, where he erected manie celles and monasteries, both for religious men and women. He trauelled thirte yeares in preaching through the land, planting in places conuenerent bishops and priests, whose learning and vertuous conuersation by the speciall grace and fauor of God, established the faith in that rude nation. Other thirte yeares he spent in his prouince of Armagh among his brethren, placed in those houses of religion, which by his meanes were founded, and so he liued in the whole about one hundred twentie two yeares, and lieth buried in Downe.

Of saint Patrikes purgatorie ye shall find in the description of the countrie, and therefore we doe here omit it. But yet because we are entered to speake of the first foundation of churches and religious houses here in Ireland, in following our author in that behalfe: we will speake somewhat of such other holie men and women as are renowned to haue liued in Ireland, as ornaments to that Ile, more glorious than all the triumphs & victories of the world, if their zeale had bene seasoned with true knowledge of the scriptures: as it maie well be that in some of them it was, howsoever mistaken by the iudgement and report of the simple, which hath raised not onlie of these persons, but also of the verie apostles themselves, certeine fantastick tales, which with the learned are out of all credit. But this matter I will leaue to diuines to discusse, trusting that the reader will content

Patrike the first  
vested archbishop of Ireland.

430

Albion an Irish  
bishop, disciple to  
Paladius.

Laigerius son  
to Meale the  
great monarch  
of Ireland,  
permitted the  
Irishmen to  
become christians.

Conill lord of  
Connagh,  
Logan king of  
Leinster.

The earle of  
Daris.

S. Patrikes  
purgatorie.

Religious  
houses & churches  
founded.

Others doings  
mistaken.

sent himselfe to heare what we find recorded by old writers, which we shall set downe, and offer to their considerations to thinke thereof as reason maie best moue them.

Giral.Camb.

Sir John  
Conweie pre-  
sident of  
Ulster.  
S. Colme.

Poet, that is,  
Ogus in  
Latine, or (as  
we may say)  
a magician or  
sorcerer in  
English.  
An. Dom. 439.

The estimate  
wherein he  
was had.

The king of  
Leinster.

She profes-  
sed virginite.

An. Dom. 500.  
Bridget depar-  
ted this life.

A concordance  
of the foure  
euangelists.

Cenanus first  
a man of war,  
and after a  
bishop.  
Abbat Wren-  
don.

Giraldus Cambrensis telleth, that in saint Patrick's time flourish'd saint Bride the virgin, and saint Colme, which two, with the same Patrike, were buried in Downe (as in the Scottish historie ye maie find) and (as the same Giraldus saith) their three bodies were found there shortly after the conquest. Sir John Conweie being president of Ulster, in viewing the sepulture, testified to haue seen three principall Jewels, which were then translated, as be- nerable monuments worthy to be preferred. Of saint Colme it is doubted in what age he liued. Bridget, otherwise called Bride, was base daughter to one Dubtactius, a capteine in Leinster, who perceiving the mother with child, sold hir secretly (fearing the gealousie of his wife) to an Irish Poet, reseruing to himselfe the fruit of hir wombe. She was there deliuered of this Bridget, whom the Poet trained up in learning, and vertuous education, and at length brought hir home to hir father.

The damsell also was instructed in the faith by saint Patrick, that preached then in those quarters, whereupon she became so religious and ripe in iudgement, that not onlie the multitude of people, but also a whole synod of bishops assembled nere to Dublin to heare hir aduise in weightie causes, such estimation they had of hir. One fact of hir being yet a child, made hir famous. The king of Leinster had giuen to hir father Dubtactius as a token of his good liking towards him for his valiant seruice, a rich sword, the furniture whereof was garnished with manie costly Jewels. And as it chanced, the damsell visiting the sick neighbours diuersly distressed for want of necessarie reliefe (hir father being a sterne man, and his ladie a cruell thew) she could deuise no other way to helpe to relieue the want of those poore and needy people, but to impart the same Jewels of that idle sword among them. This matter was heinously taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chanced that shortly after he came to a banquet in hir fathers house, and calling the maid afore him that was not yet past nine yeres of age, he asked hir how she durst presume to deface the gift of a king in such wise as she had done this. She answered that the same was bestowed upon a better king than he was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremities, I would haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your selues too, all, were ye in my power to giue, rather than Christ should starue. She professed virginite, and allured other noble yong damells unto hir fellowship, with whom she continued in hir owne monastrie, where she was first professed, untill the yere of our Lord 500, and then departing this life, she was buried in Downe in saint Patrick's toine.

Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monuments of hers, there was found a concordance of the foure euangelists, seeming to be written with no mortall hand, beautified with myssicall pictures in the margent, the colours and cunning workmanship whereof at the first blinsh appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the bright view of the diligent beholder verie lincite and wonderfull artificiall. Cenanus that was first a souldier, succeeded saint Patrick in the see of Armagh, after he had certaine yeres followed the warres. Brendan abbat at the age of ten yeres was of such incomparable holinesse (as they saie) and therewith so wise and learned, that his father and mother, thinking themselves to haue gained the most worthy fruit that might inue of their marriage, by

mutuall consent professed continencie, and abandoned matrimoniall companie. He flourished in the daies of saint Bridget, and liued in familiar societie with saint Arons the bishop, and Fintan the abbat.

Adar. alio. Coan of noble parentage taken prisoner by the king of Temore, and kept in his court with diuerse yong men his scholesfellows, openly adured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might serue God as they were accustomed, the which being now kept in sunder and restrained of libertie, they were forced to discontinue. Whereupon immediatly they were dismissed. He died bishop of Fernes, and laid the foundation of that burrow. His successor Apelingus, although he was bishop, gaue himselfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne hands deriued and brought a running spring to his monastrie, induring that travail daily after prayer and studie for the space of eight yeres together.

Fintan abbat was had in such reuerence, that whereas Colme king of Leinster kept Comake the kings son of Tensill prisoner, he went boldly with twelue of his disciples through the pree of all the souldiers, and in sight of the king was suffered to bozow the yong prince. For the Irish are not sterne against those of whom they haue conceiued an opinion of holinesse. I remember (saith our author) that Cambrensis writeth himselfe merrie to haue objected to Apocryphe then archbishop of Cashill, that Ireland in so manie hundred yeres had not brought forth one martyr. The bishop answered pleasantlie (alluding to the late dispatching of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enormities, yet haue spared euer the blood of vertuous men. Partie now we are deliuered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making martyrs, so that from henceforth I trust no complaint shall need for want of martyrs. Malachias was borne in Armagh of a noble progenie, brought up in vertue by the example of his mother, and trained forth in learning, professed greatlie in deuotion: so that being yet but a verie babe, he was espied diuerse times to steale awaie from his companions to praye in secret. He was so graue and modest, that of himselfe he chose the most graue and seuerer scholemaster, refusing an excellent cleark, because he saw him somewhat lightlie demeaning himselfe at game. In the beginning of his youthfull yeres, he became the disciple of Amarius an old recluse, whose aueritie of conuersion the whole toine had in great reuerence. There he became a deacon, and at five and twentie yeres a priest.

The archbishop, for the same and the opinion of his worthinesse, receiued him to be assistant to him in office, in the which he so behaued himselfe, that he reformed superstitions, and renewed the force of religion, namelie in the vniformitie of their church seruice, wherein before time they tarred. The famous monastrie of Banchoe he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vnkle left him. The same monastrie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of manie religious houses in France. This abbey being spoiled and nintie of his brethren murdered in one day by the prior, the possessions whereof being come to the hands of Malachias by his uncles assignement, he restored forthwith, and advanced the foundation. At the age of thirtie yeres he was by canonicall election forced to accept the bishopricke of Conereth, a people of all the Irish then most sauage and wild, whom with inestimable trauell he reclaimed from their beastlie maners. In the meane while died Celsus bishop of Armagh, after whom succe-

Adar.

Apelingus.

Colme king of  
Leinster.

The answer  
of the arch-  
shop of Cashill  
to Giraldus  
Cambrensis.

Malachias.

The mona-  
strie of Ban-  
choe repaired.

ded Malachias, at the age of eight and thirtie yeares. But before this, more hand the space of two hundred yeares together, a custome had crept into the countrie, that the metropolitane see was conferred vpon such bishops as were married, and were of the blond roiall, in maner by way of inheritance. Wherefore Nigelus or Male the next of kindred, animated by the partialitie of some princes, and getting into his custodie the bible and staffe, and other monuments of saint Patrike, whereunto opinion of the common people tied the prelacie, came to his palace with a band of souldiours to haueaine the bishop. When all the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demanding what was their purpose. The blondie souldiours letting fall their weapons, in stead of executing the pretended murder, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as friends.

Three yeares he sat in the primasie rather to discontinue the horrible corruption before used, than with intent to settle himselfe there. After he had removed the abuse, he procured Malachius to succeed him in the archbishops see, and he returned to his former see of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the bishopricke of Coner. But Malachias understanding that in times past they were six seuerall sees, he diuided them againe, and ordeined an other to the bishopricke of Coner, desirous rather to lessen his cure than to enlarge the fruits by taking more charge vpon him. Malachias being demanded of his brethren the monkes of Benchor, where and when he would wish to die and to be buried, if it laie in his choice: He answered: If in Ireland, beside the bodie of saint Patrike: if beyond the seas, at Clareuale, where saint Barnard was then resident, and in the feast of Allsoules. He purposed within few daies to sue to pope Eugenius for increase of the number of metropolitans, which request was shortly after accomplished. And in this viage which he thus made, he staid at Clareuale, and there diuerse times openlie foreshewed, that the yeare of his departure from this world was come; and accordingly when he had taken leaue of saint Barnard and the brethren, he went downe from his chamber to the church and there did communicat. Which done, he returned to his lodging, and there on Allsoules daie in the yeare of his age 54 he gaue vpon the ghost, so mildlie and quietlie, that it seemed rather a sleepe than a death.

which his  
fungs held the  
in succellus  
he and of one  
familie, nei-  
ther would  
the Irish have  
had any other  
than of the  
house.  
Died saint  
Barnard in  
the Malachias  
house, &c.  
The bible and  
stafte.

For the small  
descent of his  
shops.

thing of  
er.

in weare  
riches  
Cashill  
Idus  
ensis.

hijas,

Malchus.

Discord be-  
tweene the  
king of  
Hounster and  
his brother.

ona  
f same  
pared.

again, to resume his kingdome, who with manie earnest persuasions of Malchus and of Malachias could breth be brought to forsake that trade of life and companie, the which he had with such delectation inured himselfe into.

Thus far of the Irish saints. Of the which, as some of them are to be esteemed right vertuous and godlie men, so other of them are to be suspected as persons rather holie by the superstitious opinion of the people, than indued with anie such knowledge of true godlinesse and sincere religion; as are worthy to be registred in the number of those that of right ought to passe for saints, as by certeine late writers may appeare. But this we leane to the iudgement of the aduised reader, for that in such matters we mind not to preiudice anie mans opinion, but onelie wish the reader to take heed how he giueth credit to that which oftentimes is found written by authors touching feigned miracles, and other vaine superstitious dealings, wherethrough manie zealous persons haue often bene deceived. Now therefore to leaue saints, and returne to other matters touching the Irish historie. In the yeare 586: the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Ilands in the north-west ocean called the Isles of Breneie, and scowred the seas, that none other nation durst brent ap-peare in sight for dread of them. A people giuen greatlie to sake the conquests of other realmes, as they that could not faile to find more warlike and fruitfull places for to inhabit than their owne. These hot fellows chanced to light into Ireland by this meanes. Careticus the king of Britaine ran into such hatred of his people, that they raised warres against him. The Saxons that possessed now six seuerall kingdomes in the Ile of Britaine, reioiced not a litle at this ciuill discord betwixt the Britaine king and his subiects.

Fox,  
Dale,

586  
The Norwe-  
gians scow-  
red the seas,  
and inuaded  
the Isles of  
Breneie.

They inuaded  
Ireland.

Wherevpon meaning to make a full conquest of the Britains, & utterlie to expell them forth of all the Ile, he assembled their powers, & ioined to the same Gurmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all times a nauie in a readinesse, and men to furnish it, holpe the Saxons to chase the Britains into the marches of Wales. For from thence (being retired into the mounteins and woods) they could not dislue them. This Gurmound (as some thinke) builded at the same time the towne of Gurmoundchester, and after being assisted by the Saxons, made a viage into Ireland, where he sped not greatlie to his desire, and therefore the Irish account not this for anie of their conquests, as some of their antiquaries informed our author. Gurmound therefore finding but short successe, built a few slight castles and forts in the frontiers, and so left the land, and sailed from thence into France, where at length he was slaine. Our chronicles in deed name him king of Ireland; but the Irish affirme that before Turgesius, there was none of the easterne people that obtained dominion in their countrie.

Gurmundus  
an archpriest  
of the nation  
of Norweie,

Campion,

Turgesius,

Giraldus Cambrensis to make the matter whole (a Gods name) thinketh Turgesius to haue conquered the land, as lieutenant or deputie vnder Gurmundus. But this being granted, there ariseth a more manifest contradiction than the former: for he himselfe numbeth betwixt Laogirius king of Ireland that liued in the yeere foure hundred and thirtie, and Columding, whome Turgesius vanquished, 33 monarchs, whose reigns comprehended foure hundred yeares, so that Turgesius liued in the yeare after the incarnation eight hundred and thirtie. Then it is to plaime that he could not haue anie doings with Gurmundus, who ioined with the Saxons against Careticus, in the yeare five hundred foure score and six. This knot (saith our author) might be untwined

Laogirius,  
430

The doubt  
releued.



buttwined with more facilitie thus. Curmundus made much of that little he got, and wrote himselfe king, which title our histories do allow him, because he made the waite plaine, intioed it a while, and set open the gate vnto his countreimen. Turgesius atchieued the whole exploit, and brought it to perfection, and in these respects either of them may be called king and conqueror of Ireland.

Turgesius  
what he did.

The buildeth  
fortresses.

Turgesius  
reigned in  
Ireland thir-  
tie yeares.

Malaghlilen  
king of  
Meth.

The policie of  
Malaghlilen.

Turgesius therefore with his Norwegians the second time inuaded Ireland, sustained diuerse losses and overthrowes: but in the end fortifying himselfe by the sea coasts, & receiuing thereby his friends at his pleasure, wared so strong that he subdued the whole Ile, still erecting castles and fortresses as he wan ground, so to maister the Irish that with such manner of strengths of wals and rampires had not as yet bene acquainted: for till those daies they knew no defense but woods, bogs, or strokes. Turgesius so bydeled the Irish kings, and kept them in awe, that without interruption he reigned like a conqueror thirtie yeares. He cried hauocke & spoile where anie rich preie was to be had, sparing neither those of the laitie nor of the clergie, neither church nor chapell, abusing his victorie verie insolentlie. Malaghlilen king of Meth was in some trust with the tyrant. His onelie daughter Turgesius craved for his concubine. The father hauing a readie wit, and watching his time, began to breake with Turgesius in this wise: Sauiing your fantasie my lord (quoth he) there are diuerse ladies of blond in this countrie murther bedfellows for a king than that browne griffie: and therewith he began to reckon vp a number of his neeces and cousines, inbowed (as he set them forth) with such singular beautie, as they seemed rather angels out of his hands: and the tyrant as it were ranshed, and doting in loue of those peereles peeces before he saw them, by reason of such excedding praises as he thus heard of them, doubted yet least Malaghlilen extolled them to preferre his daughter out of his hands: and the subtil father cloaked his byss with modest behauior, lingering time to inflame the leachers follie, as he that wished anie thing more to be suspected, than that which he meant most earnestlie to bring to passe.

At length, when Turgesius seemed to take his de-  
laieng thus of time somewhat displeasinglie, he vsed  
this or the like speech: If I should saie (quoth he) that  
I gaue you my sole daughter with goodwill to be de-  
scended, your high wisdom would some ghesse that  
I did but flatter you; and yet if ten daughters were  
dearer to me than your god pleasure and contentati-  
on, by whose bountifull goodnes both she, & I, and we  
all are supported, I were vnto this that secret and  
nere friendship wherein it liketh you to vse me. As for  
the wench, it will be in part honorable for hir to be re-  
quired to the bed of such a prince, sith quenes haue  
not stiked to come from farre, and yeld the vse of  
their bodies to noble conquerors, in hope by them to  
haue issue. And howsoeuer it be taken, time will  
weare it out, and redeme it; but such a friend as  
you are to me and mine, neither I nor mine shall  
live to see. And verelie I meane not to hazard your  
displeasure, if it were for a greater matter than the  
value of twentie maidenheads; seeing fathers haue  
not stiked to giue vp their owne wiues to quench  
the lusts of their sons. Therefore am I thus agreed,  
name the daie and place, separat your selfe from the  
view of your court, conferre with those that haue a  
deintie insight, & skillfull eyes in discerning beuties;  
I will send you my daughter, & with hir the choise of  
twelue or sixteen gentlewomen, the meaneest of the  
which may be an emperesse in comparison. When they  
are before you, make your game as you like, and  
then if my child please your fantasie best, she is not

to good to be at your commandement: onelie my  
request is, that if anie other shall presume vpon your  
leauings, your maiestie will remember whose child  
she is.

This liberall proffer was of Turgesius accepted  
(whose desire was most insatiable) with manie good  
words, thanks, & faire promises. To be short, the same  
daie Malaghlilen put his daughter in prince-  
like apparell, attired after the trimmest wise, and  
with hir sixteen proper yong men beautifull and a-  
miable to behold: and so being sent to the king were  
presented vnto him in his priue chamber, hauing  
none about him but a few dissolute youthfull per-  
sons; wherupon those disguised yong striplings dret  
forth from vnder their long womanish garments  
their skeins, and valiantlie bestirring themselves,  
first stabbed their weapons points through the bodie  
of the tyrant, and then serued all those youths that  
were about him with the like saluice, they making  
small or no resistance at all. The brute of this mur-  
ther was quicklie blowne abroad through all Ire-  
land: and the princes readie to catch hold on such ad-  
uantage, rose in armes with one assent, in purpose  
to deliuer themselves from bondage, and recouer li-  
bertie.

All Meth and Leinster were speedilie got togie-  
ther, resorting vnto Malaghlilen the author of this  
practise, who lightlie leapt to horse, and commending  
their forward redinesse in so naturall a quartell, said:  
My lords and friends, this case neither admitteth de-  
late, nor requireth policie; hart and hast is all in all.  
Whilist the matter is fresh and greene, and that some  
of our enemies lie still and sleepe, some lament, some  
curse, some are togither in counsell, and all the whole  
number dismated: let vs prevent their furie, dis-  
member their force, cut off their sight, seise vpon  
their places of refuge and succour. It is no victorie  
to plucke their feathers, but to breake their necks;  
not to chase them in, but to rowle them out; to weed  
them, not to rake them; not to tread them downe,  
but to rot them vp. This lesson the tyrant himselfe  
did teach me. I once demanded of him as it were in  
a parable, by what god husbandrie the land might be  
rid of certeine rauening fowles that annoied it. He  
advised vs to watch where they bred, and to fire their  
nests about their eares. So we then vpon these co-  
uzants which shewd themselves in our possessions,  
and let vs so destroe them, that neither nest nor rot,  
neither seed nor stalk, neither branch nor stumpe  
shall remaine of this vngenerous generation. Scarie  
had he ended his tale, but that with great thowts  
and clamors they extolled the king, as defendor  
of their liues and liberties; assuring them both of their  
bold and hardie stomachs and speedfull expedition lo-  
ned with their confederats, and with a running  
campe swept euerie corner of the land, rased the ca-  
stles to the ground, chased awaie the strangers, slue  
all that abode battell, ech man recouering his owne,  
with the state of gouernment.

Thus in effect haue the Irish writers reported of  
Turgesius a Norwegian, whether he did reigne be-  
fore the supposed time of Curmund, or whether that  
he came thither as lieutenant to him: which if it shuld  
be true, no doubt the same Curmund was some  
king of the Danes, or Norwegians, and not of the  
Africans (as some of our countreimen name him.)  
Which error is some committed, in taking one hea-  
thenish nation for another, as those men haue done  
that haue named the Hungarians (when they did  
inuaue Gallia before they were christians) Sara-  
cens. And so likewise might that author (who soeuer  
he was) whome Geffreie of Monmouth followeth,  
finding Curmund written to be a king of the mis-  
creants, mistake the Norwegians for Africans, be-  
cause

The like was  
practised by  
Alexander  
son to Amyn-  
tas king of  
Macedon to  
gainst the  
Persian em-  
bassadors.  
Carion lib. 3.  
fol. 109.

The persons  
on of Ma-  
laghlilen.

Curmund;

canse both those nations were infidels: and therefore  
sith haplie the Affricans in the daies when that au-  
thor liued, bare all the brute above other heathenish  
nations then, as the Turks do now, he named them  
Affricans. Whosoeuer it was, certeine it is that  
the Danes or Norwegians made sundrie inuasions  
into Ireland, and that at severall times. But for  
Turgeſius, whether he were an absolute king, or  
but a lieutenant of some armie, vnder some other  
king named Gurmound, or peradventure Gormo,  
(as such names are soon corrupted) I cannot affirme,  
because that no certeine time is set downe in the  
chronicles which are written of those nations, where-  
by they may be so reconciled together, as sufficeth to  
warrant anie likelie coniecture in this behalfe.

But if I should saie (with the readers licence) what  
I thinke, this Gurmound whatsoeuer he was, made  
no such conquest of Ireland, nor of this our Ile of  
Britaine (as by some writers is supposed) but yet  
might he peradventure land in Wales, and either in  
fauor of the Saxons then enemies to the Britons, or  
in hatred of the christian name persecute by cruell  
wars the British nation, and vse such crueltie as the  
heathenish nations then were accustomed to practise  
against the christians in all places where they came,  
and chanced to haue the vpper hand. The chiefest  
cause that moueth me to doubt thereof, is for that I  
find not in anie of our approved ancient English  
writers, as Bede, Malmesburie, Huntington, Houe-  
den, or such like, anie plaine mention made of him;  
whereby I may be throughlie induced to credit that  
which I find in Geffrie Monmouth and others reco-  
rded of him, except his name be mistaken, and so  
thereby some error crept in, which I am not able to  
resolue.

But sith we are entred to speake thus farre of  
the Norwegians, here by the waie I haue thought  
it not impertinent to the purpose of this Irish histo-  
rie, to write what we find recorded in the chronicles  
of those northerly regions, Denmarke, Norweie,  
and Sweden, written by Saxo Grammaticus, Al-  
bertus Crantz, and others, concerning the fundrie in-  
uasions made by the Danes, Norwegians, or Nor-  
mans (whether we list to call them) into Ireland.

Fridleus or Fridlenus king of Denmarke that suc-  
ceeded Dan the third of that name, surnamed the  
Swift, arriving in Ireland, besieged the citie of  
Dublin, & perceiving by the strength of the walles,  
that it would be an hard matter to win it by plaine  
force of hand without some cunning policie, he deu-  
ised to catch a sort of swallows that had made their  
nests in the houses within the towne, tied wild fier  
to their wings, and therewith cast them vp, and suf-  
fered them to lie their waies, whereupon they com-  
ming to their nests, set the houses on fier, which whiles  
the citizens went about to quench, the Danes entred  
the citie and toan it.

Secondlie, Frotho king of Denmarke, the third  
of that name, after he had subdued the Britons here  
in this Ile, made a boiage into Ireland also, where  
he landed with some danger: for the Irishmen had  
drawed all alongest the shore a great number of cal-  
trops of iron, with sharpe picks standing vp, to  
wound the Danes in the feet, as they should come  
loath of their ships to follow them, for they meant to  
slee of a pretended policie for that purpose. But Fro-  
tho perceiving their deceitfull craft, followed them  
more aduiseable than rashlie, and so put their cap-  
taine named Heruill to fight, and slue him in the  
field; whose brother remaining in life, & mistrusting  
his owne puissance, yielded himselfe to Frotho, who  
diuiding the preie amongst his souldiers and men of  
warre, shewed thereby that he onelie sought for glo-  
rie and not for gain, reseruing not a pennie of all

the spoile to his owne vse. After this, in the daies of Frotho the  
king Frotho the fourth of that name, which reigned  
ouer the Danes, one Starcater a giant, in compa-  
nie of Iphaco a Danish capteine, made a touraie like  
wise into Ireland, where in the same season, one  
Huglet reigned as monarch ouer that Ile: who ha-  
uing plenty of treasure, was yet so giuen to coue-  
tousnesse, that by such vnprincipellie parts as he plaid,  
to satisfie his greedie desire to fill his coffers, he be-  
came right odious, and farre out of all fauor with his  
subiects. Yet there were of his nobles, vertie valiant  
and worthie men, namelie two, Gegathus, & Suib-  
dauus: whereupon, when it came to passe that he  
should foine in battell with his enemies the Danes,  
the most part of all his people fled out of the field, so  
that Gegathus and Suibdauus were in maner left a-  
lone. For they regarding their honours and dutie that  
appertained to men of their calling, would not flie,  
but manfullie did what laie in their powers to beat  
backe the enemies, insomuch that Gegathus raught  
Iphaco such a wound, that the vpper part of his liner  
appeared bare. He also wounded Starcater in the  
head right sore, so that in all his life daies, he had not  
before that time receiued the like hurt: in the end  
yet Huglet the monarch of Ireland was slaine, and  
Starcater obtaining the victorie, did make great  
slaughter of the Irish subiects, the which had followed  
their king to this battell, being men (thorough his  
corrupt example and slothfull trade of life) degene-  
rat from all warlike order and vse of manlike exer-  
cise.

After this, the Danes went into Dublin, which  
towne they easilie toke, and found such store of ri-  
ches and treasure therein, that euerie man had so  
much as he could wish or desire: so as they needed not  
to fall out among themselves for the partition, sith  
there was so much for each mans share as he could  
conuenientlie carrie awaie. Thus hath Saxo Gram-  
maticus written in effect of Starcaters coming  
into Ireland: of whome the Danish writers make  
such mention, both for his huge stature and great  
manhood. Some haue thought, that Starcater was  
the verie same man which the Scots name Finmac-  
cole, of whome in the Scottish historie we haue made  
mention: but whereas the Scottish writers affirme  
that he was a Scottish man borne, the Danish wi-  
ters report that he was borne in Eastland, among  
the people called Ethones. Reiginrus the sonne of  
Swardus the second king of Denmarke, and Scotland,  
attained sundrie victories in England and Scotland,  
and subdued the Isles of Orkney, he passed likewise  
into Ireland, slue Melbryche king of that land, and  
toke the citie of Dublin by siege, where he remained  
the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he de-  
parted from thence.

After this, Gormo the third of that name king  
of Denmarke, although an infidell himselfe, and a  
cruell persecutor of the christian religion, yet toke to  
wife a christian ladie named Thira, daughter to E-  
thelred king of England, who had issue by him two  
sonnes Inaught, or Canute, and Harold, promising  
men of high ballance and notable proweſſe, inso-  
much that after the attaining of diuerſe worthie vic-  
tories against the enemies neare home, they made a  
boiage into England, not sparing to inuade the do-  
minions of their grandfather king Ethelred: who  
rather reioysing, than seeming to be offended with  
those manlike enterprises of his consins, proclaimed  
them his heires to succeed after him in all his lands  
and dominions, although of right the same were to  
descend first vnto their mother Thira. The yong  
men being encouraged with their grandfather his  
bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuasion of  
Ireland, where at the siege of Dublin, Canute or  
Inaught

Frotho the fourth.

Starcater a giant.

Huglet king of Ireland.

Gegathus & Suibdauus.

Iphaco wounded.

Huglet slaine.

Dublin toan.

Reiginrus.

Melbryche king of Ireland slaine.

Gormo the third of that name king of Denmarke.

Thira daughter to Ethelred king of England.

Inaught or Canute.

Harold.

They inuade Ireland.

Canute is slaine.

Saxo Gram. Alber. Crantz.

Fridlenus.

Dublin be- sieged.

Dublin set on fire, and toan by the Danes.

Frotho the third.

Caltrops drawed by the Irish to annoy the Danes.

Heruill go- vernour of Irishmen slaine.

# The fundrie inuasions of Ireland.

Enaught the elder brother was shot into the bodie with an arrow, and died of the wound: howbeit his death was kept close by his owne commandement given before he died, till his people had got the citie into their possession. But the gaine was small in respect of the losse, which was thought to rebound vnto the whole Danish nation by the death of that noble young gentleman Canute, who for his high prowesse and valiance was most tenderlie beloued of all men; but namely of his father king Gozmo, inso-  
 much that he swore to kill him with his owne hands, whosoeuer should first tell him newes of his death.

The policie of  
 Thira to sig-  
 nifie to hir  
 husband the  
 death of their  
 sonne Ca-  
 nute.

This Gozmo was now a man far stricken in age, and blind, hauing small soie of anie worldlie pleasures, otherwise than to heare of the welfare and prosperous proceedings of his sonnes. When the refore his wife quene Thira had perfect aduertisement of hir sonnes death, and that neither she nor anie other durst breake the matter vnto hir husband, she deuised a shift how to signifie that vnto him by outward signes, which by word of mouth she was afraid to ex-  
 presse, as thus. She caused morning apparell to be made for hir husband, & putting off his roiall robes, clad him therewith, and other things appertaining to morning she also put about him, and prepared all such furniture and necessaries as were vsed for fune-  
 rall requies, twitnesting the lamentable griefe conceiued for the losse of sonne Canute, with that kind of morning waie and funerall ceremonies. Which when Gozmo perceiued: Who is me (saith he) you  
 then signifie the death of my sonne Canute. Where-  
 to he made answer, that he and not she did discover the truth of that which was meant by those morning garments; and with that speech ministred cause of hir husbands death, whereby she became presentlie a widow, not openlie mourning for hir sonne, before she mourned like wife for hir husband: for he toke such griefe for Canutes death, that immediatlie he died thorough sorrow and dolor: so as Thira was thus diuenn to lament, as well the death of hir sonne, as of hir husband both at once. But now to the purpose of the Irish historie.

Gozmo dieth  
 of sorrow.

We haue thus partlie heard what the Danish wri-  
 ters do record in their histories, touching the con-  
 quests which their people made in Ireland; but whe-  
 ther the same be meant of that which goeth before, or  
 rather of that which followeth, touching the trade  
 which the Norwegian merchants vsed thither; or whe-  
 ther the Irish writers haue passed these iournies o-  
 uer with silence, which the Danish writers in forme  
 (as before is touch'd) do make mention of, I cannot  
 affirme. But like it is that as the Danes, or Nor-  
 mans, whether you will call them, did inuade Ire-  
 land as well as England, France, and Scotland, in  
 those daies according to the report of their writers,  
 and that by waie of open warre as well to conquer  
 the countrie, as to take preies, prisoners, and booties,  
 and not for trade of merchandize onelie: albeit that  
 they might peraduenture for get entrie at the first, as  
 by the Irish histories it should seeme they did shortly  
 after the slaughter of Turgesius. And afterwards  
 when they saw themselves settled, and perceiued that  
 they began to grow to be enuied of their Irish  
 neighbours, who thereupon would not sticke to mo-  
 lest them as occasions serued, they saw no better  
 meane to assure themselves against their aduersa-  
 ries, than to send vnto their countreymen, which in  
 those daies roued abroad (as before I haue said) in  
 euerie quarter of this our west ocean, waiting for  
 oportunitie to aduance their conquests in each coun-  
 trie where anie thing might be gotten. And so this  
 mate agree verie well with the Irish writers, whom  
 as I do not take vpon me to controll, but rather to  
 report the storie as I find it by them written, I will

proceed with the order which they follow. After the  
 countrie was deliuered of the tyrannie where both it  
 was oppressed by the same Turgesius & his people,  
 Danes or Norwegians whether they were (for so  
 Cambrensis esteemeth them) the Irish deliuered of  
 seruile bondage, fell to their old wonted vomit, in  
 persecuting each other: and hauing latelie defaced  
 their fortified towres and castles, as receptacles  
 and couerts for the enimie, all doles late more open  
 to receiue harme.

This being perceiued and thoroughlie considered,  
 the princes that in the late rule of Turgesius had  
 espied some towardnesse to wealth & ease, fell in hand  
 to discoure the madnesse & follie of their ancestors,  
 which saw not the ble of that which their enimies ab-  
 used: they began to loth their vniquiet trade of life,  
 to wish either lesse discord, or more strength in each  
 mans dominion; to cast the danger of naked coun-  
 tries, readie to call in the enimies, as the strength of  
 forts & castles was a meane to preserve them from  
 losse. Faine would they haue provided remedie in  
 this case, if they had knowne how. The former sub-  
 tection, though it seemed intolerable, yet they felt  
 therein proceeding steps towards peace. The gaine  
 that rose of merchandize, rest and surtie to the whole  
 estate of the countrie. For the difference was great  
 betwixt the indouours of the two nations, Norwe-  
 gians and Irish. The first knew the waie to thine,  
 might they get some commodious seats and soile.  
 The other had commodities plentie, and cared not  
 for them.

While the princes and potentats staid vpon such  
 a good consideration, certaine merchants of Nor-  
 waie, Denmarke, and of other those parties, called  
 Ostmanni, or (as in our vulgar language we terme  
 them) Gasterlings, because they lie East in respect of  
 vs, although indeed they are by other named proper-  
 lie Normans, and partlie Saxons, obtained licence  
 safelie to arrive here in Ireland with their wares,  
 and to tetter the same. Hereupon the Irish, thorough  
 traffike & bartering with these Normans or Danes  
 (for so they are called also in our English chronicle by  
 exchanging of wares and monie, finding them ciuill  
 and tractable, and deliting also with gale conceits,  
 brought into them by those merchants (such as till  
 they saw them they neuer esteemed needfull) they be-  
 gan to enter into a desire that a trade might be open  
 betwixt them & the other nations, whereupon to al-  
 lure other, they licenced these merchant strangers to  
 build (if they thought good) haue towres in places  
 most commodious. This was no sooner granted, than  
 began, and with speed finished.

Gasterlings  
 began to trade  
 into Ireland.

Anulann founded Waterford; Santaricus, Li-  
 mericke; Quorus, Dublin; and so by others diuerse o-  
 ther towres were built as leisure serued. Then by  
 the helpe and counsell of these men, manie castles,  
 forts, steeples, and churches, euerie where were re-  
 paired. And thus are the Irish mingled also with the  
 blood of the Danes, Norwegians, or Normans, who  
 from thenceforth continuallie flocked into Ireland,  
 to the great commoditie of the inhabitants, liuing  
 amongst them obedientlie, till wealth pricked and  
 moued them to raise rebellion: but they could not  
 haue holden out, had not the conquest insuing deter-  
 mined both their quarrels. In the meane while they  
 became lords of the hauens and burrow towres,  
 planted men of warre in the same, and oftentimes  
 skirmished with their aduersaries; but yet measured  
 their fortune with indifferent gaires, and crept no  
 higher than the same would giue them leane. Whelie  
 a memoire is left of their field in Clontars, where di-  
 uerse of the Irish nobilitie were slaine, that lie buri-  
 ed before the crosse of Bilmalnam. These are by our  
 autho; not without god iudgement, reported to be  
 Danes,

They build  
 towres on the  
 sea coasts.

Waterford,  
 Limericke,  
 Dublin.

The mer-  
 chant stran-  
 gers moue  
 rebellion.

The field of  
 Clontars.

The severall  
names of the  
strangers  
which in  
these daies  
afflicted  
France,  
England,  
Scotland and  
Ireland.  
1095

The Casser-  
lings will be  
called Noz-  
mans.

Macimus  
Ker the great  
king of mo-  
narch of  
Ireland.

Danes, which people then being pagans, soe afflic-  
ted England, and after that France, from whence  
they came againe into England with William  
Conqueror. So that those people called *Ostmanni*, *Cas-*  
*sterlings*, *Nozmans*, *Danes*, *Nozwegians*, & *Sue-*  
*deners*, are in effect all one nation, bozne in that  
huge region called *Scandinavia*; and as it appeareth  
by conference of times and chronicles, much about  
one season, vered the Frenchmen, afflicted  
Scotland, subdued England, and multiplied in Ire-  
land. But in the yeare of Christ 1095, persecuting  
great enuie to remaine and lurke in the distinction  
of the names *Casserlings* and *Irish*, that were al-  
together westerne; and the *Casserlings* not easterne  
indeed, but rather simple northerne: in consideration  
whereof, and because they magnified themselves in  
the late conquest of their countriemen, who from  
*Nozmandie* comming over into England ruled  
there at their pleasure, these strangers in Ireland  
would algate now be also called and accompted  
*Nozmans*.

Long before this time (as yee haue heard) Ireland  
was bestowed into two principall kingdomes, and  
sometime into moze, whereof one was euer elected  
and reputed to be cheefe, and as it were a monarch,  
whome in their histories they name *Maximum regem*,  
that is, the greatest king, or else without addition,  
*Regem Hibernia*, the king of Ireland: the other they  
name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to wit, small kings or  
else kings, by limiting the places whereof they were  
to be reputed kings; as of *Leinster*, *Connagh*, *Ul-*  
*ster*, *Mounster*, or *Deeth*. To the monarch, besides his  
allowance of dominion, titles of honor, and other pri-

uileges in iurisdiction, there was granted to him a  
negatiue in nomination of bishops, when they were  
vacant: for the cleargie and laietie of the diocesse  
commended one, whom they thought conuenient to  
to the king, the king to the monarch, the monarch  
to the archbishop of Canturburie: for that as yet the  
metropolitans of Ireland had not receiued their  
palles.

In this sort was nominated to the bishopricke of  
Dubline then void, in the yeare of Christ 1074, at  
the petition of Godertius king of Leinster, by suffe-  
rance of the cleargie and people there, with the as-  
sent of Cerdienatus the monarch, a learned prelat  
called *Patricius*, whome Lanfranke of Canturbu-  
rie consecrated in *Paules church* at London, and  
swore him to obedience after the manner of his an-  
cestors. Christian bishop of *Lismore*, legat to Eu-  
genius the third, summoned a prouinciall councill  
in Ireland, wherein were authorized foure metropo-  
litan sees, *Armagh*, *Dublin*, *Cashill*, and *Tuen*; of  
the which places were bishops at that present, *Ge-*  
*ladius*, *Gregorius*, *Donatus*, *Cononius*. For hitherto  
though they yielded a primacie to the bishop of *Ar-*  
*magh* in reuerence of saint *Patrick* the first bishop  
there: yet the same was but of good will, and confir-  
med rather by custome than by sufficient decrees; nei-  
ther did that archbishop take vpon him to inuest o-  
ther bishops, but sent them to Canturburie (as be-  
fore is mentioned) which from henceforth they vsed  
not to do, insomuch that the next bishop named *La-*  
*urence*, sometime archbishop of saint *Kenins* in *Co-*  
*landilagh*, was ordered and installed at home by *Ge-*  
*ladius* pimat of *Armagh*.

The power of  
the monarch  
in election of  
bishops.

Godertius  
king of Leins-  
ter.

Cerdienatus  
the monarch  
Patrick  
consecrated  
bishop of Du-  
blin by Lan-  
franke.

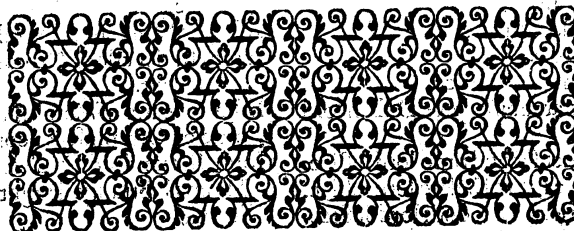
1152  
Christian bi-  
shop of Lism-  
more.

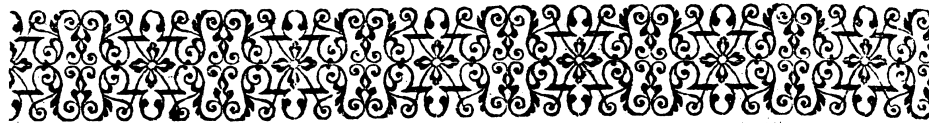
Foure metropo-  
litan sees  
in Ireland.  
The bishop of  
Armagh.

Laurence  
archbishop of  
St. Kenins,  
1162

FINIS.

Not well vnderstanding what the writer of this part of the Irish historie ment to fall  
vpon so blunt a conclusion; but supposing it was vpon some reasonable induce-  
ment: we thought it conuenient to leaue it as we found it: intending  
(without anie addition herevnto) to set downe the conquest of Ire-  
land, as the same was left recorded by Girald of Cambria: whose  
prefaces and historie, right worthie the reading, doo  
immediatlie follow.





# The names of the gouernors, lieu-

tenants, lord iustices, and deputies of Ireland, since the

*conquest thereof by king Henrie the second.*

The year of  
our Lord.

The year of  
our Lord.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1174 <b>R</b>ichard Strangbow earle of Penbroke gouernor, hauing Reimond le Grace ioined in commission with him.</p> <p>1177 Reimond le Grace lieutenant by himselfe.</p> <p>William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant, hauing Iohn de Curcie, Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan ioined in commission with him.</p> <p>Hugh Lacie lieutenant.</p> <p>1182 Iohn Lacie constable of Chester } gouernors.<br/>and Richard de Peche</p> <p>Hugh Lacie againe lieutenant.</p> <p>Hugh Lacie the yoonger, lord iustice.</p> <p>1227 Henrie Loandoris archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice.</p> <p>1228 Maurice Fitzgiralde lord iustice.</p> <p>1253 Iohn Fitzgeffrie knight, lord iustice.</p> <p>Alain de la Zouch lord iustice.</p> <p>1258 Stephan de Long Espe lord iustice.</p> <p>William Deane lord iustice.</p> <p>1261 Sir Richard Rochell or Capell lord iustice.</p> <p>1267 Dauid Barrie lord iustice.</p> <p>1268 Robert Vfford lord iustice.</p> <p>1269 Richard de Excester lord iustice.</p> <p>1270 James lord Audleie lord iustice.</p> <p>1272 Maurice Fitzmaurice lord iustice.</p> <p>Walter lord Genuille lord iustice.</p> <p>Robert Vfford againe lord iustice.</p> <p>1281 Fulborne bishop of Waterford lord iustice.</p> <p>Iohn Samford the archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice.</p> <p>William Vescie lord iustice.</p> <p>1295 William Dodingfels lord iustice.</p> <p>Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.</p> <p>1298 Iohn Wogan lord iustice.</p> <p>1314 Theobald Verdon lord iustice.</p> <p>1315 Edmund Butler lord iustice.</p> <p>1317 Roger lord Mortimer lord iustice.</p> <p>Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.</p> <p>1319 Roger lord Mortimer second time lord iustice.</p> <p>1320 Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare lord iustice.</p> <p>1321 Iohn Birmingham earle of Louth lord iustice.</p> <p>1323 Iohn lord Darcie lord iustice.</p> <p>1327 Roger Outlaw prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.</p> <p>Anthonie lord Lucie lord iustice.</p> <p>1332 Iohn lord Darcie second time lord iustice.</p> <p>1337 Iohn lord Charleton lord iustice.</p> <p>1338 Thomas bishop of Hereford lord iustice.</p> <p>1339 Iohn lord Darcie ordeined lord iustice by patent during his life, by Edward the third.</p> <p>Rafe Vfford lord iustice.</p> <p>1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice.</p> | <p>Iohn Fitzmaurice lord iustice.</p> <p>Walter lord Bermingham lord iustice, his deputies were Iohn Archer prior of Kilmainan &amp; Baron Carew, with sir Thomas Rokesbie.</p> <p>Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond had the office of lord iustice for terme of his life, of king Edward the third his grant.</p> <p>Thomas Rokesbie knight lord iustice. 1355</p> <p>Almericke de saint Amand } appointed L. I. 1357<br/>John Butler earle of Ormond } by turnes.</p> <p>Maurice Fitzth. earle of Kild. }</p> <p>Lionell duke of Clarence lord iustice. 1361</p> <p>Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond L.I. 1367</p> <p>William lord Windfor the first lieutenant in Ireland. 1369</p> <p>Richard Ashton lord iustice. 1372</p> <p>Roger Mortimer } Iustices and lieutenants 1381<br/>Philip Courtneie } speciallie recorded in Ri-<br/>James erle of Orm. } chard the seconds daies.</p> <p>Robert Vere earle of Oxford marques of Dublin created duke of Ireland.</p> <p>Roger Mortimer earle of March lieutenant. 1394</p> <p>Roger Mortimer earle of March and Vlster lieutenant.</p> <p>Roger Greie lord iustice.</p> <p>Iohn Stanleie knight lord lieutenant.</p> <p>Thomas of Lancaster brother to king Henrie the fourth lord lieutenant, whose deputies at sundrie times were Alexander bishop of Meth, Stephan Scrope knight, and the prior of Kilmainan. 1401</p> <p>James Butler earle of Ormond lord iustice. 1403</p> <p>Giralde earle of Kildare lord iustice.</p> <p>James Butler earle of Ormond, sonne to the foresaid Iames, lord iustice. 1407</p> <p>Iohn Stanleie againe lord lieutenant. 1413</p> <p>Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.</p> <p>Iohn lord Talbot of Sheffield lieutenant. 1414</p> <p>James Butler earle of Ormond the second time lieutenant. 1420</p> <p>Edmund earle of March, Iames earle of Ormond his deputie.</p> <p>Iohn Sutton lord Dudleie, sir Thomas Strange knight his deputie.</p> <p>Sir Thomas Stanleie, sir Christopher Plunker his deputie.</p> <p>Lion lord Welles, the earle of Ormond his deputie.</p> <p>Iames erle of Ormond by himselfe.</p> <p>Iohn earle of Shrewesburie, the archbishop of Dublin in his absence lord iustice.</p> <p>Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king</p> |
|--|---|

Lieutenants  
to king Hen-  
rie the sixt.



# L. deputies and iustices of Ireland.

61

The year of  
our Lord.

king Edward the fourth, had the office of lieutenant by king Henrie the sixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at sundrie times were, the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzcufface knight, James earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare, lord iustice in king Edward the fourth his daies, vntill the third year of his reigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the K. had the office of lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by sundrie times these:

Thomas earle of Desmond, } Deputies  
John Tiptoft erle of Worcester, } to the duke  
Thomas earle of Kildare, } of Cla-  
Henrie lord Graie of Ruthine. } rence.  
Sir Rouland Eustace lord deputie.  
Richard duke of Yorke, yoonger sonne to king Edward the fourth, lieutenant.  
Edward sonne to Richard the third lieutenant, his deputie was Girald earle of Kildare.  
Iasper duke of Bedford and earle of Penbroke,

lieutenant, his deputie was Walter archbishop of Dublin.

Edward Poinings knight, lord deputie. 1494

Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, lieutenant, his deputie 1501

Girald earle of Kildare.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, lord deputie.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, after duke of Norfolk, lieutenant. 1520

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, lord deputie. 1523

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare againe lord deputie.

The baron of Deluin lord deputie.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie againe lord deputie. 1529

William Skeffington knight, lord deputie.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, againe lord deputie.

William Skeffington againe lord deputie.

Leonard lord Graie, lord deputie. 1534

Sir William Brereton knight, lord iustice. 1540

Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie. 1541

## The names of all the lords deputies and iustices in Ireland,

since the death of king Henrie the eight 1546, who died in Januarie.

1546 Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight by patent, dated 24 Martij, Anno primo Edw. 6.  
1546, 1547 Sir Edward Bellingham lord deputie, 22 Aprilis, Anno eodem.

1548 Sir Francis Brian lord iustice.

1549 Sir William Brabeston lord iustice.

1550 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 3. 4 Augusti.

1551 Sir James Crofts lord deputie, 29 Aprilis.

1553 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 1 Sept. 4.

1555 Thomas lord Fitzwalter lord deputie, 27 April.

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie } Lords iustices.  
Doctor Coren }

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice alone, 18 Ianu- ary.

1557 Thomas erle of Suffex L. lieutenant, 19 Martij.

1558 Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice.

Thomas earle of Suffex lord deputie, 6 Maj. 1559

Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iustice. 1564

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1565

Doctor Weston lord chancellor } 1567

Sir William Fitzwilliams }

Sid Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1568

Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice. 1570

Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputie, 11, 1571

Decemb. Anno 14 Elisab.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie 3. 5 Augusti 3. 1572

Sir William Drurie lord iustice, 14 Septemb. 1579

by patent, 18 Maj.

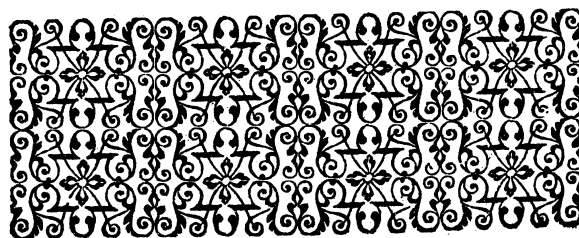
Sir William Pelham lord iustice. 1580

The lord Arthur Graie. 1580

Adam archbishop of Dublin } Lord iustices. 1582

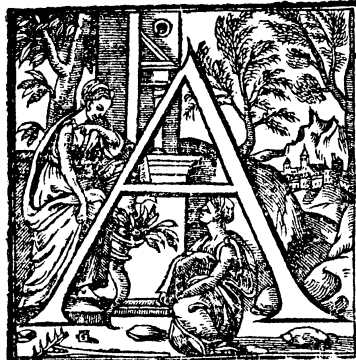
Sir Henrie Wallop }

Sir Iohn Perot lord deputie. 1584





# TO THE RIGHT WOR- thie and honorable gentleman fir Walter Raleigh knight, seneschall of the duchies of Cornewall and Excester, and lord warden of the stannaries in Deuon and Cornewall : Iohn Hooker wifeth a long, a happie, and a prosperous life, with the increafe of honour.



Mong all the infinit good blessings, right honorable, which the Lord God hath bestowed vpon vs, I thinke none more expedient and necessarie, than the vse and knowledge of histories and chronicles : which are the most assured registres of the innumerable benefits and commodities, which haue and dailie doo grow to the church of God, and to the ciuill gouernment through out all nations. The vse of them began and was receiued euen from the first beginning, and immediatlie vpon the dispersing of the sonnes of Adam through out the world : for they were no sooner diuided into seuerall nations, but they did (as Cicero saith) make choise of some one man among themselues, who surpassed the rest in wisdome, knowledge and vnderstanding, *Ad quem confugiebant*. These kind of men for the most part in those daies were preefts and philosophers, and for their great knowledge, wisdome and credit, had the charge to commend to their posteritie such notable and good acts as were worthe the memorie. And as all other nations had such men, so the remote Ilands in the great Ocean had the like. For Britaine, now conteining England, Scotland and Wales, had their Druides and Bardos, and Ireland had their Odalies or Rimers, who being verie wise men & of great credit, did deliuer all their saiens in meeter, and were therefore called Poets. And these for the better alluring of the people to attention, and to frame them to the knowledge of vertue, did vse to sing with an instrument such lessons and instructions as they were wont to giue, whether it were concerning manners and common conuersation, or matters of policie and gouernment, or of prowesse and martiall affaires, or of the gests of their ancestors, or of anie other thing thought meet to be learned and worthe the knowledge, by which meanes they made men the more apt, readie, and willing to applie themselves to vertue and to a commendable course of life, both concerning God how he was to be honored, the magistrate how he was to be obeyed, & the common societie how it was to be conserued; and finally how the whole course of mans life was to be ordered and directed. These and manie other like commodities when Cicero had considered, did grow by these means, which is the verie substance of an historie : he described the same to be the witness of time, the light of truth, the life of memorie, and the mistress of life : willing and aduising euerie man at all times and in all matters to haue their recourse to the same, and to be well exercised in the knowledge thereof, because the things past are set downe therein, and by them a man may learne what to doo in the life to come. For as the wise man saith, There is nothing new vnder the sunne : for the thing which is now hath bene, and by the things past we are taught the things to come. And so saith Augustine: *Historia magis vel certe non minus preueniendis futuris, quam enuntiandis preteritis inuenitur intenta* : Histories doo teach and aduertise vs as well of the things to come, as of the things past : and the knowledge thereof is so necessarie that Melancthon would haue no man to be vnschooled in histories, because *Sine qua nulla in re quispiam lucem habet*. And Thucidides the old ancient historiographer of Grecia would that euerie man should haue about him a booke of histories, as a thing most necessarie for him in all matters whatsoever : and this did he draw and learne (as it should seeme) from Moses, who when he had faithfullie and diligentlie written and set downe the whole course of the world, the wonderfull works of God, and all the most necessarie precepts and rules for mans life, either concerning matters of religion or causes of ciuill policies, or of common societie : then he and Iosua assembling all the people together, did deliuer vnto them the whole Pentatychon of Moses to be dailie read & taught, with a commandement that they should neuer haue that booke out of their hands, but to haue alwaies their continuall recourse to them, as well for their life, as also for their direction in all their causes. Which thing they did most diligentlie obserue and keepe, and not onelie in matters of religion, but in all doubtfull matters, as to the most true oracles, they would make their recourse for their full resolutions. As the enimies of Iehuda, when they saw the prosperous successe of the building of the temple in the times of Ezras and Nehemias, and they much maligning the same, made sute to king Artaxerxes that he would reuoke the decree which king Cyrus had made vnto the Iewes, licencing them to build the temple, alledging manie great and sundrie matters against them. Wherevpon the king commanded the chronicles to be searched, whether it were true that had bene informed against them. Likewise when Hamon had grieuously complained vnto king Ahasuerus against Mardocheus and the Iewes, charging them with sundrie heinous offences worthe death, the king commanded the chronicles to be searched. Also when Paule and Syllas first preached the gospell at Thessalonica and Berea, a doctrine then accepted strange and new, they searched and examined the books *Num hac ita se haberent*. For as they found things there recorded, so gaue they credit, and by the same they did proceed in the like. For it was a common thing among the Romans, that not onelie

The first vse of histories.

The first chronographers.

The first chronographers in England and Ireland.

Poets were the first chronographers in Britaine.

The definition of an historie.

Cicero de oratore.

Ecclesiast. 1. 3.

August. de ciuit. Dei.

Chronica Cationis.

Thucidides.

Deutero. 5. Iosue. 1.

1. Esdras. 4. Nehemias.

Esther. 6.

Acts. 17.

A. ij. they

## The epistle dedicatorie.

they would make recourse in all doubtfull matters to their owne annales: but what so euer they found in the like in anie other nation or commonwealth, which might further them in anie thing touching their owne affaires, they would draw the same into an example for themselves to follow, which was no small benefit to their commonwealth.

Alexander.

Likewise Alexander the great, notwithstanding he were brought vp in all good letters vnder Aristotle, yet when he was to enlarge his empire, he gaue himselfe to the diligent reading of Homer, the most exact chronographer of the Troian wars: and so he esteemed that booke, that in the daie time he caried it about him, and in the night time he laid it vnder his beds head; and at all times conuenient he would be reading of it, and in the end was so perfect therein, that he could verbatim repeat the whole without booke; the stratagems, the policies, and the manie deuises vsed in those warres he practised in his owne warres, which stood him in great speed. Iulius

Iulius Cæsar.

Cæsar also in his wars searched the ancient bookes and histories of the citie of Rome: and did not onelie thereby draw a paterne for his owne direction, both for his ciuill and his martiall affaires: but also, he being then the greatest monarch of all the world, thought it not preiudiciall to his imperiall estate and maiestie, to commend vnder his owne hand writing vnto his posteritie, the historie of his owne age and doings. Manie like princes hath England bred, who haue bin verie carefull, that the memoriall of the good things done in their times should be commended to their posteritie, to follow in the like. And therefore euerie king for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares, was wont to retaine and keepe some wise, learned, and faithfull scribes, who should collect and record the things done in euerie their seuerall times, and all which as time and course of yeares did serue, were published; and what great good benefits haue growne thereby to this present age, and like to serue to the future time, all the world maie easilie see and iudge. For this I dare boldlie saie and affirme: No realme, no nation, no state, nor commonwealth throughout all Europa, can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than doe the histories of this little Isle of Britaine or England. I would to God I might or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of blood, murder, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greivous & irksome to be read & considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into an historie. Which hath bene some cause whye I was alienated and vtterlie discouraged to intermeddle therein: for being earnestlie requested, by reason of my some acquaintance with the mahers and conditions of that nation during my short abode therein, to continue the historie of that land, from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents, which hitherto hath not bene touched; I found no matter of an historie woorthie to be recorded: but rather a tragedie of cruelties to be abhorred, and no historie of good things to be followed: and therefore I gaue the matter ouer, and was fullie refused not at all to haue intermeddled therewith. Neuerthelesse, being againe verie earnestlie requested, and no excuse neither of my age, nor of my often sickness, nor of my calling in the seruice of the commonwealth, nor of my small learning and skill, sufficient to compas such a matter, could be accepted: then (but with an euill will) I entred into it, and the more I bethought my selfe of the matter, the more I began to consider, and at length to behold the great and wonderous workes of God, both of his seuerie iudgement against traitors, rebels, and disobedient; and of his mercie and louing kindnesse vpon the obedient and dutifull. Whereof, though there be infinite examples both in the sacred histories and humane chronicles: yet I find none more apparant and effectuall, nor more fit for vs, and for this our time and age, than the histories of our owne nation, which yeeld vnto vs most infinite examples, how yong princes rebelling against the kings their fathers, noble men against their soveraignes, and the commons against the kings and rulers, some by the mightie hand of God swallowed vp in the seas, some deuoured with the sword, some by martiall and some by ciuill lawes executed to death: and few or none haue escaped unpunished. But of all others, none to be compared to this tragicall discourse of Ireland, and to the most vnnatural wars of the Desmond against hir sacred maiestie. Whose disobedience the Lord hath in iustice so seuerelie punished and reuenged, as the like hath not in our age bene scene nor knowne; which albeit somewhat at large it be set downe in the historie, yet breiefelie and in effect is as followeth.

Ireland yeeldeth small matter for an historie.

The iustice of God against rebels.

Grafton, Holinshed, Polydore, in Hen. 2. Edw. 2.

The earle of Desmond, named Girald Fitzgirald, was descended of a yonger house of the Giraldives of Kildare, and both of them descended from one and the same ancestor Girald of Windsor, a noble gentleman of Normandie; who after his arriual into England, trauelled into Wales, and there married the ladie Nesta daughter to the great Roeluis prince of South Wales, and by hir among others had issue Moris Fitzgirald, ancestor to these the foresaid Giraldives; and he being assistant to Dermon mac Morogh king of Leinster in Ireland, was one of the cheefest and most principall seruitors in the conquest, or rather one of the conquerors of that land vnder king Henrie the second. The issue and offspring of this Moris as they were honourable in blood, so they were no lesse honorable in all their actions: they being verie famous for their good gifts of the mind, in wisdom and policie in their ciuill gouernment, and renowned for their valiantnesse and prowesse in martiall affaires, in both which they had well tried themselves, and therefore manie times they had the cheefe gouernment of the whole realme, being sometime lord iustices, sometime lord lieutenants, and sometime lord deputies of the whole land: and for their truth and fidelitie were aduanced to honor. For Thomas Fitzgirald being the elder house, was created earle of Kildare in the ninth yeare of king Edward the second, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fiftene. And in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and seuen, Moris Fitzthomas a yonger brother of that house was created earle of Desmond. And from thence as before, they continued verie honourable, dutifull & faithfull subiects, for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares: vntill that this braineicke and breake-dance Girald of Desmond, and his brethren, aies, and complices, forgetting the honour of his house, and forsaking their faith, dutie and allegiance, did breake into treasons, and shewed themselves open enemies, traitors and rebels, vsing all maner of hostilities and outrages, to the impeach of hir most sacred maiestie, and the destruction of the commonwealth: the price whereof in the end he paid with his and their own bloods, to the vtter destruction of themselves and that whole familie, there being verie few Giraldives in the prouince of Mounster left to bemoane or bewaile their deaths. For first the earle himselfe, the cheefe of his familie, after his long repast in his traitorous follies, was driuen in the end to all extremities and penuries, and at the last taken in an old cottage, and his head was cut off and sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge, and his lands and inheritance confiscated and discontinued from his house and name for euer. Sir James one of his yonger brethren, in taking of a preie, was taken and made a preie; he was hanged as a cheefe, quartered as a traitor, and his head and quarters dispersed and set vpon the gates and wals of the citie of Corke. Sir John of Desmond, another of his yonger brethren, and next to himselfe the cheefe ringleader of this rebellion, was taken, his head cut off and set vpon the castell of Dublin, and his bodie hanged by the heeles at Corke. His onelie sonne and heire being wholie disinherited, is prisoner in the Tower of London. His ladie and wife destituted of all honour and liuings, leadeth a dolefull & a miserable life. His captains, soldiers, and men of warre, put all for the most part to the sword. The popes two prelates and nuncios, the one slaine in the field, and the other died most miserable in the woods. The Italians and strangers few or none left alieue to returne to aduertise of their successe vnto their holie father. The common people such as escaped the sword, all for the most part are perished with famine, or fled the countrie. The land it selfe being verie fertile, is waxed baren, yeelding nor corne nor fruits; the pastures without cattell, and the aire without fowles, and the whole prouince for the most part desolate and vnhabited, sauing townes and cities: and finallic, nothing there to be scene but miserie and desolation.

Sir James of Desmond taken & hanged. Sir John of Desmond killed & hanged. The earles sonne a prisoner in the Tower of London. The countesse of Desmond liueth a wofull life. D. Allen slaine. D. Sanders dieth miserable. The land left altogether baren.

## The epistle dedicatorie.

A notable and a rare example of Gods iust iudgement and seuer punishment, vpon all such as doo resist and rebell against the higher powers and his annointed: which is so greuous an offense in his sight; that next to the capital offenses against the first table, this is accounted the greatest and in the highest degree. For as it is written, Who resisteth against the higher power, resisteth against Gods ordinances, and he shall receiue iudgement. And the Lord shall root him from out of the face of the earth that shall blaspheme his gods, and curse the prince of the people. Euen as of the contrarie, when the people liue in all subiection, humblenesse, and obedience, the Lord defendeth and keepeth them, and with his manifold blessings prospereth them; as hir maiesties good subiects dwelling within the English pale, and inhabiting within hir cities and townes can witnesse. They sow and till the land, and doo reape the fruits. Their fields are full of sheepe, and they are clothed with the wooll. Their pastures are full of cattell, and they inioie them. Their cities and townes are well inhabited, and they liue in safetie. All things go well with them, and peace and plentie resteth in their houses. Two notable examples (I saie) and worthie to be throughlie obserued; the one of Gods iust iudgement against the rebels and traitors, and the other of mercie and loue towards the obedient and dutifull subiect. Which examples the later they are, the more should they imprint in vs an inward affection and an vndoubted resolution, to yeeld to the superiours all dutie and obedience: and by the examples of the rebels, to shun as a pestilence all disobedience and rebellion; least in doing the like, we doo receiue the like iust iudgements with them. Let therefore the examples of the elders be sufficient perswasions and instructions to the posteritie, to follow that which is good, and to eschew that which is euill. For albeit good counsell of our friends, and conferences with the good men, maie much preuaile with vs, yet none can so much preuaile nor be of such vertue and effect, as the examples of our ancestors, and the actions of our forefathers when they be laid before vs: *Magis enim exemplis potest persuaderi, quam argumentis extorqueri.* And therefore in times past, the surest course which our forefathers tooke, either in ciuill gouernment or in martiall affaires, was that which they drew from the examples of their ancestors before them. And for as much as such is the value and vertue of the footsteps of our forefathers, I trust it shall not be offense vnto you, that I doo a little digresse and speake somewhat of your selfe and of your ancestors; who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cause haue you to looke into the same: that what in some of your later forefathers was consopited, maie not in you be conspulted, but rouzed and raised vnto his former and pristinat state. And for as much as I am somewhat acquainted in their descents, let me make bold with you to laie the same downe before you.

Rom. 13.

The prosperitie and quietnes in the English pale.

*Patric. de infirmitat. reip.*

The descent of the lord warden.

There were fundrie of your ancestors by the name of Raleigh, who were of great account & nobilitie, and alied as well to the Courtneis earls of Deuon, as to other houses of great honour & nobilitie, & in fundrie succeeding descents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them being your ancestor in the directest line, was named sir Iohn de Raleigh, who then dwelled in the house of Furdell in Deuon, an ancient house of your ancestors, and of their ancient inheritance: and which at these presents is in the possession of your eldest brother. This knight married the daughter and heire to sir Roger D'ameret, or de Ameret, whome our English chronicles doo name lord de Amerie, who was a noble man and of great linage, and descended of the earls de Amerie in Britaine, and alied to the earls of Montfort in the same duchie and prouince. This man being come ouer into England, did serue in the court, and by the good pleasure of God and the good liking of the king he married the ladie Elisabeth, the third sifter and coheire to the noble Gilbert earle of Clare and of Glocester, who was slaine in the battell of Banokesborough in Scotland, in the time of king Edward the second. This earle died sans issue, he being the sonne and the said ladie Elisabeth the daughter to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, by his wife the ladie Iane de Acres or Acon, daughter to king Edward the first. This Gilbert descended of Robert earle of Glocester, sonne to king Henrie the first, and of his wife the ladie Mawd, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Aistrouill in Normandie, cosen to the Conqueror, knight of the priuie chamber to king William Rufus, and lord of the lordship of Glamorgan in Wales. So that your ancestor sir Iohn de Raleigh married the daughter of de Amerie, Damerie of Clare, Clare of Edward the first, and which Clare by his father descended of king Henrie the first. And in like maner by your mother you maie be deriued out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobilitie, and whose vertues are highlie recorded sparsum in the chronicles of England; some greatlie commended for their wisdomes and deepe iudgements in matters of counsell, some likewise much praised for their prowesse & valiantnesse in martiall affaires, and manie of them honored for both.

All things haue an end.

But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable vnder the sunne, and time hath deuoured and consumed the greatest men and the mightiest monarchs, and most noble commonwealths in the world, according to the old countrie saieing; Be the daie neuer so long, yet at length it will ring to euensong: so this honorable race, though for so manie descents, and for the course of so manie yeares it continued in great honor, nobilitie, and reputation, yet in proceesse of time the honour became to be of worship (neuertheless alied alwaies and matched in houses of great honour and nobilitie) and so euer since possessed by knights of your owne name, vntill by little and little the honour and estimation of your noble and worthie ancestors seemed at length to be buried in obliuion, and as it were extinguished and to be vtterlie forgotten as though it had neuer beene. And now when all was past anie hope and vnremembred to the world, it hath pleased God to raise the same euen as it were from the dead, and to looke vpon you the yongest sonne of manie, as he did vpon Ioseph, one of the yongest sonnes of Iacob; and in you hath left a hope to restore the decayed house of your sept and familie. He hath brought you into the good fauour of your prince, who hath pleased to reward and honour in you the approoued faithfull seruice of your late ancestors and kindered decessed, and inclined hir princelie hart, conceiuing a great hope of your owne sufficiencie and abilitie to restore you againe, being the last branch remaining of so manie noble and famous houses descended. And whereof commeth this, that the Lord hath thus blessed you, and so bountifullie hath dealt with you? but onelie (as the wise man saith) *Vt noscas in omni virtute omnibus prodesse*, And that you should be beneficiall and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, *Semper aliquid ad communem vtilitatem est afferendum*: for we are not borne to our selues alone, but the prince, the countie, the parents, friends, wiues, children and familie, euerie of them doo claime an interest in vs, and to euerie of them we must be beneficiall: otherwise we doo degenerate from that communite and societie, which by such offices by vs is to be conferred, & doo become most vnprofitable: *Nam inutilis prorsus est, qui nullam vtilitatem reipublice ac communi societati possit afferre*, and euerie such man, as a member vnprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer suffered to haue a place in the hieue, than whiles he worketh; no more is that man to haue place in the publike weale, than whiles he dooth some good therein, because through idlenesse they doo not onelie no good, but as Cato saith, they doo euill: *Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt*. Idlenesse therefore the mother of all wickednesse, and idlers the sonnes of so bad a mother, are vtterlie to be exiled and expelled out of all well gouerned commonweales; and they onelie to be fostered, nourished and cherished, who as they are borne to the countie, so if they doo good and be beneficiall to the same.

Cicero de offic.

Cicero.

Cato. Idlers ought not to haue place in the commonwealth.

And how great your care hath beene heerein, the course of your life hitherto dooth manifest it. For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions, you trauelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thence, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother sir Humfreie Gilbert, trauelled the seas, for the search of such countie, as which if they had beene then discovered, infinit commodities in

## The epistle dedicatorie.

fundrie respects would haue infused, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said woorthie knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to haue discouraged a man of a right good stomach and value from anie like seas attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends, wherunto you leuelled your line for the good of your countrie, did not giue ouer, vntill you had recovered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your owne English nation in *Virginia*, the first English colonie that euer was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glorie of the Spaniards, & an impeach to their vaunts; who bicause with all cruell immanitie, contrarie to all naturall humanitie, they subdued a naked and a yeelding people, whom they sought for gaine and not for anie religion or plantation of a commonwealt, ouer whome to satisfie their most greedie and insatiable couetousnesse, did most cruellie tyrannize, and most tyrannicallie and against the course of all humane nature did scorch and rost them to death, as by their owne histories dooth appeare. These (I saie) doo brag and vaunt, that they onelie haue drawne strange nations and vknowne people to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of christianitie, and to the enriching of their countrie, and thereby doo claime the honor to be due to themselues onelie and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as apperteineth, it shall be found much more honorable in fundrie respects, for the aduancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the common wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to giue and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospell, and a true christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable seruice before God? And what can be more honorable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without iniurie, wrong, & bloodshed; and to frame them from a sauage life to a ciuill gouernment, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests haue performed? And what can be more beneficiall to a common weale, than to haue a nation and a kingdome to transerre vnto the superfluous multitude of frutelesse and idle people (heere at home daile increasing) to trauell, conquer, and manure another land, which by the due intercourses to be deuised, may and will yeeld infinit commodities? And how well you doo deserue euerie waie in following to honourable a course, not we our selues onelie can witnesse, but strange nations also doo honour you for the same: as dooth appeare by the epistle of *Basimervus* of France, to the historie of *Florida*: and by *Iulius Caesar* a citizen of Rome in his epistle to his booke intituled *Cullombeados*. It is well knowne, that it had beene no lesse easie for you, than for such as haue beene aduanced by kings, to haue builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to haue vsed the fruits of princes fauours, as most men in all former and present ages haue doone; had you not preferred the generall honour and commoditie of your prince and countrie before all priuat gaine and commoditie: wherby you haue beene rather a seruant than a commander to your owne fortune. And no doubt the cause being so good, and the attempt so honorable, but that God will increafe your talent, and blesse your doings, and euerie good man will commend and further the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more aduerfaries he shall haue to depraue and hinder the same: yet I am perswaded, as no good man shall haue iust cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so enuious of his countries honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthie an enterprize; and that so much the sooner, bicause you haue indured so manie crosses, and haue through so much enuiings and misfortunes perseuered in your attempts, which no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so worthie a worke. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to blesse you, so much the more are you bound to be thankfull vnto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his grace and mercie towards you. Giue me leaue therefore (I praie you) to be bold with you, not onelie to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the fauour of your prince and souereigne: who besides his great fauour towards you manie waies, he hath also laid vpon you the charge of a gouernement in your owne countrie, where you are to command manie people by your honourable office of the Itannarie, and where you are both a iudge and chancellor, to rule in iustice and to iudge in equitie. Wherin you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, bicause vpon your iudgement (and such as you shall appoint to be vnder you) the determinations of all their causes dooth rest and depend, knowing that a hard iudgement abideth for such as be in authoritie, if they iudge not vprightlie, and doo not yeeld iustice to euerie man indifferentlie. Be you therefore carefull in this respect, that you be well reported for your vpright dealings, both herein, & in euerie of all your other actions to all men. Be you a patterne of vertue, & an example of true nobilitie, which is grounded & hath his foundation vpon vertue, for as the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, nō caro nec sanguis*. And therfore saith Demosthenes; If thou draw thy descent & pedigree euen from Iupiter himselfe, yet if thou be not vertuous, iust & good, *Ignobilis mihi videris*; In my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be borne of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobilitie faileth, when his ancestors vertues in him faileth, *Hic enim vere nobilis est cēsendus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitatur*. Your ancestors were verie ancient, and men of great nobilitie, beneficiall to their princes and countrie manie & fundrie waies. And as in nature you are descended from them, so it hath pleased God to blesse you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike seruice, and in experience in maritall causes, and besides hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and fauour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be carefull to restore the house of your decayed forefathers to their ancient honor and nobilitie, which in this later age hath beene obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state: which you are not onelie taught by their old and good examples, but also by the ensignes of their and your nobilitie. For the fusils, being an instrument of trauell and labour, doo aduertise you, that you are one of the sonnes of Adam, borne to walke in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common societie: which when you behold and looke vpon, you must so endeavour your selfe, euen as Agathocles king of Syracuse, whose cupbords, though they were well furnished with great store and varietie of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficientlie fraughted, vntill he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups, in which he vsed to drinke, to teach & remember him in the middle of his roialtie, to be mindfull of his origin estate and dutie.

Palingenius.  
Demosthenes.

Fusils, instruments of labours.

Agathocles.

White colour.

Gules.

The white colour or siluer mettall dooth teach vnto you vertue, sinceritie & godlinesse. For as siluer is a most excellent mettall, and next vnto gold excelleng all others, and with which for the excellencie thereof, the Lord God would haue his tabernacle and his temple to be adorned and beautified with vessels and ornaments thereof; and as the white colour, if it be spotted and foule, dooth lose his grace: euen so it teacheth you to be a man of an honest and of a godlie conuersation, to lead a life in all vprightnesse, without reproch and disgrace: and that you should be seruiceable to God and your countrie in all good actions; and therewith also (which by the gulie colour is meant) you be bold and valiant for the defense of your countrie, and for the safetie thereof to spend both life and goods, that you should be beneficiall to all men, hurtfull and iniurious to no man. And such kind of men were your ancestors, who for the same were beloued and honoured, and their names for euer registred in immortal fame and memorie. And so shall it be with you, if you doo the like, and follow their steps and examples, God shall blesse you, & you shall prosper & flourish as did Ioseph; you shall be honored, as was Daniell; and you shall be in fauor before God & man, as were your ancestors; the whole people shall speake good of you, the honour of your house shall be restored, & your talent shall be augmented & increased, & all things shall go well with you. But to returne where we left. When I had waded as far as I could in the discourse of this historie, according to such



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such instructions as partlie by my selfe, but more by other mens helps, I had collected and gathered; and thought to haue continued the same from the death of King Henrie the eight, vnto these presents: it came vnto my mind, and I thought it verie expedient, to make a new review of that, which by others had beene doone in the interuall betweene *Cambrensis* and my dooings, wherein I found great paines had beene taken, and that the authors had well deserued great praises and commendations. And yet in this they were much to be blamed, that all of them were beholding vnto *Giraldus*, and not one of them would yeeld that curtesie either to publish his historie, or vsing the same to acknowledge it. For some misliking both method and phrase, framed it into another forme, and penned it in a more losstie stile; and vnder that colour haue attributed vnto themselves the honour and fruits of another mans doings. In which, their discourtesie was the more, because they iniured so noble and woorthie a personage. For *Giraldus* was a noble man by birth, he being the sonne vnto Mauricius, the sonne vnto *Giraldus de Windsor*, and to his wife the ladie Nesta, daughter to the great Roefius prince of South Wales. He was from his youth brought vp in learning, and proued verie well learned in all good letters both diuine and likewise humane: and by profession he was a man of the clergie, and liued by the patrimonie of the church. He was chapleine to king Henrie the second, and to king Iohn his sonne, and both of them he attended in their iorneis into Ireland, and at the request and commandement of the king the father, he wrot the historie of this land according as what he saw and knew to be true. The more noble then that this man was by birth, the more reuerend in calling, the more painfull in trauels, and the better learned he was: euen so much the more is their fault, that will borrow of him and not acknowledge it, nor thinke themselves beholding vnto him. For as *Plinie saith*, *Ingeniū pudoris est, sateri per quos profecerimus*; It is the part of a good nature not to be ashamed to acknowledge and confesse by whom he is the better, and benefited. I know it hath beene an old vsage in all ages, and among all the ancient writers, both Græcians & Latinists, that they would borrow of other mens writings, and enlarge their owne therewith: as *Plato* did of *Socrates* and *Pythagoras*, *Aristotle* out of *Plato*, *Cicero* of them both; and so likewise others: and these men would not onelic confesse the same, which was accounted to be some part of recompense, but also they accounted their owne dooings to be so much the better, as that they were confirmed by the authoritie of such wise, graue, and well learned men. The like reason might suffice to perswade such in this later age, as which be so curious that they will not haue anie father, doctor, or anie other writer to be named nor alleaged in sermons, readings, preachings, or writings; and yet they will not sticke to vse & recite verbatim, whole sentences, yea & whole pages out of other mens writings, and attribute the same to themselves, as of their owne inuention. A great fault and a point of ingratitude, not allowed among the gentiles: much lesse should it be so among Christians, especially among them of the highest profession, *Non profiteri per quos profecerint*.

The ingratitude  
fulnesse vnto  
*Cambrensis*.

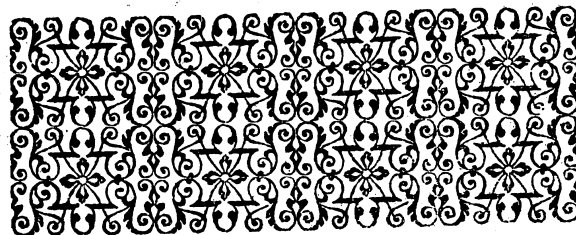
The genealogy  
of *Giraldus*.

But leauing euerie man to himselfe, for as much as all histories are to be doone with all sinceritie & truth, which in this cannot be so well doone, vnlesse the first writer and author of this historie of Ireland haue his place: I haue thought good to publish and set forth *Giraldus* his owne workes as they are, which, leauing all other translations, I haue as faithfully translated as the historie requireth, and in as fit an English phrase as is most meete and convenient for the reader. And because the same so long hence written, hath sundrie obscure things, which doe require some further opening, for the better vnderstanding of the reader; I haue subiected and added to euerie chapter (so requiring) such notes and obseruations, as he shall be therewith the better instructed and satisfied. This thing thus by me doone, together with so much as I my selfe haue penned from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents: which although it maie seeme to be verie imperfect, and to want that fulnesse as the course of so manie yeares might afford; or that some things maie be misreported and set downe, otherwise than the truth is, or that some things maie be mistaken, &c: let this be imputed vnto them, through whose default the same is so befallen; for manie things were promised and little performed; and some, who had and haue an interest in the matter, haue refused and would doe nothing. But for my selfe, according to such instructions and collections as are come to my hands, I haue after the method and nature of an historie, most sincerelie and faithfully set downe what is materiall and woorthie the writing. And for as much as your selfe was a partie and a doer in some part of the Desmond's wars, in which you were a painfull and a faithful seruitor, and therefore can giue some report and testimonie to this discourse, and also for the loue and honour which I doe owe and beare vnto you, I thought it my part and dutie to offer and present, and presentlie in most humble maner I doe offer and present the same vnto your good fauour and protection. And albeit the thing it selfe be verie slender, and too farre an inferior present to be offered to one of your estate and calling; yet let your courtesie couer that, and accept my good will, which as time and occasion hereafter shall serue, I shall & will be most willing (as your lordships most deuout and assured) to supplie in all the good seruices I maie or shall be able to doe at your commandement. The Lord bleffe you and multiplie your daies, to the honor of God, the good seruice of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, the comfort of your friends, and to your owne increase in all honour. Exon. Octob. 12.

1 5 8 6.

Your L. verie good friend and alie  
at commandement,

JOHN HOOKER.

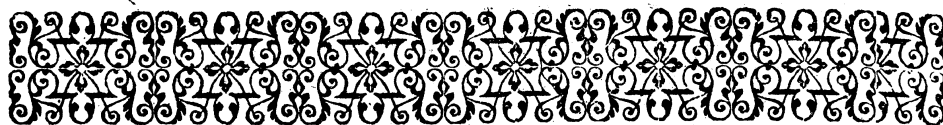


# The first preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto his historie of the conquest of Ireland.

**F**Orsomuch as in our Topographie we haue at large set forth and described the site of the land of Ireland, the natures of sundrie things therein conteined, the woonderous & strange prodigies which are in the same, and of the first origin of that nation, euen from the first beginning vntill this our time: it resteth, that at the request of sundrie men, and of some of great estate, we do now in a particular volume declare & set forth the conquest of the same land in these our daies, together with the noble acts & gests therein doone. For if we haue well discovered the old & ancient times long before vs, how much more should we doo that which we haue seene, and for the most part are witnesses thereof, & which are yet in our fresh & perfect memorie? Our Topographie discovereth the things done in times past and long ago; but this present historie intreateth of the things presentlie doone, and in our daies. But me thinketh I see some man to shrinke vp the nose, and as it were to snuffe, because I haue written all things so plainelie and euidentlie; and therefore in great scorne he reacheth the booke to one, & with as great disdaine casteth it to another. But let him know this, that I haue now written this chieflie for the laie people, and for such princes as be not of greatest learning, and are therefore desirous to haue things to be vttered in such a plaine and sensible speech as they may best vnderstand the same. For whie, most plaine terms are most meet to be vsed, when the noble acts of noble men & worthie seruitors are to be published and set forth to the notice and knowledge of all men. For this cause therefore haue I written this historie in as plaine & sensible maner as I can (leauing as much as may be) the darke & obscure maner of writing vsed in times past. And forsomuch as euerie age hath his peculiar manner, I haue according to the mind of the philosopher (whose aduise is, that the liues of the old men, and the pleasant speeches of yoong men should be receiued and followed) I haue (I saie) of purpose written in that order and phrase of speech as now is most in vre. For sith that words are but messengers of a mans mind, and giuen onelie to that end he should without close couering and couching plainelie disclose his mind and meaning: I haue purposed indueored my selfe, that seeing what others doo not see, and knowing what others doo not vnderstand, I might so write as I might of all men be vnderstood. For whie, Seneca saith: It is better to be dumbe and not to speake at all, than so to speake as not to be vnderstood, so that the speech be framed in such phrases & order as are most meet to be vsed, & with the wise and learned do most affect. But forsomuch as some men haue maliciouslie and slanderouslie depraue my Topographie, I haue thought good by the waie here to interlace a few words in defense therof. All men generallie concerning the beginning of a good or a learned matter, doo consider and haue respect speciallie to three things; the first is, the author of the thing, then the matter it selfe, and lastlie, the ordering and well handling of the thing so begun. Concerning the first and last of these three, the enuious man being afraid to vtter his malice, euen against his will giues praise & commendation to both. But yet as a staged man can not alwaies dissemble and cloke himselfe, so this man, who to haue his will ouer me & to depraue me, inueigheth against the second point, thinking and meaning by reproouing me to be a lier therein, to condemne all the rest; he obiekteth therefore and laierh to my charge the strange prodigies which I wrote, namelie how the wolfe spake and talked with a priest; of the man that in the hinder parts was like to an ox; of a woman that had a beard like a man; and a man like an horse; of a gote & a lion, which resorted and accompanied with a woman. But who so misliketh hereof, let him read in the booke of Numbers, & he shall find that Balaams asse spake and reprooued his maister. Let him examine the liues of the fathers, and he shall learne how that a satyre in the wildernesse did talke with Anthonie the heremite; and how Paule the heremite was fed in the desert by a rauens. Let him read also the workes of Jerome, the Exameron of Ambrose, and the dialog of Gregorie. Let him likewise read saint Augustine his booke of the citie

## The first preface.

*citie of God, especiallie the xv. and xxi. booke, which are full of strange prodigies and woonders: let him read Isodorus in the xi. booke of his Etymologies, concerning woonders, his xij. booke of beasts, & his xvi. booke of pretious stones, and of their vertues; let him also read Valerius Maximus, Trogus Pompeius, Plinius, and Solinus, & in euerie of these he shall find manie things which he may mislike and thinke to be vnttruths, & so condemne the residue of all the writings of so noble and woorthie men. But let him be better aduised, & consider well, how that as S. Ierome saith, there are manie things conteined in the scriptures which seeme to be incredible, and to carie no truth in them, and yet neuerthelesse are most true. For whie, nature dooth not, nor can preuaile against the Lord of nature: and therefore euerie creature ought not to loth, but to reuerence, & haue in great admiration the works of God: & as S. August. saith, How can that be against nature which is doone by the will of God? Bicause the will of so great a creator is the nature and beginning of euerie thing created. A portent then or a monster is not against nature, but against it which proceedeth from nature. And therefore as it is not impossible to God to ordeine and creat what natures or things he listeth; no more is it impossible to him to alter and change into what forms he listeth the things alreadie created. And yet I would not that euerie thing by me written, should forthwith be credited and receiued as an vndouted truth: for whie, I my selfe do not so firmlie beleue of them, as of things most certeine and true, sauing of such things which by experience I know to be true, and which also euerie other man may by prooffe so find it to be. For as for all other things, I so account of them, that I neither do nor will stand either in the deniall or affirmation of them. The iewellers & such as haue, & be acquainted with the pretious stones come out of India, do not so stranglie think or haue admiration of them, as they who neuer saw them afore: & yet they hauing had once experience of them, do the lesse muse & wonder at the strangenes of them. For whie, the dailie vse taketh awaie all strangenes & admiration; and euerie thing be it neuer so strange & maruellous at the first, yet by dailie viewing of them they wax to be contemned and the lesse esteemed: euen as the Indians themselues do litle value or esteeme their commodities, which we do so much maruell & wonder at. S. Augustine therefore vpon the gospell, how the water was turned into wine hath these words: Maruellous great is the power of God in the creation of the heauen & earth, & of the gouerning of the same; & as great it is to see how the raine water, by the nature of the vine is turned into wine, and how of litle and small seeds great trees and fruits do spring and grow; and yet because we do see it this daie as it were by a naturall course, we do lesse esteeme & consider of them. But yet God aboue the common course hath reserved to himselfe some small things, & which seeme to be of no value, to the end that his power might appeare in greater things, and driue vs the more to consider of them. Wherefore let the malicious & enuious be contented, & not to enuie against the Lord of nature, who of purpose in the sight of man hath doone manie things against the common course of nature: because it should be apparant, & euerie man should well see, that Gods power far exceedeth mans reach & knowledge, & his diuinitie surpasseth mans vnderstanding. Cassiodorus therefore saith: It is a great point of knowledge in man to vnderstand & haue the knowledge, that God can and dooth such great and woonderfull things as do far exceed and passe the capacitie & vnderstanding of man. For God alwaies of purpose dooth transpose and alter his great things into strange forms, that albeit men may in some respect discerne the same: yet fullie they can not comprehend the same. If then the old and ancient writers haue diligentlie and with good allowance noted & registred in their writings the strange prodigies in their times; whie be we doing the like (vnlesse the whole world be set in wickednesse) maligned and backbitten? For if there be anie new and strange thing in our worke, and which heretofore hath not beene heard of: yet let not the malicious & spitefull man forthwith, without further allowance condemne & deprauie it, but rather suffer it to remaine as it is. For as the poet saith: If our forefathers had reiected (as we do) all new things, what shuld now be old? Let him therefore cease to blame or carpe at new things, because in course of time they ceasse to be new, and wax to be old. He may therefore take his pleasure, and deprauie the same, & yet no doubt our posteritie will allow thereof. He may do what he can to hurt it, yet they will accept and read it. He may do what he can to disprooue and blame it, yet will they loue it. He may do what he can to reiect it, yet will they receiue and allow of it.*



## The second preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto the noble Earle of Poitiers.

**H**Auing beene estfoones, and by manie requested, to register and write the historie of such noble acts doone in our times, which I haue either seene my selfe, or haue heard it credible reported; I was for my excuse woont to alleage the wickednesse of the time, wherein, by reason of the excessiue riotousnesse which so aboundeth, all things are so farre out of order, and men so carefull to pamper vp the bodie, that the mind, which of his nature is free, is now in captiuitie, and cannot haue his libertie. Neuerthelesse, considering, and diligentlie aduising with my selfe, how necessarie the knowledge of those things will be to our posteritie, and how nothing is more pernicious and hurtfull to a good wit, and an honest disposition, than to lie wallowing in idlenesse and sloth; I did at length with much adoo yeeld my selfe to those requests, and resolued my selfe to satisfie the same. But yet what can be more presumptuous than to write when time serueth not, & leisure wanteth? Or to desire our owne bookes to be commonlie read, and yet at no leisure to read our selues? Or that we should be subiect to the examination and sifting of a malicious reader, and an enuious iudge, and yet we not at leisure to examine our selues? Tullius, the founteine and wellspring of all eloquence, being on a time requested to make an oration, is said he did excuse himselfe, because he had not studied nor read the daie before. If so famous a man, and the father of all eloquence, did so esteeme the benefit of studieng, what shall others of a farre meaner estate and learning thinke of themselves? For true it is, the wit of man if it be not reuiued with continuall and dailie reading waxeth faint and dull, and with reading it is increased and nourished as it were with a naturall food and sustenance. For as the full barns are soone spent, if they be not new stored; and the stocke of great wealth and treasure soone wasted & consumed, if it be not repaired; euen so the knowledge of man being not dailie renewed by reading and perusing of other mens works dooth soone perish and decaie. We are compact and doo consist of two natures, the one temporall, the other eternall; and hauing respect to both, are to nourish both, the earthie part with things transitorie and earthie according to the time, the heauenlie part with things perpetuall and euerlasting. The bodie for the time hath his cares; but the mind, which of his nature is free, and which cannot be shut vp, and as it were imprisoned, is neither vnder the power of vs, nor of anie others; let it therefore inioie his owne and proper libertie which to it apperteineth, and inioie the freedome to it belonging. As for the outward man, let him wander and strae, and be troubled about manie things, let him follow vaine and trifling toies, and doo all things as will lusteth, & let him be subiect to the miserable condition of the flesh: but the inward man, which as the kernell is inclosed in the shell, let him inioie that right and priuilege which God hath giuen vnto it; let it be so warded and defended, that being in troubles, it be not troubled; and being solitarie, it be not destituted. God and the king haue ech of them their feuerall power and empire ouer vs: the king hath power onelie ouer the bodie, but the secret and incomprehensible part within vs, namelie the soule, God onelie possesseth, and he alone knoweth and searcheth the same. For it is a most noble and excellent thing, passing all other the gifts of God vnder heauen, being incomprehensible, and yet comprehending all things, and most euidentlie declaring the diuine power which is in it. For by a certeine naturall agilitie which is in him he comprehendeth all the foure corners of the world, and in a maruellous secret celeritie dooth discerne the whole world and all that therein is: it hath the knowledge and vnderstanding of all arts, sciences & knowledges: he is onlie knowen to him that is vnknown, seene of him that is not seene, & comprehended of him which is incomprehensible. God forbid therefore, that the continuall exercises of this soule should be hindered with vaine and worldlie cares, whereby things for a time omitted or set aside should perish or be forgotten: for what is the bodie to the soule but a heauie burthen, a paine, & as it were a prison, which though not holding him, yet hindring him? For what the shell is to the kernell, the same is the flesh to the spirit, both of them carrieng his owne impediment and burthen. Wherefore right noble now earle of Poitiers, but shortlie which shall be king of England, & duke of Normandie, hauing the force and helpe of this, I haue yeelded my selfe, and haue now written and drawn out the historie of the conquest of Ireland, and the subduing of the barbarous nation of the same in these our daies, and haue dedicated the same vnto your highnesse: that by recording the gifts thereof, and seeing how your father did grow in renowme and honor, so the same also may increase in you; and as you are knowen to be the right heire of your fathers inheritance, so you may succeed him also in his vertues and victories to your great honor. I haue hitherto traueled in this rude and rough matter after a grosse manner, but hereafter more fullie, and in better order to be expressed and set forth, as time and yeares shall increase, and as I shall be more at full instructed.



To his most reuerend lord and beloved in Christ, Iohn the noble and worthie king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and of Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou: Giraldus offereth this his simple worke, and wisheth all health both of bodie and of soule, and a prosperous successe in all things according to his hearts desire.



**I**t pleased your noble and excellent father king Henrie, to send me being then attendant vpon him, ouer with you into Ireland, where when I had noted sundrie notable things, and which were strange and unknowne to other nations: then at my returne, I made a collection and choise of the chiefe matters therein: and within three yeares, I made my booke of Topographie, of the woonders of Ireland, and of the description of that land, doone in and for the honor of your father; who hauing good liking, and being well pleased with those my trauels (for why, he was a prince (a thing rare in our times) verie welllearned) his desire and pleasure was, I should also write out the historie of the last conquest of the same land, made by him and his. Which renewing my former trauels I did: but neither it, nor these my paines were considered. For vertue commonlie is more commended than rewarded. But because by negligence, or rather by reason of the great businesse, wherewith I was incumbered: I had almost forgotten the site, nature, and maner of the west parts of the said land, which I had not seene a long time. I thought it good to ouerrun, and peruse againe my said worke, and being better corrected, to dedicat the same vnto your highnesse. Wherein our historie taketh his beginning from the time that Dermot mac Morogh prince of Leinster was driven out of his countrie by his owne men, and fled to your father then being in Aquitaine: most humbly craving, and at length obtaining aid and succor, vntill your first comming into that land, when I was with you: and haue faithfullie declared in order, what things were there doone by euerie of these noble men and capteins, which then passed thither, euen from the first to the last; and what good or euill was doone by them.

In which historie as in a glasse, a man may most apparantlie and euidentlie see and discerne truth; who, and what they were which deserued the most honor in this conquest; whether the first aduenturers out of the diocesse of saint Dauids my cousins and kinsmen; or they of the diocesse of Landaff, who came next, and who in verie deed are gentlemen, but more in name than valiant in act; and who vpon the good successe of the first, hoping to haue the like themselves, went ouer: or else they which passed ouer the third time, who were well and fullie furnished at all points with good store of armor, vittell, and other necessaries. Surelie they deserued well, who gaue the first aduenture: and they also are much to be commended, which continued the same: but they deserued best, who went ouer last. For they not onelie did establish and confirme the authoritie and dootings of the first and second, but also made a finall end, and brought the whole countrie into subiection. But alas, by reason of their too hastie returning from thence, and of the vnnaturall warres and rebellion of the sonnes against their father, the land could not be brought to a perfect order, nor the things begun could haue his full perfection. Wherefore, o noble king, despiise not the great trauels and labors of your father, nor yet my poore paines herein. Doo not impari your honor and glorie to the unworthie and unthankfull: neither for the coueting of an Island of siluer to hazard the losse of one of gold: the one far passing and exceeding the other in value. For the gold of Arabia and the siluer of Achaia doo both fill a mans cofer alike: but the one more in price and value than the other. Besides this, there is another thing which might persuaide you to be mindfull, and haue some regard of the land of Ireland. It hath pleased God and good fortune to send you manie children, both naturall, and also legitimat; and more hereafter you may haue. It were therefore verie good as you may, to appoint and place in those two kingdomes, two of your sonnes to be gouernors and rulers of them: and vnder them to appoint a great number of your men, and endow them liberallie with great liuings and liuehoods; and especiallie in Ireland, which as yet is rude, vnnurtured, and nothing to the purpose by our men inhabited. But if so be that neither for the increasing of your owne honor, the enriching of your treasure, nor for the aduancing of your children, you will haue respect to your realme of Ireland; yet haue some consideration of your poore veterans and old seruitors, who haue most faithfullie and trustilie serued both you and your father, and by whose seruice that realme of Ireland was first conquered; and is yet kept and reteined; and yet are supplanted by such yoong nonices and yoonkers as are of late gone thither



## The epistle dedicatorie.

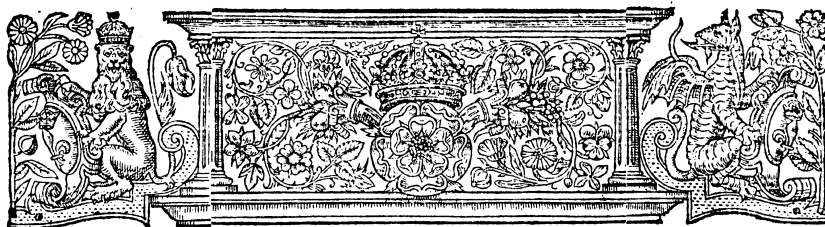
thither, to inioy and to succeed into the fruits of other mens trauels, fortune better fauoring them, than vertue commending. And the follie of these men is growne to such a pride and arrogancie, that as it is said, they are greatlie to be suspected to aspire and to vsurpe the whole seignorie and dominion to themselves, which it lieth you vpon to see to be quailed and abated.

And in following these your Irish affaires, you are to haue great care and regard, that when so euer you doo march and take anie iourneie, either for the vanquishing of the enimie, or for the reuenging of anie wrongs and iniuries; that you haue alwaies an eie backward, and leaue all things behind you in such safe and sure order, that no danger thereof doo insue vnto you. For why, the household enimies be alwaies working of wiles, and waiting for an aduantage; and doo but looke when time and place may serue for them to rebell: and therefore you are to haue great care and good regard, that you doo leaue all things behind you in safetie, and out of danger: and that you doo not suffer the serpent to lurke and hide himselfe, as it were in your bosome: nor to nourish and rake vp the fire as it were in your lap, the same being readie to breake out into great flames: for this shall not onelie be counted a great retchlesnesse, but also a great follie in you, and to your great reproch. It is verie expedient therefore to euerie prince, that in his land he doo not foster and mainteine anie such Hydras and venemous serpents. And for princes of Ilands, it should be good for them, that they in their dominions and realmes haue in no side anie other marches than the seas it selfe. But if it be so, that you will not be perswaded for anie of the foresaid reasons, to haue regard or remorse to your said land, being so oftentimes desolated, and almost vtterlie destroyed; that it may be reduced to some better order and state, whereby it may be more profitable to your selfe and vnto yours: then I praie you to pardon vs Welshmen, notwithstanding we be of nature somewhat rash; and giue vs leaue to put you in remembrance touching which your father, for the aduancement of himselfe and of his posteritie, did promise to pope Adrian, when he first procured licence and libertie to invade and to conquer the realme of Ireland. The first is, that you would set vp the true religion, and reforme the church of God in that realme: and then, as you doo now in England, so also in Ireland, you doo cause to be paid out of euerie house the Peter pence, according to the tenure of the said priuilege by your father obtained, and which remaineth in the treasure of Winchester; that you maie so deliuer your fathers soule, and satisfie his promise. For why, as Salomon saith: Alieng toong beseemeth not a king, especiallie when he shall liue to God, and being a creature, wittinglie to offend his creator; for that is an offense verie heinous and dangerous.

And for so much as you are to answer before the high and strict iudge, hauing nothing for your excuse and defense than as before is said, for the so much innocent bloud by your father and your selfe already shed, and which hereafter maie be shed: you ought to be verie carefull and diligent, that Gods anger maie be appeased, and your fathers promise be performed: that God being thus honored for this conquest, you maie haue a prosperous succeſſe, and all yours in this world: and also after this life inioie that perpetuall felicitie, which surpasseth all ioie and felicitie. And because you haue not kept nor performed these promises, these two defects by Gods iust iudgement are befallen vnto you. The one is, that this conquest could neuer be brought to his full effect and perfection. The other is, that they which were the cheefest and most principall seruitors in this conquest, namely Robert Fitzstephans, who first entered into the land, and made waie vnto others, Henrie of monte Moris, Reimond, Iohn de Courcie, and Meilerius, neuer had anie lawfull issue of their bodies begotten. And no maruell: for notwithstanding the happie and fortunate succeſſe of the conquest, the poore cleargie was neuer considered, but were driuen to beg; and the cathedrall churches which were richlie inuaded with great linelehoods, possessions, and territories, were altogether waisted and spoiled. These things a good prince of his honor ought to see to be redressed, and to provide that the cleargie, who are and ought faithfullie to assist and serue him in all weightie causes of counsell and importance, should be releued, and inioie the honor vnto them belonging, and that small portion which was promised vnto them; that God in some things maie be appeased and satisfied for these cruell and bloudie conquests. And moreouer, vnder your patience we saie also, that for the perpetuall memorie of this conquest made by Englishmen, and because in proceſſe of time, and course of yeares, there happeneth great change of lords, and manie times the inheritance commeth to such as are furthest remoued in kinred, that therefore there be a yearelie tribute rated and yeelded vnto the king, to be paid in gold or such commodities as that land best yeeldeth: and that this be comprised in a publike instrument, that the whole world maie know how the realme and land of Ireland is subiect to the crowne of England. And for so much as things doone, being put and registred in writing,

and to be read by an interpreter, are not sensible, nor so well vnderstanded of the hearer,

as when he maie or dooth read the same in his owne speech and language: it were verie good (in my opinion) that some learned man, and skilfull in the French toong, should translate the same into French.



# SYLVESTER GIRAL-

## dus Cambrensis, his vaticinall

### historie of the Conquest of Ireland.

*The figures of (1) (2) (3) &c. set before certeine words of the chapters, are to be conferred with the like in the scholies or interpretations following euerie chapter, whereby the authors meaning is opened: this by the waise of a necessarie caueat to the reader in breuitie.*

How Dermon Mac Morogh king of  
Leinster fled out of his countrie vnto Henrie  
the second king of England for  
aid and succour.

Chap. i.



**D**ermon (1) Mac Morogh prince of (2) Leinster & gouernour of the fifth part or portion of Ireland, did in our time possesse & inioie the east part of the land, which bordereth and lieth to wards England: being disseuered from the same by the maine seas. This man from his verie youth, and first entrie into his kingdome, was a great oppressor of his gentlemen, and a cruell tyrant ouer his nobles: which bred vnto him great hatred and malice. Besides this, there befell to him an other mischæse: for Moroghke prince of (3) Meth was gone in a soemie, leauing his wiife the daughter of Amolaghlin behind, in a certeine Iland in Meth: there to remaine and tarie untill his returne. She (4) Fate and this Dermon had bene long inamoured and in loue the one with the other: and she watching a time how to haue loue and lust satisfied, taketh the aduantage of hir husbands absence, and yeldeth hir selfe to be rauished, bicause she would be rauished: for by hir owne procurement and intiflings, she became and would needs be a priue vnto the pzefer. Such is the variable & fickle nature of a woman, by whome all mischiefs in the worlde (for the most part) do happen and come, as mate appeare by (4) Marcus Antonius, and by the destruction of (5) Troie. King Moroghke being aduertised hereof, was forthwith maruellouslie troubled & in a great choler, but more grieved for shame of the fact than for sorrow or hurt; and therefore is fullie determined to be auenged: and forthwith assembleth all his people and neighbors, as also procured into his aid and for his helpe Rothorike king of (6) Connagh and then monarch of all Ireland. The people of Leinster considering in what distresse their pynce was, and how on euerie side he was be-

set of his enimies, they also call to mind the old sores and griefes, which they of long time had dissembled: & to be auenged & awycked the reof, they make league and become friends with their enimies, and utterlie leaue and forsake their king. Dermon fixing himselfe thus forsaken and left destitute, and that fortune frowned vpon him (for he had oftentimes encountered with his enimies and euer had the worst) determined at length, as to his last refuge to sit ouer the seas, and to seeke for some better chance. By this euent and sequele of this man, as also by manie other like cramples it appeareth, that it is better for a pynce to rule ouer a people, which of a god will and loue do obeie him, than ouer such as be froward and stubborne. This (6) Pero well felt and (7) Domitianus well knew (8) and Henrie duke of Saronie and Baulce well tried. It is more necessarie and expedient for a pynce to be rather beloued than feared. In deed it is god to be feared; so that the feare do proceed rather from a god will than of compulsion. For whatsoeuer is outwardlie onelie and to the shew loued and receined, the same of consequence must be feared: but whatsoeuer is feared, that is not forthwith loued. Wherefore feare must be so tempered with loue, that neither a remisse god will do war into a colonselle, neither feare grounded vpon a rash insolencie be turned and become tyrannie. Loue did enlarge the empire of (9) Augustus, but feare shortened the life of (10) Julius Cesar. Well, Mac Morogh following fortune, and yet in hope that once againe the will turne his whele, hauing wind and wether at will, taketh ship, passeth ouer the seas, and went vnto Henrie the second king of England, and most humble and earnestlie prayeth his helpe and succor. Who being then in the remote places in France and Aquitaine, and busied in great and weightie affaires, yet most courtesouslie he receiued him and liberallie rewarded him. And the king hauing at large and orderlie heard the causes of his exile and of his repaire vnto him, he toke his oth of allegiance and swore him to be his true vassall and subiect: and therevpon granted and gaue him his letters patents in maner and forme as followeth. Henrie king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Anglou, vnto all his subiects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other nations and people being his subiects sendeth greeting. Whensoeuer these our letters shall come vnto you, know ye that we haue receiued Dermon pynce of Leinster into our protection,

Henrie the 2.  
king of Eng-  
lands stile  
and letter.

B. j.

tion, grace, and fauour : wherefore whosoever within our uñt diction will aid and helpe him, our trustie subiect, for the recouerie of his land, let him be assured of our fauour and licence in that behalfe.

(1) Derman is in Latine *Dermotus*, and *Spozogh* is in Latine *Murchardus*, and are mere Irish names: and for a difference giuen commonlie to a child at his birth or christening: *Spac Spozogh* is a word compounded of *Spac* which is a sonne and of *Spozogh* the proper name of a man, and so *Spac Spozogh* is the sonne of *Spozogh*: the Latine name is *Murchardides*, which is to saie *De Murcharde*, or of *Spozogh*: according to the Welsh phrase in which the word is used in the same sense. And this is common to the Irish & Welsh, for they call not anie man by the name of his familie or nation as is used in England: but by the name of difference giuen to his father, as in this example: *Derman* being *Spozogh's* sonne is called *Derman Spac Spozogh*. But this name of *Spac Spozogh* is since turned and become the name of a familie or nation: for by reason that this *Spac Spozogh* was a noble and valiant man aboue all the rest of his nation in his daies: therefore his sequels and posteritie haue euer since and doe yet keepe that name. Some are of the mind that *Spozogh* and *Spaurice* are one name: but the Latine differences importeth the contrarie, and the one is a mere Irish name, and the other a Welsh, and borrowed out of Wales.

(2) *Leinster* in Latine *Lagenia*, is one of the five parts or portions of Ireland (for into so manie is the whole land diuided.) It lieth vpon the east seas, and extendeth in length from the further point of the territorie of Dublin, which is at the riuer of the Boine by *Drogheda* in the north, vnto the riuer of the *Surie* which floweth by the citie of *Waterford* in the south. In it are one and thirtie cantreds otherwise named baronies or hundreds. It was sometimes diuided into five, but now into seauen countiees, that is, Dublin, *Kildare*, *Catherlogh*, *Kilkennie*, *Waterford*, *Lear*, now called the *queenes countie*, and *Wick* called the *kings countie*. There are also in it one archbishop; namelie *Dublin*, and foure bishopps; that is, *Kildare*, *Fernes*, *Leighlin*, and *Worste*.

(3) *Meath* in Latine *Media* is one of the five portions of Ireland according to the first diuision. It is the least portion being but of eightene cantreds, but yet the best and most fertile, and lieth for the most part all within the English pale: and euer since the conquest of king *Henrie the second*, hath bene subiect and obedient to the English lawes and gouernement: and because it lieth as it were in the nauill or bowels of the land, it taketh the name accordingly, being called *Media*, which is the middle. In it is but one bishop and the suffragan, and vnder the primate or archbishop of *Armdach*. His see is at *Erim* and his house at *Arbraghin*. There was no prince sole gouernour of this as was of the other portions: because it was alwaies allowed & allotted to the monarch, whome they called *Maximum regem*, or *Regem Hibernie*, as a surplus towards his diet.

(4) *Marcius Antonius* was a famous and a noble Romaine, excelling in wisdom, knowledge and learning all the Romaine princes in his daies; as also a verie noble and a valiant man in the fields, hauing attained to great victories and atchiued to sundrie conquests. And yet notwithstanding being married to *Cleopatra* queene of Egypt, he so doted vpon her, and was so bewitched in loue of her: that leauing all his wonted manners, he consumed his whole time in her companie, and in the end was more infamous for his vicious, disordered, and loose

life, than before commended for his prouesse and vertue.

(5) *Troie* called also *Ilium*, was an ancient and a famous citie in Asia the lesse, and situated in the prouince of *Dardania*, builded by *Tros* the sonne of king *Crithonius*, who called it after his owne name. It was a citie verie large, strong, and rich, and in those daies thought impregnable; & yet by means that *Helena* was rauished, the same was in the end utterly subuerted and destroyed: the historie is this. *Pyramus* the king of *Troie* had by his wife *Hecuba* a sonne named *Paris* or *Alexander*: he dreamed on a time that *Mercurius* should bring vnto him the three ladies, *Venus*, *Iuno*, & *Minerua*, that he should giue his iudgement which was the fairest and most beautifull of them. When *Venus*, to haue the iudgement for hir and in hir behalfe, did promise him that he should haue for the same the fairest woman in all Greece. Not long after, *Paris* being in his fathers court in *Troie*, there were great speeches made of *Helena* and of hir passing beautie. She was wife to *Menelaus* king of *Sparta* in Greece. Wherevpon *Paris* calling to memorie his former dreame, and also inflamed with a seruent desire to see so faire a ladie, maketh preparation both of ships and of men to passe into Greece. Howbeit, some write that he was sent by the king his father in an ambassage to king *Menelaus*: but whether it was so or not, certeine it is he went thither, and was receiued with all courtesie, and had his intertainment in king *Menelaus* house. *Paris* hauing viewed and beheld the queene *Helena*, he was not so much warmed before vpon the onelie report of hir, as now inflamed with hir passing forme and beautie; and taking the advantage of king *Menelaus* absence, perforce taketh *Helena*, spoileth the kings house, and carrieth all awaie with him. *Menelaus* at his returne home, being dismaied at so sudden a change and chance, and grieved with such an iniurie, sendeth his messenger first to *Paris*, and then his ambassadours to king *Pyramus* for restitution and amends. But when no intreatie could take place nor request be heard, the Grecians not minding to beare with such an iniurie, doe all consent to be auenged thereof: and therefore with all their forces and power doe prepare to giue warres vnto *Troie*, and make choise of *Agamemnon* the kings brother to be their captaine. The warres were cruell and long, and endured for the space of ten yeares, but in the end *Troie* was taken, spoiled, and also destroyed.

6 *Pero*, whose name at the first was *Claudius Domitius*, was in his youthfull yeares well disposed to good letters, & giuen to honest exercises. And *Claudius* the emperour hauing good liking of him, adopted him to be emperour, and married him vnto his daughter. After the death of *Claudius*, he being emperour, did gouerne well enough the first five yeares: but thenceforth he waxed so vicious, and became so horrible in all dissolute wantonnesse, prodigallitie, monstrous lecherie, couetousnesse, and all other most wicked vices: that he seemed to be borne to the destruction of the whole world. And in the end he was and became so odious to the whole world, that it was decreed by the senat, and sentence giuen, that he should be beaten and whipped to death. Which thing he perceiving, fled out of Rome, and finding none that would kill him, did runne himselfe thorough with his owne sword, saieing: *Spott wickedlie haue I liued, and most shamfullie shall I die.*

7 *Domitianus*, the brother of *Titus*, and sonne of *Vespasian* the emperour, was nothing like vnto them, but altogether resembled & was of the nature

and disposition of Nero: for at the first entrie into the empire, he did to his commendation sundrie good acts; but in the end he became so wicked a man and so cruell a tyrant, that he generallie was hated of all men, and abhoyred of his owne familie, of whom some of them, to rid the common wealth from so wicked a member, did murder and kill him in his owne chamber.

(8) This Henrie was the sonne of Henrie the third of that name, and emperor of Rome, he was king of the Romans in his fathers time, and emperor next after him. His father died, he being verie young, and left him to the gouernement of the emperesse his mother; who during his minority did rule and gouerne the empire in verie good order: but when he himselfe came to the sole gouernment, great dissensions fell betwene him and his nobles, because he contemned, despised, & oppressed them. He gaue himselfe to wantonnesse and pleasure, and little esteemed the execution of iustice; by means whereof he had manie enemies, who sought what they might to depose him both of empire and of his life. The pope also and he were for the most part in continuall debates and strifes, and who was the cheefe cause whie he was so overset and hated of his nobles. And being thus overmatched and in the hatred both of the temporall and ecclesiasticall estates, he for verie long row languished and pined a waie, and so died.

(9) Augustus was the sonne of Octavianus a senator in Rome, who married Accia the daughter of Julius Cesar, and was first named Octavianus Julius Cesar. His uncle hauing no son, adopted him, made him his heire, and appointed him to be his successor in the empire. After the death of the said Julius, the state by reason he was so cruellie murdered, was marvellouslie troubled and in great perils. But this Octavianus hauing attained to sit in Julius Cessars seat, did so prudentlie order and direct his gouernement, that he did not onelie reduce and restore the citie and empire of Rome to a quietnesse; but also increased the same with the conquests of sundrie nations. Such also were his excellent vertues in wisdom, magnanimitie, courtesie, affabilitie, & liberallitie, and such others; that all people were not onelie raiused in loue with him, but also came and resorted of all nations vnto Rome, to visit, see, and heare him. And hauing stablished the empire in quietnesse, enlarged it with manie nations, & increased vnto himselfe the vniuersall loue of all people, the senat gaue him not onelie the name of Augustus, but gaue vnto him also the titles of the highest and greatest honours, and was called *Summus pontifex perpetuus dictator & pater patrie*, and yelded vnto him the whole power and empire of the sole monarch of the world, now reposing that in him alone, which rested before in the senat and people of Rome. These be the fruites when a prudent magistrat and a wise gouernour ruleth in loue and gouerneth in wisdom.

(10) Julius Cesar was the sonne of Lucius Iulius a noble Romaine, and came and descended of the ancient house of the Iulies, who were of the race of Aeneas: he was as noble a man as euer Rome brought forth, and excellent in all respects: most valiant and fortunate in the warres, and verie prudent in the ciuill gouernement, verie well learned, and a notable orator: he deserved well of his common wealth, for he enriched the same with the conquests which he made ouer sundrie nations. But his ambitious mind and immoderate desire to reigne alone, and to be the sole monarch of the world, drownded all the good vertues which were in him, and for which all the nations feared him, the citizens of Rome hated him, and the senators enuied him: and in the end a conspiracie was made for the murdering of him,

and by the senators executed. For he on a certaine daie, vpon occasion being come into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, although he wanted not sufficient warnings before giuen him, was there wounded in two and thirtie places to death, and so murdered.

The returne of Dermot Mac Morogh  
from king Henrie through England, and of  
his abode at Bristow and other  
places in Wales.

## Chap. 2.

**D**ermot Mac Morogh, hauing received great comfort and courtesie of the king, taketh his leaue, and returneth homeward through England. And albeit he had bene verie honourable and liberallie rewarded of the king: yet he comforted himselfe more with the hope of good successe to come, than with liberallitie received. And by his daile sojourn he came at length vnto the noble towne of (1) Bristow, where because ships and botes did daile repaire and come from out of Ireland, and he verie desirous to heare of the state of his people and countrie, did for a time sojorne and make his abode: and whilst he was there he would oftentimes cause the kings letters to be openlie red, and did then offer great intertainment, and promised liberall wages to all such as would helpe or serue him; but it serued not. At length Gilbert the sonne of Gilbert, earle of Cheffone (2) came to see him and to talke with him: and they so long had conferred together, that it was agreed and concluded betwene them, that the erle in the next spring then following, should aid and helpe him: and in consideration thereof, the said Dermot should giue him his onelie daughter and heire to wife, together with his whole inheritance, and the succession into his kingdome. These things orderlie concluded, Dermot Mac Morogh being desirous (as all others are) to see his naturall countrie, departed and toke his iourneie towards S. Davids head or stone (3) in south Wales: for from thence is the shortest cut ouer into Ireland, the same being not a daies sailing, and which in a faire daie a man may ken and discern. At this same time Ricke Fitzgriffith was cheefe ruler vnder the king in those parties; and Dauid the second, then bishop of S. Davids, had great pitie and compassion vpon his distresse, miserie, and calamitie.

Dermot thus languishing and lieng for passage, comforted himselfe as well as he might, sometime drawing and as it were breathing the aire of his countrie, which he seemed to breath and smell, sometimes viewing and beholding his countrie, which in a faire daie a man may ken and descrie. At this time Robert Fitzstephans vnder Ricke had the gouernement, & was constable of Aberteffe the cheefe towne in Caretica (4) and by the treacherie and treason of his owne men was apprehended, taken and deliuered vnto Ricke, and by him was kept in prison thre peares, but not deliuered, vpon condition he should take part and ioine with Griffith against the king. But Robert Fitzstephans, considering with himselfe that on his fathers side (who was a Norman) he was the kings naturall subiect, although by his mother the ladie Iseffa, daughter to the great Ricke Fitzgriffith, he were cosen germane to the said Fitzgriffith, chose rather to aduenture his life, and to seeke fortune abroad in forein countries, than to hazard his faith, credit, and fame, to the slander, reproch, and infamie of himselfe, and of his posteritie. At length by the earnest mediation and intercession of Dauid then bishop of S. Davids, and of Maurice

Fitgerald, which were his halfe brothers by the mothers side, he was set free and at libertie: and then it was agreed and concluded betwene them and Mac Morogh, that he the said Mac Morogh should giue and grant vnto the said Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, the towne of (5) Wexford, with two (6) cantreds of land adioining, & to their heires in fee for ever: and they in consideration thereof, promised to aid and helpe him to recouer his lands the next spring then following: and to be then with him without all faile if wind and weather so serued. Whereupon being wearie of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to drave home, towards for the recouerie of his owne, and for which he had so long trauelled and sought abroad: he first went to the church of S. Dauids to make his orisons and prayers, and then the weather being faire, and wind good, he aduentured the seas about the middle of August; and hauing a merrie passage, he shortly landed in his ingratefull (7) countie: and with a verie impatient mind, hazarded himselfe among and through the middle of his enemies; and committing safelie to (8) Fernes, he was verie honozable received of the cleargie there: who after their abillitie did refresh and succour him: but he for a time dissembling his princelie estate, continued as a priuat man all that winter following among them.

(1) Wiltow in the old time was named Odera, afterwards Glenta, and now *Bristolium*, and standeth vpon the riuer *Paunium* which is nauigable, & floweth into Seuerne or the Seuerne seas: in it there are two rodes, the one named Kingrode, five miles distant from Wiltow, in which the ships doe ride. The other is named Hongrode, a place where the ships lie bedded, and this is three miles from Wiltow. It standeth vpon the borders or confines of the prouince of Gloucestershire and Summersetshire: some would haue it to be in the marches and vnder the principalltie, but in the old times it was parcel of the vallete of Bath, which was the metropole of Summersetshire. It is verie old, ancient and honozable, and sometimes named but a towne: but since for desert and other good considerations, honoured with the name and title of a citie, as also is made a feuerall prouince or countie of it selfe, being distinct from all others, hauing a maior and aldermen according to the ancient times, as also two shiriffes according to the latter grants, by whom the same is directed and gouerned. It is the cheefest emporium in that part of England, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants of great wealth, aduentures, and traffikes with all nations: great dealings they haue with the Camber people and the Irish nation, the one of them fast bordering vpon them, and the other by reason of the nearnesse of the seas, and pleasantnesse of the riuer, dailye resorting by water to and from them.

(2) Chepstow is a market towne in Wales, in that prouince named in old time Glenta, being now vnder the principalltie of Wales. In times past it was named *Strigulia*, thereof Richard Strang, now being earle he took his name, being called *Cornes Strigulensis*.

(3) S. Dauids head or stone is the promontorie in west Wales, which lieth and reacheth furthest into the seas towards Ireland: and the same being a verie high hill, a man shall the more easilie discern in a faile daie the countie of Wexford: for that is the neerest part of Ireland vnto that part of Wales. Not farre from this promontorie or point is the cathedrall church of saint Dauids, which is the see of the bishop there: it was and is called *Penenias*, and was in times past an archbishoplike. But as it is written

in the annales of the said church, that in the time of Richard Carew and two of his predecessors bishops there, they were by the kings commandment made to yeld, and submit themselves vnto the metropolitane see of Canturburie.

(4) Aberteife is an old ancient towne standing vpon the mouth of the riuer of Eife, and thereof it taketh his name, that is to saie the mouth of Eife, but now it is called Cardigan. The countie about it was in times past named Caretica, but now Cardiganshire, so Aberteife is Cardigan towne, and Caretica Cardiganshire.

(5) Wexford in Latine named *Guesfordia*, is next after Dublin the cheefest towne in Leinster, it lieth full vpon the seas, but the haven is a barred haven and dangerous: from it is the shortest cut out of Ireland into England, if you doe touch and take land either at saint Dauids or at Wiltow.

(6) A cantred (as Giraldus saith) is a word compounded of the British and of the Irish tonges, and containeth so much ground as wherein are one hundred villages: which in England is termed a hundred. Men of later time to declare the same more plainelie, doe saie that it contained thirtie villages, & euerie village contained eight plough lands. Wher saie that a cantred containeth twentie townes, and euerie towne hath eight plough lands arable, besides sufficient pasture in euerie for three hundred kine, and none to annoie another; and euerie plough land containeth six score acres of land Irish, and euerie Irish acre farre exceedeth the content of the common acre.

(7) The place where Dermot landed is named Glassecaerge, it is a crake or a bate lieng vpon the open seas, and in the countie of Wexford, thence there was builded a monastirie which was and is dissolved.

(8) Fernes is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, whose diocesse is the countie of Wexford, it lieth nere in the midle of the prouince of Leinster, and was sometimes a church well adorned and maintained, but now in great ruine and decaye, the bishop & chapter not remaining there at all. There is also a strong fort of the princes, wherein sometimes was kept a garrison at the princes charges, but now onelie a constable is placed therein, and he hath the sole charge thereof.

The going ouer and landing of Robert Fitzstephans and of his companie in Ireland, and of the winning of the towne of Wexford,

Cap. 3.

In the meane time Robert Fitzstephans, not vnmindfull nor careless of his word and promise, prepareth and prouideth all things in a readinesse, and being accompanied with thirtie gentlemen of seruice of his owne kinfolk & certeine armed men, and about three hundred of archers and footmen, which were all of the best chosen and piked men in Wales, they all ship and imbarke themselves in three sundrie barkes, and sailing towards Ireland, they land about the callends of Aprill at the (1) Banne. Then was the old prophesie of Merlin fulfilled, which was, that a (2) knight biparted should first enter with force in arms & breake the bounds of Ireland. If you will vnderstand the myserie herof, you must haue respect to his parents, for his father was a Norman and an Englishman, his mother the noble ladie Isesta was a Camber or a Britaine, in his companie also was Perueie of Mont Maurice, a man infortunat, vnrarm'd,



armed, and without all furniture: but he travelling in the behalfe of the earle Richard, to whom he was uncle, was rather a spye than a souldier. On the next daie following Maurice of Breenelgaast a (4) lustie and a hardie man, and boine about Milford in west Wales, he with ten gentlemen of service, and a good number of archers imbarke themselves in two ships, and arrive also at the Banne. These men thus landed at the Banne, and not standing well assured of their safetie, by reason their coming was blown abroad through the whole countrie, they with all hast sent messengers to Dermion, aduertising him of their coming. Whereupon diuerse of that countrie, who dwelling vpon the sea coasts, and who when fortune frowned had and did thinke a waie from Dermion, now perceiuing that he feared him againe, returned and saluoned vpon him; according to the saying of the poet in these words:

As fortune to the faith of man doth stand or fall,

Mac Morogh, as soon as he heard of their landing and coming, sent his base son Donold, a valiant gentleman vnto them with five hundred men: and verie shortly after he himselfe also followed with great soie and gladnesse. And then when they had renewed their former covenants and leagues, and had sworn each one to the other, to obserue the same and to keepe faith: then, though they were people of contrarie dispositions, yet now being good friends and all of one mind, they ioine their forces together, and with one consent do march towards the towne of Waterford, which is about twelue miles distant from the Banne. When they of the towne heard thereof, they being a fierce and vnrallie people, but yet much trusting to their wonted fortune, came forth about two thousand of them, and were determined to wage and giue battell. But when they saw their aduersaries armie to be better set in order than in times past, and that the horsemen were well armed with armour and shield shining bright: then vpon new chancies & changes taking new counsels, they set on fire and burned their suburbs, and retired into the towne.

Fitze Stephens minding and preparing to giue the assault, fillth the ditch with armed men, and setteth his archers to marke and watch well the turrets of the wals: which things done, he with great shottes and force giueth the assault. The towne men within being readie to stand at defense, cast ouer the wals great peeces of timber & stones, and by that meanes hurting manie, made the rest to giue ouer and retire. Among whom a lustie young gentleman named Robert Barrie, being hot and of a lustie courage, and nothing afraid of death, so he might atchieue vnto honour, giueth the first aduenture to scale the wals: but he was stricken with a great stone vpon the headpiece, wherewith he fell headlong downe into the ditch and escaped verie hardlie, for with much ado did his fellowes draw & pull him out of the place. About fiftene yeares after, all his great teeth with the force and violence of this stroke fell out; and that which is verie strange, new teeth grew vp in their places. Vpon this repulie they all retired and withdrew themselves from the wals, & assembled themselves vpon the sea strands, where forthwith they set on fire all such ships and vessels as they could there find. Among whom was one merchant ship lately come out of England laden with wines and come, which there lay then at anchor, and a compaignie of these lustie youths having gotten votes for the purpose, would haue taken hir: which the mariners perceiuing, suddenly cut their cables and hoisted vp these sailes, & the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, they recovered the seas. These youths still following them, had almost lost all and

marred the market: for if others their fellows had not made good ship and rowed a good pace after them they would scarce haue recovered the land againe. Thus fortune, which is onlie constant in inconstancie, seemed to haue forsaken Morogh and Fitzstephans, and to haue left them destitute of all hope and comfort: neuertheless, on the next morow hauing heard diuine seruice through the whole campe, they determine with better aduise and circumspection to giue a new assault, & with lustie courages drew to the wals. The towne men within seeing this, began to distrust themselves, & to consider how most vnnatural and vnrallie they had rebelled against their prince & soueraigne: wherupon being better aduised, they send messengers to him to intreat for peace. At length by the earnest intercession and mediation of two bishops, and certeine good and peaceable men which were within the towne, peace was granted; and foure of the best & chiefe men within the towne were deliuered and giuen for pledges and hostages, for the true keeping of the peace and their fidelitie. Mac Morogh, to gratifie his men in these his first successes, and to acquit the first aduenturers, did according to his former promise and couenant giue vnto Robert Fitzstephans and Maurice Fitzgerald the towne of Waterford, and the territories thereunto adioining and appertaining, and vnto Iheremie of Mont Morice he gaue in fee two cantreds, lieng on the sea side betwix Waterford and Waterford.

(1) The Banne is a little cræke lieng in the countrie of Waterford, nere to Fithra a fisher towne, which is belonging to the bishop of that diocesse, the open seas being on the east and not farre from the haue mouth of Waterford on the south: and as it should seeme, Fitzstephans and his compaignie mistooke the place or were diuined in there, the same being verie vnapt for a harborow: but the same being the place of the first receipt of Englishmen, there were certeine monuments made in memorie thereof, and were named the Banna & the Boenne, which were the names (as the common fame is) of the two greatest ships in which the Englishmen there arrived.

(2) A knight biparted. The prophesie was not onelie verified in respect of the parents of Robert Fitzstephans, the one being a Norman Baron, and the other a Camber: but also in respect of his armes and ensigne which were biparted being of two sundrie changes, namelie partie per pale gules, and ermine a saltire counterchanged. For commonlie all prophesies haue their allusions vnto armes, and by them they are discovered, though at the first not so appearing before the euent thereof.

(3) Gentlemen. The Latine word is *Milites*, which in the now common speech is termed knights, a name of worship and honour: but the word it selfe importeth and meaneth men expert and skilfull to serue in the wars, whether it be on foot or horsebacke. In times past when men ruled by the sword, then such as were valiant and of good experience grew in to credit and estimation; and the people did make choise of such to gouerne, rule, and defend them, and who for their excellent vertues were called *Nobles*, which in English is gentlemen. And then men being ambitious of honour, did contend who might best excell in feats of prowesse and chualrie: some desiring to excell in the seruice on foot: and because they vsed chieflie the target and shield, they toke their name thereof, & were called *Scutiferi*. Some practised chieflie the seruice on horsebacke, and they (according to the manner of their seruice) were named *Equites*: but both the one and the other were in pceesse of time called *Armigeri*, in English esquires: and this is taken for a degree somewhat aboue the estate of a one.

the gentleman. And for so much as service in the fields did carie alwaie with it the greatest honoꝝ and credit, and princes willing & desirous to incourage gentlemen to excell that waie and in that kind of service, they deuised a third degre of honour named knighthood. And this, as it excelleth the others before and not to be giuen but for great desert: so to increase the credit and estimation thereof, it was not to be giuen but with great solemnities and ceremonies; and the person so to be honoꝝed, was to be adorned with such ornaments as do speciallie apperteine to the furniture of such service, as namelie a sword, a target, a helme, a paire of spures, and such like: and they which were thus aduanced were named *Milites* or knights, and thus the name of service was turned to the name of worthip: yea this degre did grow and way to be of such credit, honoꝝ and estimation, that kings and princes were and would be verie circumspect and aduised, before they would dub or promote anie man to this estate. Wherefore considering the estate, nature & worthip of a knight, and weleng also the course of this historie, it cannot be intended that all they which went ouer and serued in this conquest, though they were named *Milites*, that therfore they should be compted & taken for knights of worthip and high calling: but that they were such as were expert and skillfull to serue in warres according to the nature of the word *Miles*. Wherefore I haue and do English the word *Miles* in this historie a gentleman of service.

(4) Aspie, not to watch the doings of his countrymen, whereby to take them in a trip, but to note, marke and consider the nature, maner, and disposition of the countrie and people: whereby to aduertise the earle how he should provide and order his doings against his comming ouer into the land.

(5) Maurice of Penbroke was doubtlesse a valiant gentleman, and borne and bred in west Wales, in or about the prouince of Penbroke. He is not named nor mentioned in some books of this historie; but I finding in such exemplars as I haue of best credit, do thinke I should haue done wrong to haue omitted him. There are yet of his race, posteritie and name, remaining at these daies in the countie of Wexford, and elsewhere.

Of the ouerthrow giuen in Ossorie,  
and of the submission of the  
king thereof.

Chap. 4.

**T**hese things thus done and ended as they would themselves, they increase their armie with the townsmen of Wexford, and being then about three thousand men, they march towards (1) Ossorie, whereof Donald was then the prince, & who of all the rebels was the most mortall enemie which Mac Morogh had. For on a time he hauing the said Dermots eldest son in his sword and handfast, was in gealouse of him, and mistrusted him with his wife: whereupon he did not onlie shut him vp in a closter prison; but also to be auenged thereof, and of other supposed injuries, putteth out both of his (2) eyes. First then Dermot and his companie enter into Ossorie, but they durst not march or aduenture anie further than to the midst of the countrie, because the whole countrie else was full of woods, frelats, passes, and bogs, and no waie at all for men to trauell. But when they met and encountered with the Ossorians, they found no cowardly nor dastards, but valiant men, and who stood well to the defense of their countrie, and manfullie resisted their enemies. For they trusted so much to

their wanted god fortune and successe in such like affaires, that they thowke not a whit from them, but dꝛane them perforce out of the bogs and woods, and followed them into the champaine countrie.

Robert Fitzstephans being in the plaine and open fields with his horsemen, and seeing that the Ossorians being there he had the aduantage of them, giueth most fiercelie the onset vpon them, and slue a great number of them; and such as strayed and were scattered abroad, they either slue them or ouerthrew them: and such as were ouerthrowne, the footmen with their Galloglasses ares did cut off their heads. And thus hauing gotten the victorie, they gathered vp and brought before Dermot Mac Morogh three hundred of their enemies heads, which they laid & put at his feet; who turning euerie of them one by one to know them, did then for sorhold vp both his hands, and with a lowd voice thanked God most highlie. Among these there was the head of one, whom speciallie and aboue all the rest he mortallie hated. And he taking vp that by the heare and eares, with his teeth most horrible and cruellie bit atwaie his nose and lips.

After this, they made a rode through the whole countrie, & marched almost to the uttermost parts, and still as they passed they murdered the people, spoiled, burned, and wasted the whole countrie. And thereupon the prince of Ossorie by the aduise of his friends, maketh sute and intreateth for peace: which obtained (although in verie deed it was but a coloured and a dissembled peace on both sides) they put in their hostages, made fealtie, and were sworne to be faithfull and true to Mac Morogh, as vnto their lawfull and true lord. In these seruises, as in all other, Robert of Barrie, and Spellerius had the pricke and praise, and shewed themselves of all others the most valiant. Both these young gentlemen were nephews to Fitzstephans (4) the one being his brothers sonne, and the other his sisters sonne. They both were of like valiantnesse, but of sundrie dispositions and natures. For Spellerius being ambitious and desirous of honour, referred all his doings to that end; and whatsoener he attempted, was to aduance his fame and credit, making more account to be reported and haue the name of a valiant man, than to be so in deed. The other being of a certeine naturall disposition both noble and valiant, was neither a greedy seeker of laud and praise, nor an ambitious craver of fame and honour; but being alwaies among the best, did rather seeke and trauell to the best, than to be onelie counted the best.

Besides, he was naturallie indured with such a maidenlie shamefastnesse, and no bragger nor boaster, would neither glorie his doings, nor yet like well of anie others which would so do of him. By means whereof it came to passe, that the lesse ambitious and desirous he was of honour, the more the same followed him: for glorie and honour follow alwaies vertue, as the shadow the bodie, shunning them who do most seeke for hit, & following them who do lest regard hit. And manie men are the more liked of manie, because they seeme not to like of anie: and praise, fame, and honour most commonlie, the lesse it is esteemed, the more soner it is had & gotten. It fortuned on a time that the armie thus being in Ossorie, they did on a night incampe themselves about an old castell. These two gentlemen as they were euer wont, laie togither, and suddenlie there was a great noise, as it were of an infinit number of men, which seemed to breake in and rush in among them, with great force and a rage, destroying all that euer was, and making a great noise with clashing of their harnesse, and striking of their bills togither, and therewithall such a noise and a thowt, as though hea-

uen and earth would have come together.

These kind of phantasmes and illusions do oftentimes happen in Ireland, especiallie when there be any hostings. With this noise the more part of the armie was so afraid and dismayed, that for the most part they all fled, some into the woods, and some into the bogs, euery one seeking a place where to hide and succour himselfe. But these two onelie tarieng behind, raught to their weapons, and forthwith full boldlie ran to Fitzstephans tents, and called againe together all such as were thus scattered, and encouraged them to take their weapons, and to stand to defence. Robert of Barrie in all his hurlie burlie, standing alone by himselfe musing, except a man or two of his owne men about him, did aboue all others not without any great admiration of manie, and to the great graefe of such as envied him, best acquit himselfe. For among other good gifts which were in him, this was speciallie reported of him; that no feare, or force, no sudden mishap or misadventure whatsoeuer, could at any time make him afraid or discomfited, and to flee alwaie. For howsoeuer things fell out and happened, he was alwaies at hand, and in a readines with his weapons to the fight. And such a one as is alwaies readie to abide whatsoeuer shall happen, and to prevent what mischaunce may ensue, is by all mens iudgements counted the best and valiantest man. This man was he, who in this Irish warres was the first who either was stricken or hurt. As concerning the former phantasme, this one thing is much noted of it; that in the morning following, when all things were pacified and quieted, the grasse and weeds which the night before stood there bytlight and of a great height, did now in the morning lie downe flat vpon the ground, as though the same had bin troden with great multitude of people, and yet was it most certaine that none had bene there at all.

(1) There be two *Dioceses*, the one named the *hyper Diocese*, which is of the ancient inheritance of the *Macgualthachikes*, and who are the barons thereof; and this lieth in the diocesse of *Leighling*: the other lieth on the north of *Dymond*, and is vnder the iurisdiction of the earle of *Dymond*, who is also the earle thereof, being named earle of *Dymond* and *Diocese*. It is a diocesse of it selfe, and the bishop thereof is named the bishop of *Diocese*, whose see and house is at *Kilkennie*. It is parcell of the prouince of *Leinster* and vnder the obediensce then of *Dermot Mac Morogh*.

(2) This was a courteous kind of punishing, for commonly such is the reuenging nature of the more Irishman, that albeit he can or do laie neuer so many plagues and punishments vpon his enimie: yet is he neuer satisfied, vntill he haue also his life, yea and manie not there with contented, but will vtter their wicked nature even vpon the dead carcase, as doth appeare in this chapter of the same *Mac Morogh*, who finding one of his enimies heads, was not satisfied, vntill in most cruell manner he did with his teeth bite alwaie his nose and his lips.

(3) There are in Ireland three sorts or degrees of soldiers: the first is the *housleman*, who commonly is a gentleman borne, and he is armed with such armour as the seruice of that countrey requirerh; the second degree is the *Bernagh*, & he also is a gentleman or a freeholder borne, but not of that abilitie to mainteine a house with his furniture; and therefore he is a light souldier on foot; his armour is both light and slender, being a skoll, a left gantlet or target, a sword and sheine, and three or foure darts: the third degree is the *Galloglasie*, who was first brought in to this land by the Englishmen, and thereof taketh his name. For *Galloglas* is to saie, an English

man or seruant; his armour is a skoll, a iacke, an halbergeon or shirt of male, a sword and a sparre, otherwise named a *Galloglasie* or halbert, & this man is counted the best souldier on foot, and the strength of the battell. These in all hostings haue attending vpon them a number of boies and *kernes*, and who do spoile and kill all such as be ouerthrowne and hurt in the fields.

# The conspiracie of Rotherike monarch of Ireland, and of the residue of the princes against Mac Morogh and Fitzstephans.

Chap. 5.

At the meane time the wheele of fortune is turned vpside downe, and they which before seemed to stand aloft, are now afraid of falling: and they which were on high, in perill now to fall. For as soone as it was noised through the whole land of the good successe of *Dermot*, and of the coming in of strangers into the land, and whereof they were much afraid: *Rotherike* prince of (1) *Conagh*, and (2) monarch of the whole land, considering how of small things great do grow; and considering that by the coming in of strangers, the whole land was in some perill; sendeth abroad his messengers, and summoneth a parlement of the whole land: who being assembled, and the matter at full debated, they do with one voice and consent conclude and determine to make open warres, and to giue the battell vnto *Mac Morogh*. And forthwith euery man hauing made readie both men and armour to his uttermost power, do ioine all their forces and strengths together, and with maine and strength do invade the countrey of *Dhensile* in *Leinster*.

*Dermot Mac Morogh* in this distresse was somewhat disquieted, and in a great perplexitie; partly because some of his (but glossing) friends distrusting the sequelle, did thinke from him, & hid themselves: some of them most traitorouslie, contrarie to their oath and promise, were fled to his enimies: and so in this his distresse he had verie few friends, saving onlie *Robert Fitzstephans* and the Englishmen with him. He therefore with such compaigns as he had, went vnto a certaine place not farre from *Sfernes*, which was compassed and inuironed round about with great thicke woods, high steele hilles, and with bogs and waters; a place so strong of it selfe, as it was in a manner inaccessible, and not to be entred into. And as soone as they were entred into the same, they forthwith by the aduise of *Fitzstephans* (3) did fell downe trees, plashed the wood, cast great trenches and ditches round about, and made it so stricke, narrow, crooked, and strong, that there was no passage nor entrie for the enimie: and yet by their art and industrie it was made much more strong.

(1) *Conagh*, in Latine *Conacia*, is one of the five portions of the land, according to the ancient division. In it are thirtie cantreds or baronies; and before and vntill the conquest they were vnder the government of the sept of the *Mac Connors*, the eldest man of which sept by the Irish law was ouer the prince: but at the conquest it was giuen to certaine noble men of England; & by certaine descents it came to *Sir Walter de Burgo*, who was lord of that whole prouince and earle of *Wolster*. From these *Burghs* descend the *Burghs* now being in *Conagh*, they being of a base line, and first were put onlie in trust to keepe that countrey to the pleasure of their lords, who then dwelled and remained in England, this countrey lieth betwene *Ulster* in the north, *Munster* in the

the south, and the seas in the west. The chiefe and onlie merchant towne of: emporium thereof is Galloswaie.

(2) There was alwaies one principall gouernour among the Irish, whom they named a monarch; and he was commonlie either of the Mac Carthies in Mounster, or of the O'Neeghs in Leinster, or of the O'Connors in Connagh, as this Rothorike was. He was elected & chosen by the common consent of all the nobilitie of the land: & being once chosen, all they did homage and fealtie vnto him. The province of Meeth, which was the least of the five several portions, was reserved alwaies vnto him for his diet. For though the O'molaghlins did dwell in Meeth, and were great inheritors or possessors there, yet they were not counted for princes as the other were. This monarch did gouerne the whole land vniuersallie, & all the princes were directed by him: in him it laie whether it should be peace or warre; and what he commanded was alwaies done.

(3) The manner of the Irish is to keepe themselves from force of the enemies, or in the bogs, or in the woods: the one of his nature is so strong as no besseman is to aduventure into the same; the other with industrie they make strong, by felling of trees & plashing of the woods, and by these means the housemen (in whom is all the strength of their warres) can haue no passage nor entrie to the enimie, but must either retire, or go on foot, or seek some other waie. If they will and must needs passe that waie, they must of necessitie go on foot, and then they are too weak, and easilie to be overcome by the hernes, whose seruice is onlie on foot: therefore they do chieflie keepe themselves in such places, as where they can take the aduantage of others, and not otherwise of them.

The description of Dermot Mac Mo-  
rogh, and of the message of Rothorike O  
Connor sent vnto him for peace.

Cap. 6.

**D**ermot Mac Morogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie, a valiant and a bold warriour in his nation: and by reason of his continuall harloting and crying his voice was hoarse: he rather chose and desired to be feared than to be loued: a great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great aduancer of the poore and weak. To his owne people he was rough and grievous, and hatefull vnto strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him. Rothorike minding to attempt and waite what he should do, rather than to aduventure and wage the battell, sendeth first his messengers with great presents vnto Fitzstephens, to perswade and intreat him: that for so much as he made no challenge nor title to the land, that he would quietlie, and in peace retorne home againe into his owne countrie, but it auailed not. Then they went vnto Mac Morogh himselfe, & perswaded him to take part with Rothorike, and to ioint both their forces and armies in one, and then they might with ease to give the onset vpon the strangers, and so victorie to obtaine them. And in this doing he should haue Rothorike for his friend, and all Leinster for his ally: and so he might haue quietnesse: manie reasons they offered him touching their countrie, and the good of the nation; but all that he would say was, that he would not part with his power.

The speeches and oration which

Rothorike O Connor made  
vnto his soldiers.

Chap. 7.

**R**othorike O Connor, seeing that by these his deuises and practises he could do no good at all, and thinking that for so much as he could not auail with words, he with force and armes, as his last remedie and helpe, prepared his armes, and maketh for the battell: and assembling his people together, maketh vnto them these speeches. Ye right noble and valiant defenders of your countrie and libertie, let vs consider with what people, and for what causes we are now to fight and wage the battell. That enimie of his owne countrie, that tyrant ouer his owne people, and an open enimie vnto all men, and who sometimes was an exiled man: see how he being inuironed with the force of strangers, is now returned, & minded the utter destruction of vs all, and of this his nation. He enuising the safetie of his countrie and countymen, hath procured and brought in a strange nation vpon vs, that by the helpe of a hatefull people he might satisfie and more effectually accomplish his malice, which otherwise by no means he could haue brought to passe. He then being an enimie, hath brought in that enimie which hath bene ever hatefull both vnto him, and vnto vs; and who are most grieued to haue the soueraintie & dominion ouer vs all, protesting and openlie affirming, that by a certaine fatal destiny they are to be rulers ouer this land: yea, & so far hath he shed out his venom, and almost euery man is so inuenedomed therewith, that now no saue: nor merete is to be shewed. O cruell beast, yea more cruell than euery beast! for to satisfie his insatiable malice, and to be auenged with the bloodshedding of his owne people, he spareth neither himselfe, nor his countrie, nor vs. This is he who is a most cruell tyrant ouer his owne people: this is he who with the force and helpe of strangers doeth all force and crueltie against all men. He doeth well therefore to be hated of all, which seeketh to be an enimie vnto all. Loke therefore (ye worthy citizens) well to your selues; I saie loke and consider well how by these meanes, I meane by still discord, all realmes & nations haue for the most part bene ouerthrowen & vanquished: (1) Julius Cesar minding to invade Britaine had the repulse twise, & was driven out by the Britons. But when Androgeus fell at variance with the king, he then to be reuenged, sent against for Julius, who therupon returned and conquered the land. (2) The same Julius also conquered all the west parts of the world, but when he waxed & became ambitious, & would be a sole monarch, & haue the whole gouernement in himselfe, then discord was raised, & debate was rise, & by that meanes all Italie was filled with murders and slaughters. (3) The Britons being at discord with their king, procured Gormundus, who then was a terror to all the ocean Isles, that he with the Saxons should pursue and make wars vpon their king, who so did but in the end to their owne confusion and destruction. Likewise not long after (4) Gormundus the French king, being an enimie to his owne people, and at discord with them, he procured the said Gormundus to aid and helpe him to subdue his people, who so did: but thereof he had but bad successe. Therefore let vs with one mind like to these Frenchmen stand stoutlie to the defense of our countrie, and courageously give the onset vpon our enemies. And whiles these strangers be but few in number, let vs killie (wee say) upon them: for we are vnder a great necessity to be covered: but

when it is in great flames, it is the harder to be quenched. It is good therefore to meet with things at the beginning, and to prevent sickness at the first growing: for diseases by long continuance having taken deepe root, are hardlie to be cured. We therefore, who are to defend our countrie and libertie, and to leaue to our posteritie an immortall fame: let vs be valiantlie, and with a good courage aduenture and giue the onset, that the ouerthrow of a few may be a terror vnto manie; and that by this example all other forren nations may be afraid to aduenture the like attempt.

(1) Julius Cesar hauing receiued two repulses, retired & toke shipping, being in an bitter despaire & not minding to returne anie more. Whereupon Calpabelan then king of the land called & assembled all his nobles to London, where for soie he kept a great and a solemne feast, and at the same were vsed all such games and pastimes, as in those daies were most accustomed. And at a wrestling game then it chanced two young gentlemen, the one being nephew to the king, and the other cousin to the erle of London (Kent) to fall at variance, & in the end the kings nephew was slaine. The king much grieued therewith sent for the erle, whose name was Androgeus: and because he would not come vnto him he made wars vpon him. The erle considering in what distresse he was, and how farre unable to encounter the power and withstand the displeasure of the king, sendeth his messenger with his letters vnto Julius Cesar, and besought him most earnestlie to returne with his armie, and he would aid and helpe him against the king with all the power he had. Julius Cesar glad of these tidings returneth with all speed, and in the end hath the victorie: and thus by meanes of debate and disunion the reime, which otherwise was thought to be impregnable, was subuerted and made tributarie.

(2) Julius Cesar hauing happie and fortunate successe in all his affaires, grew into such a liking of himselfe, that he would needs be the sole monarch and emperour ouer the whole world, taking foule euill that according to the ancient gouernement of the Romans anie one should be ioined with him: and ambitiouslie seeking the same, he became dreadfull to the people, lothsome to his friends, and in the displeasure of the senat: who maligning at his aspiring and mistrusting the sequels thereof, conspired his death, and in the end he comming into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, was murdered and slaine.

(3) At this time Careticus was king and ruled ouer Britaine, now named England, who was so vitious a man in all respects, that he became hateful both to God and man: and his subiects not abiding his tyzannie, nor brooking his wickednesse, fell at diuision with him. Whereupon Gurmundus then king of Ireland was procured (some saie by the Britons and some saie by the Sarons) who being entered into the land, and seeking by all the meanes they could be the sole lords of the land, to inuade the land, which he did, and by the helpe of the Sarons drove the king out of his realme into Wales. And the Sarons hauing thus their wills done also all the Britons out, who from themselves hauing lost the land of Britaine, did inhabit themselves in Wales, Cornewall, and elsewhere, where they might haue refuge and succour. And thus though they were reuenged of their king, yet they themselves in the end felt the smart thereof: for they were all destroyed or banished: such are the fruits of dissention and debate.

(4) This Hembertus was not king of France, but as (Gaufrid saith) was nephew to the king: and

the land being then in great troubles, this Hembertus made title vnto it, and seeking by all the meanes and waies he could how to compass the same, procured Gurmundus to helpe and aid him, promising him great rewards. Whereupon Gurmundus passed ouer into France, where he had but an euill successe: for there was he slaine, Hembertus ouerthrowne and the French nation preuailed. And hereupon Rothorike taketh an occasion to incourage his people to stand to their tackle, and valiantlie to withstand Mac Morogh, who as Hembertus had procured in Gurmundus; so had he stocked in Englishmen to overrun his countrie.

### The oration and speeches of Mac Morogh to his souldiers and people.

Cap. 8.

Mac Morogh beheld his men, & perceiving them to be somewhat dismayed and out of heart, framed his speech to recomfort them, and thus saith vnto them. Ye men of Leinster, truth and kindred in all aduentures hath hitherto ioined vs in one fellowship: wherefore let vs now plucke vp our hearts and like men stand to our defence. For why, that wicked and ambitious man Rothorike, the author of all wickednesse & mischief, who desirous to haue the sole soueraignetie and dominion doth now determine (which God forbid) either to drive vs cleane out of our countrie, or bitterlie to deuoroe vs: and marke you now how he lifteth vp his head and looketh aloft. He is so proud and glorieth so much in his great multitude, that by ambition and pride he misureth & valueth his force and strength: but yet (for all that) manie times a small number being valiant and well appointed are better and haue preuailed against great troops, being but sluggards and unarmed. If he make chalenge and pretend title to Leinster, because the same sometimes hath bene tributarie to some one king of Conagh, then by the same reason (1) we also maie demand and chalenge all Conagh: for both thereof and of all Ireland our ancestors haue bene the sole gouernors & monarchs. But to the purpose and to speake plainelie, he seeketh not to rule and to reigne as a monarch, but to blurpe and deuoroe as a tyzant, to drive vs out of our countrie, to succede into euerie mans right & inheritance; and so alone to rule the roff, and to be master ouer all.

And here are which do brag of their great multitudes, and put their trust therein: but let them be well assured that we Leinster men though we be but few in number; yet we neuer were nor yet are afraid to encounter euen with the best & proudest. For why, victorie is not gotten, neither doth it stand alwaies in the great multitude of people, but in vertue and valiantnesse, in strength and courage. We on our sides against pride, haue humilitie: against wrongs, equitie: against arrogancie, modestie: and against intemperance, discretion & moderation: and these vertues are to fight for vs. When do not alwaies attaine vnto victorie by great troops and multitudes of people, but by vertues. The lawes of all nations do grant and allow to resist and withstand force and iniurie with force and strength: it is a fauourable cause to fight for our countrie, and to defend our patrimonie. And forsomuch as they contend for the gaine, but we to eschew the losse; let vs be of a good courage: we stand vpon a good ground, and our feat is naturallie verie strong of it selfe, as also by our industrie made more strong: but by reason of the streitnesse thereof, the greater the companie is therein, the more comberous and troublefome it will be: and





he was both honest and wise, and for his truth and valiantnesse verie noble and famous. He was a man of his word, and constant of mind, and therewithall adorneed with a certeine kind of womanlike shamefastnesse. Mac Morogh being verie glad of this new repaire, as also much animated and incouraged therewith, beginneth to thinke vpon old sorres, and to call to remembrance the great iniuries and wrongs which the citizens of Dublin had in times past done both vnto his father and to himselfe; and minding to be reuenged thereof, bendeth his force, and marcheth with his whole armie to besiege the citie, but left Fitzstephans behind, who was then building a hold or castell vpon a certeine rockie hill called the (1) Caricke, about two miles from Wexford, which place although it were verie strong of it selfe, yet by industrie and labour it was made much stronger. Morrice Fitzgerald, with all the force and companie of the Englishmen, accompanied and attended Mac Morogh, who was his guide, and conducted him vnto Dublin. As soon as they were entred within the borders and confines of the territorie of Dublin, they forthwith burned, spoiled, and wasted the same, and the whole countrie thereto adioining. The citizens of Dublin seeing and considering the same, began to quaille, and their hearts fainted, and did seeke and intreat for peace; and hauing obtained the same, did sweare fealtie, and gaue in hostages for the true and firme keeping of the same. In this meane time there fell a great enimitie and quarell betwene Rothorke of Connagh and Donald prince of Limericke. And as soon as Rothorke was with all his force entred into the countrie of Limericke, Dermot Mac Morogh sent forthwith Robert Fitzstephans with all his power, to aid and helpe the said Donald: for he was Dermots sonne in law, by whose means he gat the vicarage, and Rothorke with shame was driven to retire out of the countrie, and to returne to his stone home: and left the chefferie which he demanded. In these and all other like seruices, Robert Warrie and Apellerins carried the best praise and commendations. At this time was scene a woman who had a great beard, and a man vpon his backe, as a horse; of whom I haue already spoken in my topographie.

(1) The said Caricke (as is written) is distant from the towne of Wexford about two English miles, and standeth vpon a high rocke, and is inuironed on two sides with the riuer which floweth to Wexford towne, and it is verie deepe and nauigable: the other two sides are vpon the maine land, which is a verie fertile soile, and in height almost equal with the castell. It was at the first made but of rods and fardres, according to the maner in those daies; but since builded with stone, and was the strongest fort then in those parts of the land: but being a place not altogether sufficient for a prince, and yet it was thought too good and strong for a subiect, it was pulled downe, defaced and rased, and so dooth still remaine.

Dermot Mac Morogh sendeth for the earle Richard, who forthwith maketh great preparation for his comming.

Chap. 12.

**M**ac Morogh, being by meanes of his good successe well quieted and satisfied, be-  
thinketh himselfe now of greater matters, and deuiseeth how and by what means he might recover his old and ancient rights; as also purchase all Connagh to his subiection. And herein

he used a secret conference with Fitzstephans and Fitzgerald, vnto whom he uttereth and discouereth all his whole mind and intent: who forthwith gaue his answer that his deuise was verie easie to be compassed, if he could get a greater supplie and aid of Englishmen. Wherevpon he made most earnest requests vnto them, both for the procuring of their kinsmen and countreimen, as also for the furthering to effect his purpose and deuise. And that he might the better persuaade them herevnto, he offereth to either one of them his daughter and heire in marriage with the inheritance of his kingdome: but they both being already married, refused the offer. And at length after much talke they thus concluded, that he should with all speed send his messengers with his letters vnto the earle Richard, of whom we spake before, and vnto whom he the said Mac Morogh at his being at or about Wexford, had promised his daughter to wife, which letters were as followeth.

20 Dermot Mac Morogh prince of Leinster, to Richard earle of Chepstone, and sonne of Gilbert the earle sendeth greeting. If you do well consider and marke the time as we do which are in distresse, then we do not complaine without cause nor out of time: for we haue already sente the (1) storkes and swallows, as also the summer birds are come, and with the westerlie winds are gone againe; we haue long looked and wished for your comming, and albeit the winds haue bene at east and easterlie, yet hitherto you are not come vnto vs: wherefore now linger no longer, but hasten your selfe hither with speed, that it may thereby appeare not want of god will, nor forgetfulness of promise, but the iniurie of time hath bene hitherto the cause of your long staie. All this is already whole yielded vnto vs: and if you will speedlie come away with some strong companie and force, we doubt not but that the other foure portions will be recovered and adioined to this the first portion. Your comming therefore the more speedie it is, the more gratefull, the more hastie, the more sofull; and the sooner, the better welcome: and then our mislike of your long lingering shall be recompensed by your sone comming, for friendship & good will is recovered and nourished by mutual offices, and by benefits it groweth to a more assurednesse.

When earle Richard had read these letters, he taketh aduise with his friends, and taking some comfort and stomach of the good successe of Fitzstephans, whereof he was at the first both fearefull and doubtfull, fullie determineth to bend his whole force and power to follow this seruice and hostings. This earle was a man of a verie noble parentage, and descended of verie honorable ancestors; but yet more famous in name, than rich in purse; more noble in blood, than endowed with wit; and greater in hope of succession, than rich in possessions. Well, he thought long yet he could spend himselfe ouer into Ireland, and therefore to compass the same to god effect, maketh his repaire to king Henrie the second, and most humble praieeth and beseecheth him that he will either restore him to such possessions, as by inheritance did appertene vnto him; or else to grant him the libertie to trie and seeke fortune in some other forren countrie and nation.

(1) The storkes and the swallows are named *Aues semestres*, or the halfe yeares birds: for they come at the spring, and depart againe awaie at the autumn or fall of the lease, for in the winter they are not scene. And by this Mac Morogh alludeth and meaneth that he hath awaited that whole halfe yeare for the earles comming: whose promise was, that in the spring of the yeare past he would haue come.

Of the arriuall of Reimond le grosse in-  
to Ireland, and of the fight which he had  
against the Waterford men at  
Dundorogh.

Chap. 13.

**T**he king hauing heard the earles requests,  
bethought himselfe a while thereof : but in  
the end he allowed not of the one, nor gran-  
ted the other, but fed him still with good spee-  
ches, and nourished him with faire words, commen-  
ding his noble mind, that he would aduenture so ho-  
norable an enterprize . And in words the king se-  
med to giue him leaue to follow his deuise, but to  
saie the truth, it was rather in game than in earnest,  
for the king minded nothing lesse . But the earle ta-  
king the aduantage of the kings words, and accep-  
ting the same for a sufficient leaue and licence, retur-  
neth home . And the same being the winter season &  
verie unfit to trauell into forren nations in martiall  
affaires, doth now make preparation of all things  
fit to serue when time should requirre . And as soone as  
the winter was past, he sendeth ouer before him in-  
to Ireland, a gentleman of his owne household and  
familie named Reimond le grosse : who had with  
him ten gentlemen of seruice, and thre score and ten  
archers well appointed, and taking shipping about  
the halends of Maie, then landed at the rocke of (1)  
Dundonolse, which lieth south from Waterford, and  
about foure miles east from Waterford : and there  
they cast a trench, and builded a litle castell or hold,  
with turres and wattell . This Reimond was ne-  
pue to Robert Fitzstephans and to Maurice Fitz-  
gerald, being the sonne unto their elder brother  
named William, and was verie ballant, of great  
courage, and well expert in the warres and in all  
martiall affaires . The citizens of Waterford, and  
Dmolaghlin Oselin, being aduertised of this their  
arriuall, and nothing liking the neighborhood of such  
strangers, take counsell together what were best to  
be done : and finding it most necessarie and needfull  
to withstand at the beginning, they do conclude and  
determine to giue the onset vpon them ; and being  
about thre thousand men, they take botes, and rowe  
downe the riuer of the Sure (which flaketh fast by the  
walles of Waterford on the east, and diuiddeth Leins-  
ter from Mounster) and so came to the place where  
Reimond and his companie were, where they lan-  
ded and set their men in order for the assaults, and  
marched boldlie to the ditches of Reimonds fortresse  
or castell : but then it appeared how ballantnes can  
nener be hid, lustie courage be daunted, nor yet pro-  
uesse of weapons be blenished . For Reimond and  
his companie, although they were but few in num-  
ber, and too weake to encounter with so great a com-  
panie as their aduersaries were : yet being of cou-  
ragious minds & lustie stomachs, went out to meet  
with their enimies ; but when they saw that their  
small number was not sufficient nor able in the  
plaines to abide and indure the force of so great a  
multitude, they retired to their fort . The enimies  
thinking then to discomfit and cleane to ouerthrow  
them, followed and pursued them so shortly, that the  
Englishmen were no soner in at the gates, but the  
Irishmen were also at their heeles, and some of  
them within the gate . Which thing when Reimond  
saw, and considering also with himselfe what a vi-  
stresse and perill he and all his were in, suddenly  
turneth backe his face vpon his enimies, and the  
first of them which entred, he ranne him thorough  
with his sword (or as some saie claue his head asun-  
der) and then with a loud voice cried out to his com-

panie to be of a good comfort . Who forthwith as they  
turned and stood most manfullie to their defense ;  
so their enimies also being dismayed and afraid at  
the death of that one man, they all fled and ranne  
a waie : and then they which in this doubtful chance  
of fight, were thought should be vanquished and  
cleane ouerthrowne, suddenly became to be the  
victors and conquerors . And these sharpelie then  
pursued their enimies, who were scattered abroad  
in the plaines and out of arraie ; that in a verie short  
time and space they slue about slue hundred per-  
sons ; and being wearie with killing, they cast a  
great number of those whome they had taken pris-  
oners headlong from the rocks into the sea, and so  
drowned them . In this fight and seruice a gentle-  
man named William Fferand did most ballantlie  
acquit himselfe . For albeit he were but of a weake  
bodis, yet was he of a verie stout stomach & courage ;  
he was diseased and sicke of the leprosie, and there-  
fore desirous rather to die ballantlie, than to liue  
in miserie : and for that cause would and did ad-  
uenture himselfe in places where most perill and  
danger was and seemed to be ; thinking it good with  
a glorious death to prevent the greife and losse  
nesse of a greivous disease .

Thus fell the pride of Waterford, thus decayed  
their strength and force, and thus began the ruine and  
ouerthrow of that citie, which as it bred a great hope  
and consolation to the Englishmen ; so was it the  
cause of a great desperation and terror to the eni-  
mies . It was a strange matter and neuer heard of  
before in those parties, that so great a slaughter  
should be made by so small a number : neuertheless  
by euill counsell and too much crueltie, the En-  
glishmen abused their good successe and fortune . For  
hauing gotten the victorie, they saued sequentie  
of the best citizens, whom they kept prisoners ; and for  
the ransome or redemption of these, they might haue  
had either the citie of Waterford yielded & surren-  
dered vnto them, or such a masse of monie as they  
would themselves . But Herueie of Mount Morris  
(who came ouer with thre gentlemen of seruice, and  
joined with his countymen and Reimonds) being  
both of contrarie minds, strived the one with the o-  
ther, what were best to be done herein .

(1) Dundonolse is a rocke standing in the com-  
tie of Waterford vpon the sea side, lieng east from  
the citie of Waterford about eight English miles,  
and is from the towne of Waterford about twelue  
miles, lieng southwards from the same : it is now  
a strong castell, and appertaining to the ancient house  
of the Powers of Kilmalshen, & called by the name  
of Dundorogh .

(2) The citie of Waterford or Quaterford, na-  
med sometimes (as Ptolomeus writeth) Manapia, is  
a faire, ancient, and honorable citie, standing vpon  
the south side of the riuer of Sure, which flaketh fast  
by the walles thereof, and was first builded by one  
named Sitaratus, one of the thre princes which  
came out of the east parts to inhabit that land . It  
was at the first but a small pile, lieng in forme of a  
long triangle, but since & of late times enlarged by  
the citizens & inhabitants of the same . It is the che-  
fist emporium in a manner of all that land, and  
standeth cheeflie vpon the trade of merchandize, they  
themselves being not onelie great travellers into  
forren nations, but also great resort and darlie con-  
courses of strangers are to it . Concerning the go-  
uernement, order, state and seruice of this citie, and  
of sundrie other things incident to the same, are at  
large described in the later historie of this land .

The

The oration of Reimond for the  
deliuerie of the prisoners taken.

Chap. 14.

**R**eimond being verie desirous that the captiues taken might be deliuered, laboꝛeth by all the waies he could how to compasse the same, & in presence of Herueie maketh these speeches, and vseth these persuations to all his companie. Hee my noble and valiant companions and souldiers, for increase of whose honour, vertue and fortune seeme to contend; let vs now consider what is best to be done with these our prisoners and captiues. For my part I do not thinke it good, nor yet allow that any fauour or courtlesse should be at all shewed to the enimie. But vnderstand you, these are no enimies now, but men; no rebels, but such as be banquished and cleane ouerthrowen, and in standing in defense of their countrie, by euill fortune and a worse destinie they are subdued. Their adventures were honest and their attempts commendable, and therefore they are not to be reputed for theues, factious persons, traitors, nor yet murderers. They are now brought to that distresse and case, that rather mercie for examples sake is to be shewed, than cruelty to the increasing of their miserie is to be ministered.ouerlie our ancestozs in times past (although in deed it be verie hard to be done) were wont in times of good successe and prosperitie, to temperat their lose minds and vnrule affections with some one incommoditie or other. Wherefore let mercie and pitie, which in a man is most commendable, worke so in vs, that we who haue overcome others, may also now subdue our owne minds, and conquer our owne affections: for modestie, moderation, and discretion are wont to staie hasty motions, and to stop rash deuises. How commendable and honozable is it to a noble man, that in his greatest triumph and glorie, he counteth it for a sufficient reuenge, that he can reuenge and be weakened?

Julius Cesar, whose conquests were such, his victories so great, and his triumphs so manie, that the whole world was noised therewith; he had not so manie friends who reioiced for the same, but he had manie more enimies who maligned and enuied at him, not onelie in slanderous wordes and euill reports; but manie also secretlie conspired, deuised, and practised his death and destruction: and yet he was so full of pitie, mercie, and compassion, that he neuer commanded nor willed any to be put to death for the same, saving onelie one Domitius, whome he had of mere clemencie for his lewdnesse before pardoned, for his wickednesse released, and for his trecherie acquitted. And thus as his pitie did much increase his honour, so did it nothing hinder his victories. How beaustie then and impious is that cruelty, wherein victory is not ioined with pitie: For it is the part of a right noble and a valiant man, to count them enimies which doe wage the battell, contend and fight for the victory; but such as be conquered, taken prisoners, and kept in bonds and captiuitie, to take and repute them for men, that hereby fortitude and force may diminish the battell and end the quarrell, as also humanitie may increase loue & make peace. It is therefore a great commendation and more praise worthy to a noble man in mercie to be bountious, than in victory to be cruel; for the one lieth onelie in the course of fortune, but the other in vertue: and as it had bene a great increase of our victory, and an augmentation of honour, if our enimies had bene slaine in the field and ouerthrowen in the battell: so they being now taken and saved, and as it were men returned from rebels to the common societie and fel-

lowship of men; if we should now kill them, it will be to our great shame, dishonour, and reproch for euer. And for so much as by the killing and destroying of them we shall be neuer the nearer to haue the countrie, nor neuer sooner to be the lordes of the land; and yet the ransoming of them vertie good for the maintenance of the souldiers, the good fame of vs, and the aduancement of our honour: we must needs thinke it better to ransom them than to kill them. For as it is requisite and meet, that a souldier in the field fighting in armes, should then thirst for the blood of his enimies, trie the force of his sword, and valiantlie stand to his tackle for victory: so when the fight is ended, the wars are ceased, & the armes laid downe, and all fiercenes of hostilitie set apart; then in a noble man must humane take place, pitie must be shewed, and courtlesse must be extended.

The oration or speech which

Herueie made.

Chap. 15.

**W**hen Reimond had ended his speech, & the whole companie being in a muttering, and as it were men well pleased and verie well allowing his mind and opinion: then Herueie stood vp and spake to them all in this manner. Reimond hath verie requisite discouered with vs of pitie and mercie, and in set speeches bitering his eloquence, hath shewed his mind and declared his opinion; persuading and inducing vs to beleue, that a strange land were to be conquered sooner by mercie and fond pitie than by sword and fire. But I praise you, can there be a worse waie than so to thinke: Did Julius Cesar or Alexander of Macedonie by such means or in such order conquer the whole world? Did the nations from out of all places run to submit themselves vnder their yoke and empire, in respect of their pitie & mercie, & not rather compelled so to doe for feare & perforce? For people, whiles they are yet proud and rebellious, they are (all pitie and mercie set apart) by all manner of waies and means to be subdued; but when they are once brought into subiection and bondage, and redie to serue and obeye, then they are with all courtlesse to be intreated and dealt withall: so that the state of the government may be in safetie and out of danger. Herein and in this point must pitie be vied, but in the other severity or rather cruelty is more necessarie: here clemencie is to be shewed, but in the other rigour without fauour is to be exhibited and vied. Reimond persuadeth that mercie is to be extended, as vpon a people already subdued and subiecte; or as though the enimies were so few and of so small a number, as against whome no valiant seruice nor chualtrie can be exploited, and yet they redie to ioine with vs: whereby our force may be increased, and our power augmented. But alas! Do not we see how that the whole nation and people of Ireland are wholly bent, and not without cause altogether conspired against vs?

ouerlie me thinketh Reimond is contrarie vnto himselfe; for why, his comming hither was not to dispute of pitie, nor to reason of mercie; but to conquer the nation and to subdue the people. What an example of impious pitie were it then, to neglect our owne safetie, and to haue remede and compassion vpon others distresses? Moreover, we haue here in the fields, and in armour more enimies than friends, we are in the middle of perils and dangers, our enimies being round about vs in euerie place: and shall we thinke this to be nothing, but that we must be also in the like distresse and danger among

C. f.

our

our selues. Round about vs our enemies are infinit, and within our selues some there be which practise our destruction. And if it should happen that our captiues and prisoners should escape and breake loose out of their bonds, which are but verie weake and slender, no doubt they will forthwith take our owne armour and weapons against vs. Well well, the mouse is in the capbord, the fire is in the lap, and the serpent is in the bosome; the enimie is at hand ready to oppresse his aduersarie, and the gess is in place with small courtessie to requit his host. And I praise you doth not Keimond execute that in his facts and doings, which he denieth in his words: Are not his speeches contrarie to his deeds? Let him answer me to this. If our enemies when they come in god arrate and well appointed to giue the onset, and to wage the battell against vs, if they should happen to haue the victorie and the ouerhand ouer vs, would they deale in pitie & mercie? Would they grant vs our liues? Would they put vs to ransom? Tush what need manie words when the deeds are apparant? Our victorie is to be so used, that the destruction of these few may be a terror to manie; whereby all others and this wild and rebellious nation may take an example, and beware how they meddle and incounter with vs. Of two things we are to make choise of one; for either we must valiantlie and couragiously stand to performe what we haue taken in hand; and all fond pitie set aside, bololie and stoutie to ouerthrow and vanquish this rebellious and stubborne people: or (if we shall after the mind and opinion of Keimond altogether be pitifull and full of mercie) we must hoise vp our sailes and returne home, leauing both the countrie and our patrimonie to this miserable and tormented people. Herueies opinion was best liked, and the whole companie allowed his iudgement, whereupon the captiues (as men condemned) were brought to the rockes, and after their limbs were broken, they were cast headlong into the seas, and so drowned.

The coming ouer of Richard Strangbow earle of Chester into Ireland, and of the taking of the citie of Waterford.

## Chap. 16.

**I**n this meane time Richard the earle, having provided and made all things in readinesse fit for so great an enterprise, took his iourne, and came through Wales to S. Davids: and still as he went he took vp all the best chosen and piket men that he could get. And having all things in place and in a readinesse meet and necessarie for such a voyage, he went to Spilford haven, and having a good wind took shipping and came to Waterford, in the kalends of September on the vigill of saint Bartholomew, and had with him about two hundred gentlemen of good seruice, and a thousand others. Then was fulfilled Celidons prophesie, which was; that A little firebrand shall go before a great fire; and as the sparkels inkindle the small wood, so shall the same set the great wood a fire. A like wise was fulfilled the saying of Merlin; A great forerunner of a greater follower shall come, and he shall tread downe the heads of Desmond and Leinster, and the waies before opened & made ready he shall enlarge. Keimond being aduertised of the earles arrival, went the next morrow vnto him with great toy, having with him in his companie fortie gentlemen of seruice. And on the morrow vpon saint Bartholomewes daie, being tuesday, they displayed their banners, and in good arrate they marched to the walls of the citie, being fullie bent and determined to giue

the assault: the citizens & such others as had escaped at Dundoogh manfully defending themselves, and giuing them two repulses. Keimond who by the consent and assent of the whole armie was chosen and made generall of the field, and tribune of the host, hauing espied a little house of timber standing halfe vpon posts without the walls, called his men together, and encouraged them to giue a new assault at that place. And hauing belowed downe the posts whereupon the house stood, the same fell downe together with a peece of the towne wall; and then a waie being thus opened, they entred into the citie, and killed the people in the streets without pitie or mercie, leauing them lieng in great heaps; and thus with bloodie hands they obtained a bloodie victorie. In the tower called (2) Keimolds tower they took two murderers prisoners, whom they binarmed and killed; also they took there Keimold, and Macclathilen Dyphelan prince of the Decies: but these were saued by meanes of the coming and suite of Mac Spozogh, who was also come thither with Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephans. And when they had set the citie and all other their things in good order, Mac Spozogh gaue his daughter Cua, whom he had then brought thither with him, to be married to the earle according to the first pact and couenant; and then the marriage solemnized and all things set in order, they displayed their baners & marched towards Dublin.

(1) In the verie place of the assault is now builded a strong fort and blockehouse, which is verie well furnished and appointed with ordinance and shot. It is in the verie east angle or point of the walles of the citie: and within on the south side the walles doth it appere how the same was burned by the Englishmen at this their entrie.

(2) The Keimolds tower is a little tower in the wall of the old citie, and is next or verie nere adioining to a late monasterie or friers there: it is a verie slender thing, and not worthe of any report; sauing that the author doth alledge it as a fort in those daies bled for a defence.

The besieging and taking of the citie of Dublin.

## Chap. 17.

**E**rmon being aduertised, and hauing perfect aduertisement that they of Dublin had procured & stocked all or the most part of the land to come to aid, helpe and to defend them; and that they had laied all the waies, passages and streits about the citie, whereby no man could passe that waie, he left all those waies; and passing through the mounteines of Glundoloch, he brought his whole armie safe to (1) Dublin. And such was his mortall hatred towards the Dublinians, that he could not forget the iniuries don to himselfe, and the shamefull reproch done to his father. For his father being on a time at Dublin, and there sitting at the doore of a certain ancient man of the citie, they did not onelie there murder him; but for a further satisfieng of their malice, they cast him and buried him with a dog: and therefore aboue all others he most mortallie hated them. The citizens much mistrusting themselves, they send messengers to intreate for peace; and in the end by the mediation and meanes of Laurence then the archbishop of Dublin, a parlée and a treatie was obtained: but whiles the old and ancient men were talking of peace, the younger sort were busie in weapons. For Keimond and Miles of Cogan, two lustie young gentlemen, but more desirous to fight vnder spars in the fields than

Prophesies of Celidon and Merlin fulfilled.



Two strange  
miracles.

to sit in counsell vnder Iupiter; and more willing to purchase honoz in the warres, than gaine in peace. They with a companie of lustie yong gentlemen suddenlie ran to the walles, & giuing the assalt, brake in, entred the citie, and obtained the victorie, making no small slaughter of their enemies: but yet the greater number of them, with Hasculphus their captein, escaped awaie with such riches & felwels as they had, and recovered themselves vnto certeine ships which late there, & so sailed to the north Ilands. At this time there happened two strange miracles in the same citie, the one was of a crosse or a rood which the citizens minding to haue caried with them, was not noz would be remoued; the other was of a peece of monie, which was offered to the same rood twise, & euer it returned backe againe, as you may see more therof in our topographie. When the earle had spent a few daies in the citie, about setting and settling the same in good order, he left the same to the charge and gouernance of Miles Cogan: but he himselfe by the perswasion of Mac Morogh (who sought by all the waies he could, how to be reuenged vpon Morike king of Meth) invaded the borders of Meth, and wasted, spoiled, and destroyed the same. All Meth being in the end wasted by the sword and fire; Morike king of Connagh thought with himself what might hereof befall vnto him, bicause his neighbors house being set on fire, his was next to the like perill: he sent his messengers vnto Derman Mac Morogh with this message. Contrarie to the order of the peace, thou hast procured, called, and flocked into this land a great multitude and number of strangers, and as long as thou dost staie and keepe thy selfe within thy owne countrie of Leinster, we beare therewith, and were contented. But forsomuch as now not caring for thy oth, noz regarding the safetie of thy hostages, thou hast so fondlie & lewdlie passed thy bounds: I am to require thee, that thou doe retire and withdraw these excursses of strangers; or else without faile I will cut off thy sonnes head, & send it thee. Mac Morogh when he heard this message, full stoutlie answered, and said he would not giue ouer that which he had begun, noz desist from his enterprise, vntill he subdued all Connagh his ancient inheritance, as also he had recovered the monarchie of all Ireland. Morike being aduertised of this answer, was somewhat warmed and offended therewith, & forthwith in his rage commanded Mac Moroghs sonne, who was his pledge, to be beheaded.

(1) Dublin is the oldest and ancientest citie in all Ireland, and was builded by one Amelans, the eldest of thre brethren named Ossimen or Casserlings: which came first out of Norwaie, or (as some write) out of Normandie, and did inhabit the land. It was first named Aghalia, that is, the towne of hurdels; for it standeth somewhat low and in a marshy ground: and bicause when the same was first builded, the laborers were wont and did go vpon hurdels, it toke the name thereof. It was also called Dolin, which is to saie blacke water, for of that name is a certeine brooke, flowing not farre out of the towne, but now is called Dublin or Duwelin; it standeth vpon the river named Aneliffus or the Liffey, and it is a port towne, being the cheefest citie and emporium of all that land. It is walled with stone round about, & at the east part therof is a verie old castle, builded first by Henrie I. onders archbishop of Dublin, about the yeere 1212, which is now the quenes castell, & wherein the lord deputie of that land most commonly lieth, as also wherein the courts for the common law at the vsuall termes are kept. The citie it selfe stands most on trade of merchandize, & is by that means of good wealth. The inhabitants are mere Englishmen, but

of Ireland birth. The gouernment thereof is vnder a maior and two shiriffes. And as concerning the order, gouernement, state, policies, and good seruices of the same, I shall more at large declare in my particular historie of this land.

### The councell or synod kept at Armagh.

Chap. 18.

These things thus ended & complicated, there was a synod or councell of all the clergie called and assembled at Armagh: there to intreat and examine what should be the causes and reasons, why & therefore the realme was thus plagued by the resort and repaire of strangers in among them. At length it was fullie agreed, and euerie mans opinion was, that it was Gods iust plague for the sinnes of the people, and especiallie bicause they used to buie Englishmen of merchants and pirats, and (contrarie to all equitie or reason) did make bondslaues of them: and God now to auenge and acquit this their iniquitie, plagued them with the like, and hath set these Englishmen & strangers to reduce them now into the like slaueerie and bondage. For the Englishmen, when their realme was at rest and peace, and their land in quiet estate, and they not in anie distresse, want, or penurie, their children and kinsmen were sold and made bondslaues in Ireland. And therefore it was most like, that God for the sin of the people would & did laie the like plague vpon the Irish people. It was therefore decreed by the said councell, and concluded by that synod, that all the Englishmen within that land, wheresoeuer they were, in bondage or captiuitie, should be manumitted, set free and at libertie.

### The proclamation of king Henrie the second against the earle, and of the sending of Reimond to the king.

Chap. 19.

When tidings was caried abroad of the good successe which the Englishmen had in Ireland, & the news the further it went, the more it increased; and the king being aduertised that the earle had not onlie recovered Leinster, but had also conquered sundrie other territories, wherevnto he had no title by the right of his wife, did set forth his proclamation, forbidding and inhibiting that from thenceforth no ship from out of any place, vnder his dominion, should passe or traffike into Ireland: and that all manner of his subiects which were within that realme, should returne from thence into England before Easter then next following, vpon paines of forfeiture of all their lands, as also to be banished men for euer. The earle when he saw himselfe in this distress, being in perill to lose his friends, and in hazard to want his necessities, taketh aduise and counsell what were best to be done. At length it was agreed and concluded, that Reimond should be sent ouer to the king then being in Aquitaine, with letters to this effect. My right honourable lord, I came into this land with your leaue and fauour (as I remember) for the aiding and helping of your seruant Derman Mac Morogh. And what forer I haue gotten and purchased, either by him or by anie others, as I confesse and acknowledge the same from and by meanes of your gracious goodnesse: so shall the same still rest and remaine at your deuotion and commandement.

C. 11.

The

The departure of Reimond to the  
king, and the death of Dermot  
Mac Morogh.

## Chap. 20.

**R**eimond (according to the order taken, and commandment given to him) made his repaire with all diligence to the king, & having deliuered his letters did await for his answer. But the king being in some dislike with the earle, and not fauourable allowing his successe, differred the time, and lingered to giue anie answer. About this time (1) Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie was murthered or slaine; and the yeare following about the kalends of Aprill, Dermot Mac Morogh, being of a good age, and well stricken in yeeres died, and was buried at Fernes.

(1) The Romish or popish church make much ado about this man, affirming him to be a man of much vertue and holinesse, and that he was martyzed for the defending of the liberties of holie church, and for this cause the pope canonized him to be a saint. But who so list to peruse and examine the course of the English histories, shall find that he was a froward and obstinat traitor against his master & soueraigne king and prince: as amongst other writers it appeareth in the booke of the Acts and Monuments of John Fox. And forsomuch as the course of this chapter tendeth wholie in extolling of him, I haue omitted the same, and leaue to trouble the reader therewith.

The ouerthrow giuen to Hasculphus  
and the Easterlings or Norwaie-  
men at Dublin.

## Chap. 21.

**A**t this time about the feast of Pentecost or Whitsuntide, Hasculphus, who was sometime the chiefe ruler of Dublin, sought by all the waies he could how he might be reuenged for the reproch and shame which he had receiued when the citie of Dublin was taken, and he then driuen to flee to his ship, and to saue himselfe. This man had bene in Norwaie, and in the north Ilands to seeke for some helpe and aid; and hauing obtained the same he came with thre score ships well appointed, and full fraughted with lustie men of warre vnto the coasts of (1) Dublin, minding to assaile the citie, and hoping to recover the same. And without anie delatengs he landed and bishipped his men, who were guided and conducted vnder a captaine named John Wood or John Pad, for so the word Wood meaneth. They were all mightie men of warre, and well appointed after the Danish maner, being harnessed with god bygandines, jacks, and shirts of male; their shields, bucklers, and targets were round, and coloured red, and bound about with iron: and as they were in armor, so in minds also they were as iron strong and mightie.

These men being set in battell arae, and in good order, did march on wards towards the east gate of the citie of Dublin, there minding to giue th assault, and with force to make entrie. Miles Cogan then warden of the citie, a man verie valiant and lustie, although his men and people were verie few, and as it were but a handfull in respect of the others: yet boldlie giueth the aduenture and onset vpon his enemies: but when he saw his owne small number not to be able to resist nor withstand so great force, and they still pressing & enforcing vpon him, he was dri-

uen to retire backe with all his companie, and with the losse of manie of his men, and of the more being verie well armed, yet was his thigh cut off cleane at a stroke with a Galloglasse axe. But Richard Cogan brother vnto Miles, vnderstanding how hardlie the matter passed and had sped with his brother, suddenlie and secretlie with a few men issued out at the south posterne or gate of the citie, and stealing vpon the backs of his enemies, made a great shout, and therewith tharpellie giueth the onset vpon them. At which sudden chance they were so discomfited, that albeit some fighting before, and some behind, the case was doubtfull, & the euent uncerteine: yet at length they fled and ran awaie, and the most part of them were slaine, and namelie John Wood, whom with others John of Kidenford toke and killed. Hasculphus fleeing to his ships was so tharpellie pursued, that vpon the sands he was taken, but saued; and for the greater honour of the victorie was caried backe alieue into the citie as a captiue, where he was sometime the chiefe ruler and gouernour: and there he was kept till he should compound for his ransom. And then he being brought and presented to Miles Cogan, in the open sight and audience of all the people, and fretting much for this euill fortune and overthrow, suddenlie and in great rage brake out into these speeches, saying: We are come hither now but a small companie, and a few of vs, and these are but the beginnings of our aduentures; but if God send me life, you shall see greater matters insue and follow. Miles Cogan when he heard these words (for in the tongue standeth both life and death, the lord abhorreth the proud heart, and verie badlie doth he ease his greefe which augmenteth his sorrow) commanded him to be beheaded. And so the life to him before courteouslie granted, he by his fondnesse did foolishlie lose it.

(1) The port or haven of Dublin is a barred haven, and no great ships doe come to the towne it selfe but at a spring or high water, and therefore they doe lie in a certeine rode without the barre, which is about foure or fiue miles from the citie, and the same is called Kingwood; and from thence to Holie hed in Wales is counted the shortest cut betwene England and Ireland.

Rothorike prince of Connagh and  
Gotred king of Man do be-  
siege the citie of Dublin.

## Chap. 22.

**A**fter this, the Irishmen perceiuing that by reason of the kings late proclamation, the earles men and bittels did wass, decaie, and consume for want of their wanted supplies from out of England: all their princes assembled themselves, and doe agree with all their power and force to besiege the citie of Dublin, being procured thereto by Laurence then archbishop there, who for the zeale and loue of his countrie, did verie earnestlie trauell hertoe: and joining with Rothorike king of Connagh, they sent their letters to Gotred king of the Ile of Man, and to all others the princes of the Ilands, making earnest requests, vRING these persuasions, and promising liberall rewards, if they would come to helpe and aid them to besiege Dublin; they on the water; and the offer at land: who were easilie to be persuaded thereto, and forthwith yielded to these requests, not onelie for the desire of gaines offered: but especiallie, because they doubted, and were afraid of the Englishmen, who hauing daillie god successe they feared lest they in time

time would giue the onset on them, and make a conquest over their possessions. And therefore they forthwith made themselves readie, and prepared their ships accordingly. And as soon as the next good wind serued, they came in thirtie ships of warre, verie well appointed, and arriued into the haven of Anelisse, or port of Dublin: whose comming was verie thankfull and gratefull. For whose helpe are best liked when men in their affaires haue those to soine with them which be of feare to be in the like perils and dangers. But the earle and his compaignie, who had bene shut vp now two moneths within the citie, and whose vittells failed, and were almost consumed, by reason that vpon the kings commandement a restraint was made (and therefore none could be brought vnto them out of England) were in a great dumpe and perplexitie, and in a manner were at their wits end, and wist not what to do. And in this their case see the course and nature of fortune, who when she stroweth, sendeth not one euill alone, but heapeth mischæfe vpon mischæfe, and trouble vpon trouble. For behold Donald Mac Dermion came from out of the borders of Kencile, & brought newes that the men of Wexford & of Kencile to the number of thye thousand persons had beseged Robert Fitzstephans and his few men in his castell of the Kerecke, and vnlesse they did helpe and rescue him within thre daies it would be too late; for they should and would else be taken. At this time there was with the earle within the citie Maurice Fitzgerald, and his cosine Reimond, who was latelie returned from the court; and these were not onelie now troubled in respect of their owne cause, but for the distress of others, and speciallie Maurice Fitzgerald, who tenderlie toke and was grieved with the distressed state of his brother Robert Fitzstephans, and of his wife and children, that they being in the middle of their enemies, should be in so weake a hold not able to keepe out such a compaignie: and so rising by maketh this speech to the earle, and to such as were about him, as followeth.

### The oration of Maurice Fitzgerald.

Chap. 23.

**W**orthie men, we came not hither, nor were we called into this countrie to be idle, nor to liue deliciously: but to trie fortune, and to seeke adventures. We stood sometimes vpon the top of the wheele, and the game was on our side; but now the wheele is turned, & we cast downe: and yet no doubt the will turne againe, and we shall be on the top. For such is the mutabilitie of fortune, & such is the vncertaine state & coule of this world, that prosperitie and aduersitie do interchangeablie, and by course the one followe the other. After daie cometh the night; and when the night is passed, the daie returneth againe. The sun riseth, and when he hath spred his beames all the daie time, then he cometh to his fall: and as soon as the night is past, he is againe come and returned to his rising againe. We who before this haue made great triumphs, & haue had fortune at will, are now shut vp on euerie side by our enemies: We be destitute of vittells, and can haue no reliefe neither by land nor yet by sea: our frends cannot helpe us, and our enemies readie to deuoure us. Likewise Fitzstephans, whose valiantnesse and noble enterprisse hath made waie vnto us into this Island, he now is also shut vp in a weake hold and feeble place, too weake and slender to hold and keepe out so great a force. While then doe we tarry? And wherefore doe we so linger? Is there anie hope of reliefe from home? No no, the matter

is other wise, and we in worse case. For as we be odious and hatefull to the Irishmen, euen so we now are reputed: for Irishmen are become hatefull to our owne nation and countrie, and so are we odious both to the one and to the other. Therefore so much as fortune fauoreth the forward, and helpeth the bold; let vs not longer delaye the matter, nor like sluggards lie still: but whiles we are yet lustie, and our vittells not all spent, let vs giue the onset vpon our enemies: for though we be but few in number in respect of them, yet if we will be of valiant minds and lustie courages, as we were wont to be, we may happilie haue the victorie and conquest of these naked wretches and unarmed people. These speeches he vsed as the sicke man is wont to do; who in hope of reuerie of his health, doth many times beare out a good countenance, and dissemble his inward greafe and heauinesse. When he had fullie ended his talke and spoken his mind, Reimond, who was also in the like angulsh and heauinesse spake thus.

### The oration of Reimond.

Chap. 24.

**R**enowned, and worthy, & noble men, whose fame for valiantnesse and chualrie is carried and spread beyond and through the ocean seas: we are now to looke well vnto our selues, and to haue good regard to our honor and credit. You haue heard how grauelie my vncle Maurice hath declared, how pithilie he hath abused, and how prudently he hath counsell'd vs what we shall do in this our distresse and present necessitie. Therefore we are well to consider thereof, & to determine and resolue our selues what we will do. The time is short, the perils imminent, and the dangers great, and therefore no delays are now to be vsed. It is no time now to sit in long counsels, nor to spend much time in speeches; but in present perils we must vse present remedies. We see the enemies both at sea and land round about vs, and no waie is there to escape; but we must either giue the aduenture vpon them like men, or die here like beasts: for our vittells faile vs, and our prouision wareth scant & short, and we know not how to renew the same. And how little comfort we are to looke for out of England, and what small helpe we shall haue from the king, I haue already at large declared vnto you. I know his excellencie dispaileth not our aduities, but yet he fauoreth not our successes: he discommendeth not our valiantnesse, but yet enuieeth at our glorie: in words he reporteth well of our seruices, but he yet secretlie hindereth the same: he feareth that which we meane not, and doubteth of that which we thinke not. To trust therefore vnto the m, who care not for vs; to looke for helpe from them, who mind not anie; and to wait for reliefe where none is meant; it were but a miere follie, and a lost labor on our parts, and in the end like to returne to our owne shame, reproch, & confusion. Therefore being out of all hope of anie further helpe or supplie; and out of all doubt of anie further comfort or reliefe: let vs as becommeth noble, lustie, and valiant men, trie the course of fortune, and proue the force of the enimie. Let it appere vnto them as it is known vnto vs, of what race we came, and from whom we descended. Camber (as it is well known) the first particular king of Cambria our native countrie, was our ancestor, and he the sonne of that noble Brutus, the first and sole monarch of all England, whose ancestor was Troas the founder of the most famous citie of Troie; and he descended from Dardanus the sonne of Iupiter, from whom is deriued vnto vs not onlie the surname

of ancient nobilitie, but also a certeine naturall inclination of valiant minds, & couragious stomachs, bent to follow all exploits in prowesse and chivalrie, and wherein all our ancessors haue bene verie skillfull and expert. And shall we now like sluggards degenerate from so noble a race, and like a sort of cowards be afraid of these naked and unarmed rascalls, in whome is no baloe of knowledge nor experience in armes? Shall such a rabble of sauages pinne vs vp within the walles of this little Dublin, and make vs afraid of them; when in times past all the princes of Græce kept warres for ten yeares & od moneths continuallie against our ancessors in the famous citie of Troie, and could not preuaile against them, untill they vsed treasons and practised treacheries, which bred vnto them a moze infamous victorie than a glorious triumph? Shall the honoz of our ancessors be withered by our sluggishnesse, and the glorie of their prowesse be buried in our cowardnesse? Shall we be afraid of a few, and unarmed, when they withstood infinit multitudes of the most worthiest and valiantest personages then in all the world? Let it neuer be said, that the blood of the Troians shall be stained in our pusillanimitie, and receiue reproch in our follie.

And what though our enemies be neuer so manie, and we in respect of them but a handfull; shall we therefore be afraid, as though victorie stood in multitude, and conquest in great numbers? No no, kings be not so saued nor princes do so conquer: for a few men well disposed and a small number well incouraged, are sufficient to incounter with a greater number, being wretches and sluggards. For fortune though she be portraied to be blind, as one void of right iudgement; and to stand vpon a rolling stone, as being alwaies flæting and moueable: yet for the most part she helpeth such as be of bold minds and of valiant stomachs. If time did serue as matter is full and plentious, I could heroeof recite manie peainfinite examples. (1) Thomiris the Scythian quene, did not she with a few hundreds incounter with the great monarch Cyrus, hauing manie thousands, and take him and slue him. Alexander with a few Macedonians, did not he overcome Darius the great monarch of the Persians, and take him, his wife, and daughters prisoners, & made a conquest of all Persia? (2) Leonides the Spartan, did not he with six hundred men breake into the campes of the mightie Xerxes, and there slae five thousand of them? Let vs come a little nêrer euen to our selues, who haue had in our owne persons, and in this land the like successes, namelie you my right honourable earle at Waterford, and my uncle Fitzstephans at Wexford; and I my selfe at Dundoogh: small were our companies, and little was our force in respect of theirs, and yet we few thorough our valiantnesse ouercame and conquered them being manie.

What shall I trouble you with the recitall of examples, sith time shall soner faile than matter want: and shall we then giue ouer and be white livered? Shall we like cowards couer our progenie, our nation, and our selues also, with perpetuall shame and infamie? God forbid. My mind then and opinion is, that we do issue out vpon them, as secretlie and as suddenlie as we maie, and boldlie giue the onset vpon them. And forsomuch as Rotherike of Connagh is the generall of the field, in whom lieth the chiefe force, and on whom all the rest do depend, it shall be best to begin with him, and then if we can giue the ouerthrow vnto him, all the residue will flie, and we shall obtaine a glorious victorie: but if we shall fall into their hands and be killed, yet shall we leaue an honourable report and an immortall fame to all our posteritie. When Kellmond had ended his

speeches and finished his oration, euerie one so wel liked thereof, as with one consent they gaue ouer, and yielded to his resolution and opinion.

(1) Cyrus the sonne of Cambises the first monarch of Persia, after that he had subdued all Asia, he minding to do the like in Scythia did invade the same: Thomiris being then quene thereof. And on a certeine time hauing pitched his tents in a faire and pleasant soile, suddenlie as though he had bene afraid of his enemies he fled, and left his tents full of wines and bittels. Which when the quene heard, she sent hir onelie sonne a yong gentleman with the thirde part of hir host and armie to follow and pursue Cyrus: who when he came to the forsaken tents, and finding there such abundance & plentie of wine and bittels, wherevnto the Scythians had not before bene accustomed, they fell so hungerlie to their bittels, and dranke so liberallie of the wines, that they were ouerladen and ouercommed with surfetting. Which when Cyrus heard of, he suddenlie and secretlie in the night came vpon them, and finding them all asleep, killed them all. Thomiris hearing of this, was not so much griened with sorrow for the death of hir sonne, as inflamed with the desire to be reuenged. And she likewise faining hir selfe to flie, Cyrus by pursuing of hir was brought into certeine narrow streets, where she taking the aduantage of him, toke him, killed him, and slue all his companie, to the number of two thousand: insomuch that there was not one left to returne with message to declare the same.

(2) Leonides was king of Sparta or Lacedæmonia, who being aduertised that the mightie monarch Xerxes minding to continue the warres with his father Darius had appointed and begun against all Græce, & that he had made preparation therefore five yeares togither, doth also prepare himselfe to withstand the same. And notwithstanding that Xerxes had in his armie three hundred thousand of his owne subiects, and two hundred thousand of strangers: yet Leonides hauing gotten Xerxes within the streets of Thermopolis, and he hauing but foure thousand soldiers gaue the onset vpon the monarch, and fought the battels three daies togither with him, and at length gaue him the ouerthrow.

How Rotherike of Connagh, and all his whole armie was discomfited.

Chap. 25.

Immediatlie vpon the foresaid persuasions, euerie man with all speed had made himselfe readie and got on his armes, thinking it too long yet they did bicker with the enemy: and being all assembled and in god arreie, they divided them into three wings or wards, though in number they were verie few. In the first was Kellmond with twentie gentlemen and his few soldiers. In the second Miles Cogan with thirtie gentlemen and his other few soldiers. And in the third was the earle and Maurice Fitzgerald with fortie gentlemen and all their soldiers. And in euerie ward were some of all the citizens, sauing such as were appointed for the gard and safetie of the citie. Thus all things being set in an order, they suddenlie in the morning about nine of the clocke issued out, but not without some contention and controuersie: for they strided among themselves, who should haue the fore ward, and giue the onset vpon the enemies, who were in number about thirtie thousand: neuertheless they in the end agreed and appointed in order how all things should be done: and forthwith issued out and gaue the onset vpon

upon their enemies, who then were out of arraie and order, being bntwares of their comming. Keimond among the first being the first was foremost, & gaue the first aduenture, and striking two of his enemies through with his lance o' staffe slue them both. Petterius also and Gerald and Alexander the two sonnes of Maurice, although they were in the reereward; yet they were so hot upon the spurre, and followed in such lustie maner, that they were as forward as the foremost, and right ballantlie did ouerthrow and kill manie of the enemies.

The like balliant minds were in all the whole residue, who now strided & serued all for the best game: and so lustilie they acquitted themselves, that the enemies being afraid, were faine to take their heeles and to run awaie. But they still followed and pursued them euen untill night, still murdering & spoiling them. Rothorike the king himselfe trusted so much in the great troops and multitudes of his people; that he thought nothing lesse, than that so small a number as were within, would issue out and giue the onset upon so manie as were without. And therefore taking his pleasure and paffance, he was then a bathing: but when he heard how the game went, and how his men were discomfited & the most part fled o' streng awaie, he neither carried for his chamberleine to apparell him, nor for his page to help him: but with all the hast and post hast he could, he turneth a faire paire of heeles and runneth awaie: and albeit he were verie sharplie pursued, yet (though hardlie) he escaped. At night all the companie being returned, they recovered themselves into the citie againe: not onelie with the honor of the field, but also with great booties and preies of vittels, armes, and other trash. Immediatlie also were dispersed the other camps, namelie the archbishops, Pachlaghlin, Pachelewn, Gillemeholcke and Dencelos, who had all the force of Leinster, saving a few of Kencile and Wexford: and these were incamped on the south side. Likewise Dronke of Meth, Dkarrell of Wriell, Mac Shaghlina and Dcadise which were incamped on the north side raised their camps and shifted for themselves. On the morrow, all things being set in good order, and good watch appointed for the safe keeping and custodie of the citie, they march towards Wexford, and take the higher waie by Dronke.

### The guilefull and treacherous taking of Robert Fitzstephans at the Kerecke.

Cap. 26.

**A**fter this good successe, fortune who can not continue firme in one staie, doth now change hir course, and interlineth aduersitie with prosperitie. For whie, there is neither faith firme, nor felicitie permanent vpon the earth. For the Wexford men and they of Kencile, forgetting their promise, and nothing regarding their faith which they had before made and assured vnto Robert Fitzstephans, do now assemble themselves to the number of three thousand, and do march toward the Kerecke, there to besiege the same, where Robert Fitzstephans was then: who mistrusting & fearing nothing, had but five gentlemen and a few archers about him. The enemies giue the assault, & not preuailing at the first, do renew the same againe and againe: but when they saw that all their labours were lost, because that Fitzstephans and his companie though they were but a few in number, yet they were verie nimble and verie readie to defend themselves, and especiallie one William Post, who in this seruice did verie well and worthilie acquit himselfe; they now do seeke to practise their old subtil

ties and guiles. They leauing therefore to vse force and violence, do now vnder colour of peace come toward the Kerecke and bzing with them the bishop of Kildare, the bishop of Wexford, & certeine other religious persons, who brought with them a masse booke, *Corpus Domini*, and certeine reliques: and after a few speeches of perswasion had with Fitzstephans, they to compasse their matter, toke their corporall othes, and swooze vpon a booke, that the citie of Dublin was taken: and that the earle, Maurice, Keimond, and all the Englishmen were taken and killed; that Rothorike of Connagh, with all the whole power and armie of Connagh & Leinster, was comming towards Wexford for the apprehension of him: but for his sake, and for the good will which they bare vnto him, because they had alwaie found him a courteous and a liberall prince, they were come vnto him to conuete him awaie in safetie, and all his ouer into Wales, before the comming of that great multitude, which were his extreame and mortall enemies. Fitzstephans giuing credit to this their swearing and amozles, did forthwith yeld himselfe, his people, & all that he had vnto them and their custodie: but they forthwith most traitorouslie, of them that thus yelded into their hands some they killed, some they beat, some they wounded, and some they cast into prison. But asone as newes was brought that Dublin was false, and that the earle was marching towards them; these traitors set the towne on fire, and they themselves with bag and baggage and with their prisoners gat them into the Island Begozie, which they call the holie Island, and which lieth in the middle of the haven there.

### The description of Robert Fitzstephans.

Chap. 27.

**A** noble man, the onelie patterne of vertue, and the example of true industrie and labours: who hauing tried the variableness of fortune, had tasted more aduersitie than prosperitie! A worthy man, who both in Ireland and in Wales had traced the whole compasse of fortunes wheele, and had endured whatsoeuer god fortune or euill could giue! A Fitzstephans, the verie second an other(1) Spartus, for if you do consider his prosperitie, no man was more fortunate than he: and on the contrarie, if you marke his aduersitie, no man was or could be more miserable. He was of a large and full bodie, his countenance verie comelie: and in stature he was somewhat more meane: he was bountifull, liberall, and pleasant, but yet sometimes somewhat aboue modestie giuen to wine and women. The earle (as is aforesaid) marched with his armie towards Wexford, fast by Dronke, which was a place full of streits, passes, and bogs, and verie hardlie to be passed through: but yet the whole power, force, and strength of all Leinster came thither, and met him and gaue him the battell, betwene whom there was a great fight, and manie of the enemies slaine. But the earle with the losse of one onelie yongman recovered himselfe in safetie to the plaines, and there amongst others, Peterius shewed himselfe to be a right balliant man.

(1) This Spartus was named Caius Spartus, his father was borne in Arpinum, & from thence came to Rome, and there dwelt, being a poore artificer and handicrafts man, but much relieved by Petellus a noble Roman, in whose house, and vnder whom, both the father and the sonne were seruants: but being giuen



giuen altogether to martiall affaires, he became a verie valiant man, and did as good service to the citie of Rome as anie before or after him. Affrica he conquered, and in his first triumph Jugurtha and his two sonnes were bound in chaines, and carted captiues to Rome before his chariot. The Cambyzians, Germans, and Tigurians wanting habitations, and thinking to settle themselves in Italie, trauelled thitherwards for the same purpose; but being denied by the Romans, they made most cruell warres vpon them, and one of them at one time fourescore thousand souldiers, and threescore thousand of others, wherewith the state of Rome and of all Italie was so broken, and overthrowne, that the Romans much bewailed themselves, & did thinke verelie that they should be utterlie destroyed. In this distresse Spartus took the matter in hand, and meeting first with the Germans, gaue them the battell, slue their king Centobochas, and two hundred thousand men, beside fourescore thousand which were taken. After that he met with the Cambyzians, and slue their king Belcus, and an hundred and fortie thousand with him, as also took fortie thousand prisoners. For which victorie he triumphed the second time in Rome, and was named then the third founder of Rome. Again in the ciuill wars which grew by the means of Du-  
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### The description of the earle *Strangbow.*

Chap. 28.

**T**he earle was somewhat ruddie and of sanguine complexion and freckle faced, his eyes greie, his face feminine, his voice small, and his necke little, but somewhat of a high stature: he was verie liberall, courteous and gentle: that he could not compasse and bring to passe in

deed, he would win by god words and gentle speeches. In time of peace he was more ready to yield and obeye, than to rule and beare swaie. Out of the campe he was more like to a souldior companion than a capteine or ruler: but in the campe and in the warres he carted with him the state and countenance of a valiant capteine. Of himselfe he would not adventure anie thing, but being aduised and set on, he refused no attempts: for of himselfe he would not rashlie adventure, or presumptuously take anie thing in hand. In the fight and battell he was a most assured token and signe to the whole companie, either to stand valiantlie to the fight, or for policie to retire. In all chanches of warre he was still one and the same maner of man, being neither dismayd with aduersitie, nor puffed up with prosperitie.

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(3) Spilford is a famous and a goodlie harborough lying in *Demetia*, or *Welsh Wales*. The *Welshmen* name it the mouth of two swordes. It hath two branches or armes, the one flowing hard to *Wauertford* west, and the other thorough the countrie named *Wolfa*.

Ororike prince of Meth besieging Dublin, is driven off by Miles Cogan, and hath the worst side.

Chap. 30.

**I**n the meane time Ororike, the one eldest king of Meth, watching the absence of the earle as also of Ketmond, the one being in England, and the other at Waterford, he mustred a great number of soldiors, and vpon a sudden about the kalends of September, laicth siege to the cite of Dublin: within the which there were then but few men, but yet they were valiant and verie men indeed. And as the flame can not be suppressed, but that it will breake out: euen so vertue and valiantnesse can not be shut vp, but that it will (when time and occasion serueneth) shew it selfe. For Miles Cogan and all his companie vpon a sudden issue out vpon the enemies, and vnwares taking them napping, made a great slaughter of them: among whom there was the sonne of Ororike, a lustie yong gentleman, and he slaine also. And at this time the king of England, lying at Penbroke in Wales, he fell out with the noblemen and gentlemen of the countrie: because they had suffered the earle Richard to take his passage among them from thence into Ireland. And removing such as had ante charge or keeping of any forts there, he placed others therein: but at length his heat being cooled, & his displeasure quailed, they were reconciled againe to his good fauour and grace.

Whilest the king late there, he had great pleasure in hawking, and as he was walking abroad with a goshawke of *Porwaie* vpon his fist, he had espied a falcon sitting vpon a rocke: and as he went about the rocke to view and behold him, his goshawke having also espied the falcon, bated vnto him, and therewith the king let him flie. The falcon seeing his selfe thus beset, taketh also wing: and albeit his flight was but slow at the first, yet at length she maketh wing and mounteth vp of a great height: and taking the advantage of the goshawke his aduersarie, commeth downe with all his might, and striking his clauie his backe asunder, and fell downe dead at the kings feet: whereat the king and all they that were then present had great maruell. And the king hauing good liking, and being in loue with the falcon, did pearcelie at the breeding and disclosing time send thither for them: for in all his land there was not a better and a more hardie hawke.

The comping of king Henrie into Ireland.

Chap. 31.

**T**hese things thus done, and all prepared in a readinesse fit for such a noble enterprise, and for which the king had waited a long time in Wales, he went to saint Davids church, where when he had made his prayers and done his deuotion, the wind and the weather well seruing, he took shipping and arrived vnto Waterford in the kalends of November, being saint Lukes daie: hauing in his retinue five hundred gentlemen of service, and of botomen and hoysmen a great

number. This was in the seventeenth yeare of his reigne, the one & fortieth of his age, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred seauentie & two, Alexander the third then pope, Frederike then emperor, and Lewis then French king. And now was fulfilled the prophesie of Merlin, that A fire globe shall come out of the east, and shall denoe and consume all Ireland round about: and likewise the prophesie of saint Polin, that Out of the east shall come a mightie hurling wind, & rush thorough to the west, and shall ruin thorough and overthrow the force and strength of Ireland.

Prophecies of Merlin and Polin fulfilled.

The citizens of Wexford present vnto the king Robert Fitzstephans, and sundrie princes of Ireland come and submit themselves to the king.

Chap. 32.

**T**he king being thus landed at Waterford, and there resting himselfe, the citizens of Waterford, vnder colour and pretence of great humblenesse and dutie, and in hope of some thanks, they brought Robert Fitzstephans bound as a captiue and a prisoner, and presented him to the king as one who deserued small fauor or courtesie, that he had without his consent & leaue entered into Ireland, & given thereby an occasion to others to offend and to do euill. The king not liking of him, fell out with him, and charged him verie deepe and sharplie for his rash and hastie adventures, and that he would take vpon him to make a conquest of Ireland without his assent and leaue: and forthwith commanded him to be handlocked and fettered, with an other prisoner, and to be safelie kept in Kenold tower. Then Dermot Mac Arth prince of (1) Corke came to the king of his owne free will, submitted himselfe, became tributarie, and toke his oath to be true and faithfull to the king of England. After this the king removed his armie and marched toward (2) Lisemore, and after that he had tarried about two daies, he went to (3) Cashill, and thither came vnto him at the river of (4) Suire, Donold prince of (5) Limerike: where when he had obtained peace, he became tributarie and swore fealtie. The king then set (of his men) rulers and keepers ouer the citie of Corke and Limerike.

Then also came in Donold prince of Ororike, and all the best & chiefe men in all Hounster, & did submit themselves, became tributaries and swore fealtie. Whome when the king had verie liberallie rewarded, he sent them home againe: and he himselfe returned backe againe to Waterford through (6) Eibach. When he came to Waterford, Fitzstephans was brought before him, & when he had well beheld him, and considered with himselfe the valiantnesse of the man, the good seruice he had done, & the perils & dangers he had bene in: he began to be moued with some pitie and compassion vpon him, and at the intercession & by the mediation of certeine noblemen, he heartilie forgaued him, and released him from out of bonds, and restored him whole to his former state and libertie, saying that he reserued to himselfe the towne of Waterford, with the territories and lands therevnto adjoining: & not long after some of those traitors, who thus had betrayed him, were themselves taken and put to death.

(1) Corke, in Latine named *Cortagium*, is an ancient citie in the prouince of Hounster, and builded (as it should appeare) by the Casserlings or Porwaies. It standeth now in a marish or a bog, and vnto

to it floweth an arme of the seas, in the which are manie goodlie receptacles or harboroughs for ships, & much frequented as well for the goodlie commodities of fishings therein, as also for the trade of merchandise, by the which the citie is chieflie maintained: for the inhabitants are not onlie merchants & great travellers themselves; but also great store of strange merchants doe daillie resort & traffike with them. It is walled round about, and well fortified for a sufficient defense against the Irishie. In it is the bishops see of that diocesse, being called by the name of the bishop of Corke. The citie is governed by a maior and two bailiffes, who vsing the gouernement according to the lawes of England; doe keepe and mainteine the same in verie good order. They are verie much troubled with the enimie, and therefore they doe continuallie, as men lieng in a garison, keepe watch and ward both daie and night. The prince of that countrie did most commonlie keepe & staie himselfe in all troubles within that citie, vntill the time the same was conquered by the Englishmen, who euer since haue inhabited in the same.

(2) Lisemore in times past was as faire a towne as it is ancient, and standeth vpon a goodlie riuier, which floweth vnto Boughall, and so into the maine seas. It was sometimes a bishoppke, but of late vnto the bishoppke of Waterford, and so it lieth in the countie and diocesse of Waterford, but the soile it selfe was within the countie of Corke.

(3) Cashill is an old ruinous towne, but walled, and standeth vpon the riuier Sure. In it is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, bearing the name therof, who is one of the foure archbishopps of that land, and vnder him are the bishops of Waterford, Corke, and seuen others.

(4) The Sure is a goodlie and a notable riuier, and one of the chieffest in that land. It hath his head or spring in a certeine hill called Blandina, but in Irish Sloghbloime, for the pleasantnesse thereof. Manie good townes are seated and builded vpon the same, & it is nauigable more than the one halfe. It flieth from the spring or head fast by the towne of Tholeis, whereof the earle of Dymond is baron: from thence to the holie crosse and so to Clomnell, & from thence to Carig Mac Griffith, where is an ancient house of the earles, sometime named the earles of the Carig, but now earles of Dymond; and from thence flieth by Tibzack, it commeth to Waterford; and flieth by the wals thereof, it runneth into the seas.

(5) Limerike is one of the first cities builded by the Postwates or Casserlings, named sometimes Dromen: the founder whereof was the yongest of thre brethren whose name was Puerus. It standeth vpon the famous and noble riuier of Shenin, which goeth round about it, the same being as it were an Island. The seat of it is such, as none can be more faire or more statelie. It lieth in the maine land within the prouince of Mounster, called the north Mounster, and is from the maine seas about forty miles, and yet at the wals euen the greatest ship at the seas maie be discharged and vnladen, and pærelie so there are: for the citie it selfe is chieflie inhabited by merchants. It is gouerned by a maior and bailiffes after and according to the English lawes and orders. It was in times past vnder a particular prince of it self, but euer since the conquest it hath bene inhabited by the Englishmen, who doe so still continue therein.

(6) Tibzack is an old towne, which in times past was rich and verie well inhabited, it lieth vpon the north side of the Sure, and about two miles from Carig Mac Griffith. In it is a great stone standing, which is the bound betwene the countie of Kilkenny and Dymond.

Rothorike O'Connor the monarch and  
all the princes in Ulster submit and yeeld  
themselves vnto the king, as he passeth  
towards Dublin.

Chap. 33.

These things thus done at Waterford, the king left Robert Fitzbarnard there with his household, and marched himselfe to Dublin through the countie of Mounster: and passing somewhat by the wate in his iourneie, there came and resorted vnto him out of euerie place there the great men & princes, as namelie Macelan Macelan prince of Mounster, Macche Talewe, Mhwe, lie Gillemholoch, Ochadese, & Carell of Wick & Morike of Metch: all which yeilded & submitted themselves to the king in their owne persons, & became his vassals, & sware fealtie. But Rothorike the monarch came no nêrre than to the riuer side of the (1) Shenin, which diuideth Connagh from Metch, & there Hugh de Lacie and William Fitzaldeline by the kings commandement met him, who desiring peace submitted himselfe, sware allegiance, became tributarie, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland sauing Ulster brought in subiection, and euerie particular prince in his proper person did yeeld and submit himselfe, sauing onelie Rothorike, the then monarch of all Ireland; and yet by him and in his submission all the residue of the whole land became the kings subiects, and submitted themselves. For indeed there was no one nor other within that land, who was of anie name or countenance, but that he did present himselfe before the kings maiestie, and yeilded vnto him subiection and due obedience.

And then was fulfilled the old and vulgar prophesie of S. Polin; Before him all the princes shall fall downe, and vnder a dissembled submission shall obtaine fauor and grace. Likewise the prophesie of Merlin; All the birds of that Island shall flie to his light, and the greater birds shall be taken & brought into captiuitie, and their wings shall be burned. Also the old prophesie of Merlin Ambrose; Five portions shall be brought into one, & the first shall breake and ouerthrow the walles of Ireland. That which Ambrose nameth here the first, Celidonus nameth the first, as appeareth in his booke of prophesies. Now when the feast of Christmasse did approach and draw nere, manie and the most part of the princes of that land resorted and made repaire vnto Dublin, to see the kings court: and when they saw the great abundance of vittels, and the noble seruices, as also the eating of cranes, which they much lothed, being not before accustomed thereunto, they much wondered and marvelled thereat: but in the end they being by the kings commandement set downe, did also there eat and drinke among them. At this time there were certeine soldiers, being bolomen, keassed at Finnglas, and they helued and cut downe the trees which grew about the churchyard, which had bene there planted of old time by certeine good and holie men: and all these soldiers suddenlie fell sicke of the pestilence and died all: as is more at large declared in our topographie.

(1) The Shenin is the chieffest and most famous riuier in that land, and doth in a manner inclose and inclose all Connagh, & diuideth it from the prouinces of Mounster and Metch: his head and spring is in the hill named Therne, which bordereth vpon D Connagh Slegos countrie, not farre from the riuer  
of

Prophesies of  
Merlin and  
Polin full  
filled.

of the Banne in Ulster, and in length is supposed to be about a hundred and twentie English miles. It is increased with sundrie brooks, and diuerse riuers run into the same; the chafest thereof is that which riseth and cometh out of the loch or lake Foile. In it are manie loghs or lakes of great quantitie or bignesse, which are maruelouslie replenished and stored with abundance of fish: the chafest of which are the loch Irie, and the loch Derigid. It is navigable a bone thre score miles, and vpon it standeth the most famous citie of Limerike. There is onlie one bidge ouer it, builded of late yeares at Alone, by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie knight, then lord deputie of the realme.

### The councell or synod kept at Cathill.

Chap. 34.

**T**he realme heeing now in good peace and quietnesse, and the king now hauing a care and a zeale to set forth Gods honoz and true religion, summoned a synod of all the clergie vnto Cathill, where inquirie and examination was made of the wicked and lose life of the people of the land and nation: which was registred in writing, and sealed vnder the seale of the bishop of Lisemoze, who being then the popes legat was president of that councell. And then there were made and decreed sundrie god and godlie constitutions, which are yet extant; as namelie, for contrading of marriage, for payment of tithes, for the reuerend and cleane keeping of the churches; and that the vniuersall church of Ireland should be reduced in all things to the order and forme of the church of England. Which constitutions were forthwith published throughout the realme, and doe here follow.

### Constitutions made at the coun- cell of Cathill.

Chap. 35.

**I**n the yere of Christs incarnation 1172, & in the first yere that the most noble king of England conquered Ireland, Christianus bishop of Lisemoze, and legat of the apostolicke see, Donat archbishop of Cathill, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus archbishop of Thomond with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, abbats, archdeacons, priors, deanes, & manie other prelates of the church of Ireland, by the commandment of the king did assemble themselves and kept a synod at Cathill: and there debating manie things concerning the wealth, estate, and reformation of the church, did prouide remedies for the same. At this councell were also for and in the behalfe of the king, whom he had sent thither, Raife abbat of Buldetwais, Raife archdeacon of (1) Llandaffe, Nicholas the chapleine, and diuerse other god clearks. Sundrie god statutes and wholesome lawes were there deuised, which were after subscribed and confirmed by the king himselte, and vnder his authoritie, which were these that follow. First, it is decreed that all god faithfull and christian people, throughout Ireland, should forbeare and shun to marrie with their nere kinfolke and consins, & marrie with such as lawfullie they should doe. Secondarily, that children shall be catechised without the church doze, and baptised in the font appointed in the churches for the same. Thirdlie, that euerie christian bodie doe faithfullie and trulie paie yerelie the tiths of his cattels, come, and all other his increase and profits to the church or

parish where he is a parishioner. Fourthlie, that all the church lands and possessions, throughout all Ireland, shall be free from all secular exactions and impositions: and especiallie that no lords, earles, nor noble men, nor their children, nor familie, shall extort or take anie coine and liuerie, cosheries, nor cud-dies, nor anie other like custome from themselves, in or vpon anie of the church lands and territories. And likewise that they nor no other person doe henceforth exact out of the said church lands, old, wicked, and detestable customes of coine and liuerie, which they were wont to extort vpon such towncs and villages of the churches, as were nere and next bordering vpon them. Fiftlie, that when carike or composition is made among the laie people for anie murder, that no person of the cleargie, though he be kin to anie of the parties, shall contribute anie thing thereunto: but as they be guiltlesse from the murder, so shall they be free from payment of monie, for anie such carike or release for the same. Sixtlie, that all and euerie god christian being sicke & weake, shall befoze the priest and his neighbors make his last will and testament; and his debts and seruants wages being paid, all his mouables to be diuided (if he haue anie children) into thre parts: whereof one part to be to the children, another to his wiife, and the third part to be for the performance of his will. And if so be that he haue no children, then the goods to be diuided into two parts, whereof the one moitie to his wiife, and the other to the performance of his will and testament. And if he haue no wiife, but onelie children, then the goods to be likewise diuided into two parts, whereof the one to himselfe, and the other to his children. Seuenthlie, that euerie christian being dead, and dieng in the catholike faith, shall be reuerendie brought to the church, and to be buried as apperteineth. Finallie, that all the diuine seruice in the church of Ireland shall be kept, vsed, & obserued in the like order and maner as it is in the church of England. For it is met and right, that as by Gods prouidence and appointment Ireland is now become subiect, and vnder the king of England: so the same should take from thense the order, rule, and maner how to reforme themselves, and to liue in better order. For whatsoeuer god thing is befallen to the church & realme of Ireland, either concerning religion, or peaceable gouernement, they owe the same to the king of England, and are to be thankfull vnto him for the same: for befoze his coming into the land of Ireland, manie and all sorts of wickednesses in times past flowered and reigned amongest them: all which now by his authoritie and goodnesse are abolished. The primat of Armagh, by reason of his weaknesse and great age, was not present at the synod: but afterwards he came to Dublin, and gaue his full consent to the same. This holie man (as the common saieing was) had a white colt, and being fed onelie by his milke, he was alwaies carried with him wheresoeuer he went and travelled from home.

### The tempestuous and stormie winter.

Chap. 36.

**T**he seas, which a long time had beene calme, began now to swell, and to be full of continuall storms and tempests, which were so raging, and so great, that in all that winter there acted scarce anie one ship or barke from anie place into that land: neither was there anie news heard from out of anie countrie during that winter. Wherevpon men began to be afraid, and thinke verelie that God in his anger would punish them,

them, and be reuenged for their wicked & sinfull life, and therefore had sent this plague vpon them. At this time in Southwales by reason of the extreme and continuall tempests, the sea sides and shores, which had manie yeares bene couered with great sand ridges, were now washed and carried awaie with the seas, and then there appeared the former fast and firme earth, and therein a great number of trees standing which did in times past grow there: and by reason they had bene so long couered, & as it were buried vnder the sands, they stood as trunks and polled trees, and were as blacke as is the Obenie. A maruelous alteration, that the place sometimes couered with seas, and a waie for ships to passe, is now become a soile of ground and drye land. But some suppose that this was so at the first, and that those trees were there growing before or shortly after the flood of Noah. The king remained at Worcester, still longing to heare news from beyond the seas: and thus lieng solitarie he practised by all the means and sleights he could, how he might flooke and procure vnto him Keimond, Miles Cogan, William Mankerell, & other of the best gentlemen; that he being assured of them to be firme of his side, he might be the stronger, and the earle the weaker.

The conspiracie made against the king  
by his sonnes, and the ambassage of the legat from the pope vnto him.

Chap. 37.

**A**fter which the wind being easterlie, there came and arriued into Ireland certeine ships, as well from out of England, as also from out of Aquitaine in France, which brought him verie ill & bad newes. For there were come into Normandie from pope Alexander the third two cardinals in an ambassage, the one of them being named Albertus, and the other Theodinus, to make inquirie of the death of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie. They were thought and taken to be iust and good men, and therefore were chosen of trust and of purpose for this matter: but yet for all that they were Romans, and who were fullie determined to haue interdicted, not onelie England, but also all the whole dominions subiect vnto the king, if he himselfe had not the sooner come and met with them. Besides this, there was twofold newes told him, and a twofold mishap befell vnto him (for commonlie god lucke cometh alone, but ill haps come by heapes and by huddels) which was, that his eldest sonne whom he loued so dearelie, and whom he had crowned king, as also his two yonger sonnes, with the consent and helpe of sundrie noble men, as well in England as beyond the seas, had confederated themselves, and conspired against the king in his absence. Which newes and secret conspiracie when he heard and vnderstood, he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and for verie anguish and greefe of mind did sweat. First it grieved him that he should be suspected and infamed of the crime whereof he was guiltlesse. Also he feared of the great troubles which would grow and insue hereby to his kingdome, & all other his dominions. Next, and it grieved him verie much, that he being minded and determined the next summer then following to settle Ireland in some good state, and to fortifie the same with holds and castels, he should now be compelled and bounden to leaue the same vndone. Wherefore sending some before him into England, as well to aduertise his coming homewards, as also of the safetie he had taken for Ireland, he thought himselfe, as also toke good aduise and counsell, what was best to be done in these his weightie causes.

The king returneth homewards  
through Westwales, and of the speaking  
stone at saint Dauids.

Chap. 38.

**T**he king being minded and determined to returne into England, set his realme of Ireland in good order, and left Hugh de Lacie (vnto whom he had giuen in fee the countrie of Gwent) with twentie gentlemen, & Fitzstephans & Maurice Fitzgerald with twentie other gentlemen, to be wardens and constables of Dublin. Likewise he left Humfrey de Bohune, Robert Fitzbarnard, and Hugh de Gundenille, with twentie gentlemen, to keepe and gouerne Worcester. Also he left William Fitzaldeline, Philip of Hastings, and Philip de Buse, to be gouernours and rulers of Worcester: they hauing also twentie gentlemen of seruice appointed vnto them. And on the mondaie in the Easter weeke, earlie in the morning at the sunne rising, he toke shipping without the barre of Worcester; and the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, he had a verie good passage, and arriued about the nonetide of the same daie vnto the baie of saint Dauids: where he being set on land, he went on foot with a staffe in his hand in pilgrimage, and in great deuotion vnto the church of saint Dauids; whom the cleargie in procession met at the gate called the white gate, and with great honour receiued him. And as they were going verie orderlie and solemnelie in procession, there came vnto him a Welsh or a Camber woman; and falling downe at his feet, she made a great complaint against the bishop of that place: which being by an interpreter declared vnto the king, albeit he vnderstood it well, yet he gaue hir no answer.

She thinking that hir sute was not regarded, did toying hir fits, and cried out with a loud voice: Reuenge vs this day O Lechlanar, Reuenge vs I say, our kindred, and our nation, from this man. And being willed by the people of that countrie, who vnderstood hir speech, to hold hir peace, as also did thrust hir out of the companie; she cried the more, trusting and alluding to a certeine blind prophesie of Merlin, which was; that The king of England the conqueror of Ireland, should be wounded in Ireland by a man with a red hand, and in his returning homewards through Southwales should die vpon Lechlanar. This Lechlanar was the name of a certeine great stone which laye ouer a brooke, which stetheth or runneth on the north side of the churchyard, and was a bridge ouer the same: and by reason of the often and continuall going of the people ouer it, it was verie smooth and slipperie. In length it was of ten foot, in breadth six foot, and in thicknesse one foot. And this was Lechlanar, in the Camber or Welsh tongue, is to saie, The speaking stone. For it was an old blind saying among the people in that countrie, that on a time there was a dead corps caried ouer that stone to be buried, and the said stone spake, and forthwith brake and claued asunder in the middle, and which cliff so remaineth vnto this daie. And thereupon the people of that countrie, of a verie baline and barbarous superstition, haue not since, nor yet will carie anie more dead bodies ouer the same.

The king being come to this stone, and hearing of this prophesie, paused and staid a little while; and then vpon a sudden, verie hastily he went ouer it: which done, he looked backe vpon the stone, and spake somewhat sharpelie, saying: Who is he that will beleue that lieng Merlin anie more? A man of that place standing thereby, and seeing what had happened, he to excuse Merlin, said with a loud voice; Thou art

A prophesie  
of Merlin.

A speaking  
stone.



art not be that shall conquer Ireland, neither doth Merlin meane it of this. The king then went into the cathedrall church which was dedicated to saint Andrew and to saint David: and hauing made his prayers, and heard diuine service, he went to supper, and rode after to Wauertford west to bed, which is about twelue miles from thence.

(1.) The towiter hereof (of vertie purpose) in the yere 1575, went to the foresaid place to see the said stone, but there was no such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie, is now an archiepis house, vnder which steeple the broke aforesaid, which broke doth not distaunce the churchyard from the church; but the churchyard is a church from the bishops and prebendaries houses, which houses in times past were verie faire and good hospitallie kept therein. But as the most part of houses are fallen downe, and altogether ruinous, so the hospitallie is also verie much decayed. And for the veritie of the foresaid stone, there is no certaintie affirmed, but a report is remaining amongst the common people of such a stone to haue bene there in times past.

The submission of king Henrie to the pope, and his reconciliation, as also the agreement betweene him and the French king.

Chap. 39.

The king then toke his iourne from Wauertford homewards along by the sea side, euen the same waie as before he came thither; and forthwith in all hast he taketh shipping, and sailed into Normandie: and immediately vnderstanding where the popes legats were, he repaired vnto them, and presented himselfe in most humble manner before them. Where before thome after sundrie altercations passed to and fro betwene them, he purged himselfe by his oth, that he was guiltlesse of the death of the archbishop Thomas: neuertheless he was contented to do the penance intolned him. For although he did not kill, nor yet know, nor consent to the murthring of him, yet he denied not but that the same was done for his (1.) sake. The ambassadors & legats hauing thus ended with the king, with much honour returned backe, and homewards to Rome. And then the king trauelled and went to the marches of France, there to talke and haue conference with Lewis the French king, betwene whome then was discord and debate. But after sundrie speeches past betwene them, at length by the meanes and intercession of sundrie good men, and especiallie of Philip earle of Flanders (who was but then returned from Compostella, where he had bene in pilgrimage vnto saint James) the same was ended; and the displeasure which he had conceiued about and for the death of the archbishop of Canturburie was clerelie released. And by these means, the great malice and secret conspiracies of his sonnes and their confederats was for this time suppressed and quaked, and so continued until the yere following.

(1.) They which do write and intreat of the life and death of this archbishop, do affirme that the king after the death of this man, did send his ambassadors to pope Alexander at Rome, to purge himselfe of this fact. And notwithstanding that he toke a corporall oth, that he neither did it nor caused it to be done, nor yet gaue anie consent, or was prouide thereof, nor yet was guiltie in anie respect, sauing that he confessed he did not so well fauour the bishop as he had done in times past: yet could not his ambassadors be admit-

ted to the presence and sight of the pope, until he had yielded himselfe to his arbitrement and iudgement: which was that he should do certeine penance, as also to performe certeine iniunctions which were as followeth. That the king at his proper costs and charges should keepe and susteine two hundred souldiers for one whole yere, to defend the holie land against the Turke. That he should permit, and that it should be lawfull to all his subiects as often as them listeth to appeale to the see of Rome. That none should be accounted themselves to be lawfull king of England, until such time as he were confirmed by the Roman bishop. That he should restore to the church of Canturburie all such goods and possessions as were taken and detained from the same since the death of the archbishop. That he should suffer all such people as were fled or banished out of the realme for his sake, to returne home without delay or let, and to inioyn and haue againe all such goods and lands that sooner they had before. Other things this Romish antichrist did demand, and which the king was compelled to grant vnto before he could be released: whereby it doth appeare how much they do varie from the calling of Christs apostles; and how that (contrarie to the rule of the gospel) their onelie endeavour was to make and haue princes and kingdoms subiect to their becke and tyrannie.

The vision which appeared vnto the king at his being at Cardiffe.

30

Chap. 40.

At before we do proceed anie further, it were not amisse to declare what happened and befell vnto the king in his returning through Wales, after his coming from Ireland. In his iourne he came to the towne of Cardiffe on the saturday in the Easter weeke, and lodged there all that night. On the morrow being sunday, and commonlie called little Easter daie or Low sunday, he went somewhat earlie to the chapel of saint Werlan, and there heard diuine service, but he staid there in his secret prayers behind all his compaignes, somewhat longer than he was wont to do: at length he came out, and leaping to his horse, there stood before him one hauing before him a stake, or a post pitched in the ground. He was of colour somewhat yelowish, his head rounded and a leane face, of stature somewhat high, and aged about fortie yeres; his apparell was white, being close & downe to the ground, he was girded about the middle, and bare footed. This man spake to the king in Dutch, saying: God saue thee O king, and then said thus vnto him: Christ and his mother Marie, John baptist, and Peter the apostle do salute thee: and do stridlie charge and commaund thee, that thou do forbid, that henceforth throughout all thy kingdome and dominions, there be no faires nor markets kept in anie place vpon the sundaies: and that vpon those daies no maner or person do anie bodilie worke, but onelie to serue God, sauing such as be appointed to drese the meat. If thou wilt thus do, all that thou shalt take in hand shall prosper, and thy selfe shalt haue a happie life. The king then spake in French to the gentleman, who held his horse by the bridle, and whose name was Philip Bertros, a man borne in those parts, and who told me this tale: Aske him whether he dreame or not. Which when he had so done, the man looking vpon the king said: Whether I dreame or not, marke well and remember what date this is: for if thou do not this, and speedilie amend thy wicked life, thou shalt before the yere come about heare such euill news of those things which thou

D. J.

louest

Josephie  
Merlin.

reaching  
c.

lourst best, and thou shalt be so much inquieted therewith, that thou shalt not find anie ease or end untill thy dying daie. With this word the king put spur to the horse and rode awaie towards the towne gate, which was at hand; but thinking upon the words, he reigned his horse and said; Call me yonder fellow againe. Whereupon the foresaid gentleman as also one William, which two were onelie then attending upon him, first called and then sought him in the chappell, and finding him not there, sought him throughout the court, the towne, and in all the Innes, but could not find him. The king being verie sad and forie that he had not thoughtlie talked with the man, went abroad himselfe to seeke him, but finding him not, called for his horses and rode from thence by Kempinbidge to Melborne. And as this man had before threatned and said, it so came to passe before the yeare was ended: for his eldest sonne Hericte, and his two yonger sonnes Richard earle of Aquitaine, and Geoffrey erle of Britaine, in the Lent following forsooke and shooke from him, and went to helpe the French king. Whereof grew and ensued unto him such vexation and inquietnesse, as he had neuer the like before, and which by one means and other neuer left him untill his dying daie. And suerlie it was thought the same by Gods iust iudgement so befell unto him: for as he had bene and was a disobedient sonne to his spirituall father, so his carnall sonnes should be disobedient and rebellious against their carnall father. Spante such forewarnings the king had by Gods mercie and goodnesse sent unto him before his death, to the end he should repent and be converted, and not be condemned: which would to God that euerie prince and other man did not forwardlie and obstinatie condemne, but rather with an humble and a penitent heart they would (as they ought to do) receiue and embrace the same! And therefore I haue and mind to write more at large in my booke, concerning the instruction and institution of a christian prince.

### The treason and killing of Ororike prince of Meth.

Chap. 41.

**I**n the meane time Ireland was in good rest and peace, vnder such as vnto whom the charge thereof was committed. And now on a time it happened, that the one eled Ororike of Meth, being at Dublin, complained unto Hugh de Lacie of certeine injuries done vnto him, prating redress: whereupon the date and a place of (1) parlie was betwene them appointed for the same. The night next before the date of this parlie, a yong gentleman named Griffith, the nephue of Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, being the sonne to their eldest brother named William, dreamed in his sleepe that he saw a great heard of wild hogs to rush and run vpon Hugh de Lacie and his vncle Maurice; and that one of them being more horrible and greater than the rest, had with his tusks rent and killed them: if he had not with all his force and strength rescued them, and killed the boie. On the morrow according to appointment, they came to the place appointed for the parlie, which was a certeine hill called Morikes hill: but before they came to the verie hill it selfe, they sent messengers the one to the other, requiring assurance and safetie: and hauing sworne on each part to keepe faith and truth, they came to the place appointed and there met, but yet a small companie on either side. For it was agreed vpon on both parties, & by coue-

nant excepted, that on each part they should bring but a few and the like number, and they to be all armed; the swords on one side and the spars on the other side, and for all the residue of the people and companie to stand aloofe and a farre off. But Griffith, who came to the said parlie with his vncle Maurice, was verie pensife and much troubled, concerning the vision which he saw in his sleepe; and doubting of the worst, made choise of seven of the best gentlemen of his kindred, whom he knew to be valiant, and in whom he had a speciall trust and confidence. These he draweth to the one side of the hill, but as nere to the place of parlie as he could, where euerie of them hauing his sword, spar and shield, leapt and mounted vpon their horses, and ranging the fields they made sundrie cariers and lustie tournaments, vnder the pretence and colour of pleasantnes and pastime; but in verie deed to be in a readinesse if they should so require.

Hugh de Lacie and Maurice this meane while were talking and discoursing of manie things, but concluded not of anie thing; neither did Maurice meane anie such thing. For hauing a traitorous mind, and watching his time when he might best pounce out his venem, fained himselfe to go out and abroad to make water, and vnder that colour beckened vnto his men, with whom he had concluded and agreed before, that with all hast they should come awaie vnto him; and they forthwith in all hast so did, and he also then with a pale, grim, and murtherous countenance, hauing his ar or spar vpon his shoulder, returned backe againe. Maurice Fitzgerald, which was before warned by his cousine Griffith and aduertised of his dreame, gaue good eie and watched the matter verie narrowly; and therefore all the parlie time, he had his sword readie drawn about him; and espieng the traitor to be fullie bent and about to strike Hugh de Lacie, he cried out vnto him, willing him to looke vnto himselfe, and to be at defense with himselfe; wherewith the traitor most violentlie strake vnto him, thinking verelie to haue murdered and dispatched him. But the interpreter of the parlie stepping in betwene, saued Hugh de Lacie; but he himselfe was wounded to death, and his arme cleane cut off.

Then Maurice Fitzgerald with a loud voice cried out to his companie, who with all hast came awaie; and then began a hot and a sharpe bickering of the English swords against the Irish spars. In which skirmishing Hugh de Lacie was twise felled to the ground, and had suerlie bene killed, if Maurice had not ballantlie rescued him. Likewise the Irishmen who were manie in number, they hauing espied the becking of the traitor, they came running in all hast out of the ballies with their weapons, thinking verelie to haue made a cleane dispatch and a full end of Hugh de Lacie and of Maurice Fitzgerald. But Griffith and his companions, still watching for that which indeed did happen, were at the first call of Maurice in a readinesse, and being on horsebacke they came awaie with all speed: which thing when the traitor saw, he gan to distrust, and thought to thift himselfe awaie and so to escape. But as he was leaping to his horse, Griffith was come, and with his staffe or lance strake doونه and ran through both horse and man: who being thus stricken doونه and killed, as also three other of his men, who brought him his horse and were in this bickering, they cut off his head from the bodie, and sent it ouer into England to the king. The residue of the Irishmen fled forthwith and ranne awaie, but being hardlie pursued even to the verie woods, there was a great discomfiture and laughter made of them. Kase the sonne of Fitzstephans, being a lustie and a ballant yong

Griffiths  
dreame.

young gentleman; did well acquite himselfe, and deserved great commendation for his good service.

(1) The manner of the Irish was ever, and yet is, that when so ever there is any controuersie amongst them, they will oftentimes appoint places where to meet and assemble themselves for conference; which commonlie is upon some hill distant and farre from any house, and this assemble is called among them a parlie or a parlement. And albeit the pretense hereof is of some quietnesse and redresse: yet experience teacheth that there is not a worse thing to be used among them. For lightlie and most commonlie there are most treacheries and treasons, most murders and robberies, and all wickednesse imagined, deuised, and afterwards put in practise among them: and for the most part there is no parlie among them, whereof insueth not some mischefe.

(2) This hill lieth in the prouince of Menth, about twentie miles from Dublin, and is now called the Taragh: some thinke this to be the middle part or nauill of that prouince; it is a verie pleasant and a fertile soile, and also for the most part champion.

### Sundrie examples concerning visions.

Chap. 42.

Prognosticall  
dreames.

As so much as there be sundrie opinions and iudgments concerning visions, it shall not be much amisse, or impertinent to our matter, to recite a few examples, & true reports of the same. Valerius Maximus in his first booke and seauenth chapter writeth, that two men of Arcadia, journeying together in companie through a towne named Megara, when they came thither, the one of them lodged himselfe with his friends, but the other at a common Inne. He who late in his friends house being in bed and asleep, dreamed that his companion came vnto him, and requested him to helpe him, because his host did oppresse him; wherewith he awoke, but verie shortly he fell asleep againe, and dreamed that his said companion came againe vnto him being verie fore wounded, and prayed him that although he would not at the first time come and helpe him, yet that he would now reuenge his death, declaring that his host had taken his head and corpes, and put it into a cart to be caried to the dunghill, and there to be buried. This man being awaked, and much troubled with this dreame, arose and sought for his fellow, and finding his dreame to be true, caused the host to be taken and apprehended, who for that his fact was executed and put to death. Aterius Rufus a gentleman of Rome likewise, being on a time at Siracusa, he dreamed that he was killed by a maister of fense, which came so to passe: for on the morrow after he was present at the plaie or game of swordplayes or maisters of defense, whereas a (1) netcaster was brought in to fight with a swordplaye. Whereupon Aterius uttering his dreame to him that sat next by him, would haue gone and departed awaie; but being perswaded to the contrary, did staie to his owne destruction. For the netcaster hauing ouerthrowne the swordplaye, and thinking to haue pearced him through with his sword, missed him and strake Aterius, who sat in place next there vnto, and so was he slaine. Also Simonides the poet, being on a time set on land vpon the sea shore, he saw there a dead man lieng vnburied. The night following he dreamed that the said dead man did aduise and

admonish him, that he should not take ship the daie following: but his felowes minding not to lose any time, and the weather seeming then to be faire, they went all aboard, and hoisted vp their sailes; which Simonides refused to do, and tarried at land. It was not long after but that the weather waxed to be fowle, and the seas to be high, and in the end both the ship and men to be all lost: but Simonides crediting his dreame, was saved. Moreover Calphurnia, the wife vnto Iulius Cesar, the night before his husband was slaine, dreamed that she saw him greatly wounded to lie in his lap: wherewith she being afraid did awake, and told Iulius his dreame, requesting him that he would forebeare to repaire to the senate house that daie: but he giuing small credit to a womans dreame, followed his mind, and was slaine by the senators. But to leaue these examples fetched from out of other nations, let vs come nere home to our selues. A brother of mine named Walter Barrie, a lustie young gentleman, making himselfe ready on a time to serue in a certeine hosting against his enimie; the night before he should take his iourne, he dreamed that my mother who was dead on long before, did come vnto him, and aduise & warne him, that if he loued his life he should in any wise refraine and forebeare that iourne. She in deed was not his naturall mother, but his mother in law, and yet loued him in his life time as intirely as his owne child. When he had told this his dreame to his father and mine, for indeed we were both brothers by one father, though we had not one mother: he also gaue him the like aduise and counsell, but he of his presumptuous mind, not regarding the same, followed his owne mind, and the same daie was killed by his enimie.

(2) As dreames sometimes are good forewarnings to men to eschew evils which are towards, yet they are not alwaies to be so received, as prognostications infallible. For sometimes the same fall out to the contrarie, as both appeere by Augustus the emperor; who hauing warres against Brutus and Cassius, and he by reason of his sicknesse carried in a litter, his physician Arterius dreamed that the goddesse Spinerna did appeare vnto him, willing him to aduise and counsell the emperor, that he should not by reason of his sicknesse come into the field, nor be present in the battell, which he did. But the emperor notwithstanding entered into the field, being carried in his litter, and toke marvellous great pains. And albeit Brutus taking the emperors tents, seemed to haue the victorie; yet was he for all that vanquished, and the emperor had the conquest. Likewise in west Wales, of late yeares, it happened a certeine rich man dwelling on the north side of a certeine mountaine, he dreamed three nights together, that there was a chaine of gold hidden in the head stone, which couered and late vpon a certeine well or founteine, named saint Bernaces well, and that he should go and fetch it. This man at length, somewhat beleuing the dreame, and minding to trie the same, went to the place, and did put his hand into the hole or place: but his hand was no sooner in, but that it was bitten, stung, and enuened with an adder. Wherefore a man may see hereby what credit is to be giuen to dreames, and I for my part do so credit of them as I do of rumors. But concerning such visions as God doth send by his angels to his prophets and holie men, we must otherwise thinke of them; because the effect of them is most vndoubted, certeine, and assured.

(1) The Romans had diuerse games, plaies, and exercises amongst themselves, and had for the same certeine amphitheatres and theaters made of purple.

pose, where in the people might sit to view and behold the same. Of these plaies or games some were of cruell brasts the one fighting with the other, some of men fighting with beasts, and some of men fighting the one with the other, and these plaies were called *Ludi gladiatorij*, games of sword plaieng or fighting: for as in combates in England, so they being unharnessed, did fight with their swords or weapons in the open sight of the people, endeavouring ech one to kill the other, which were spectacles of crueltie to harden the peoples hearts against killing in the warres. Of these some were called *Mimillones*, which were such as challenged the fight; some were called *Gladiatores*, and these were such as we do name masters of defenses, because they used onelie or chaelie the sword; and some were called *Retiarij*, and these besides their weapons did use a certeine kind of net, which in fighting they were wont to take and intrap their enemies, and such a one was this man, who fighting with a challenger, did by chance misse him and kill Aterius.

(2) In the old and first ages, men were much given to dreames and visions: and oftentimes great forewarnings and prognostications were given thereby, as doth appeare in the holic scriptures, as also in prophane histories. For Joseph the son of Jacob, king Pharaos, king Nabuchodonozor, Pardonchus, Daniell, Judas Machabens, Hercules, Pyrrhus, Cicero, Cassius, Parmensis, & manie others dreamed dreames, and the same came to passe. But yet these being but particular examples, and which it pleased God for some secret cause to use: they are not to be dwtone for presidents and examples to be daillie or in these daies used; but rather we must have a respect and a regard to Gods speciall commandment, who by the mouth of his prophets hath utterlie forbidden vs to listen to anie dreamer, or to giue credit vnto his words. Thou shalt not (saith he) hearken to the words of a dreamer of dreames, for dreames haue deceiued manie a man, and they haue failed them who haue put their trust in them: for this, they are full of deceits and guiles, and inuented either for the maintenance of superstition and error, or for the increasung of some filthie luere and gain. Whaozinas therefore inueighing against the Chaldeans, who were a people which were wont to relie much vpon dreames, willesh and aduise that no dreamer or interpreter of dreames should be sought or dealt withall. For (saith he) if they tell thee of anie good thing, and in the end do deceiue thee, thou shalt be in miserie to hope in baine for the same. If they tell thee of some misfortune, and yet dwlie, yet shalt thou be in miserie, because thou shalt be still in feare least it may happen. And likewise if they shew thee of euill haps, and the same do so follow, thou shalt be in miserie and vniquieted, that thy fortune and destinie is so euill. But if they tell thee of good things, and it be long yer the same do happen, thou shalt be much vniquieted to loke so long for it; and alwaies in feare least thine expectation shall be frustrated: wherefore in no wise do thou seke anie such persons, nor giue anie credit vnto them.

### The description of Maurice

*Fitzgerald.*

Chap. 43.

**T**his Maurice was a man of much nobilitie and worthip, but somewhat shamefast and yet verie well coloured, and of a good countenance, of stature he was indifferent,

being semelie and well compact at all points, in bodie and mind he was of a like composition, being not too great in the one, nor proud in the other; of nature he was verie courteous and gentle, and desired rather so to be in deed, than to be thought or reputed so to be: he kept such a measure and a moderation in all his doings, that in his daies he was a patterne of all sobrietie and good behauiour; a man of few words, and his sentences more full of wit and reason than of words and speeches; he had more stomach than talke, more reason than speech, and more wisdome than eloquence. And when so euer anie matter was to be debated, as he would take good leasure, and be aduised before he would speake: so when he spake he did it verie wiselie and prudentlie. In martiall affaires also he was verie bold, stout, and valiant, and yet not hasty to run headlong in anie aduenture. And as he would be well aduised before he gaue the attempt and aduenture, so when the same was once taken in hand, he would stoutlie pursue and follow the same. He was sober, modest, and chaste, constant, trustie, and faithfull: a man not altogether without fault, and yet not spotted with anie notorious crime and fault.

### The first dissention betweene the king and his sonnes.

Chap. 44.

**I**n the moneth of Aprill then next following, the yong king sonne to king Henrie the elder, being no longer able to conceale or suppress the wickednesse he had deuised against his father: he (I saie) and his two brethren the earls of Aquitaine and of Britaine suddenly stole awaie into France, vnto Leopes the French king his father in law: for he had married his daughter, that having his aid he might ouer-run his olone father, and shorten his old yeares. And for his farther helpe he had procured vnto him and on his side manie noble men both French and English, who openlie, but manie more, who secretlie did some with him to aid him. The elder king the father was verie much troubled and vniquieted for and about these and manie other sudden troubles, which on euerie side did grow vpon him; but yet he bare it out with a good face and countenance, dissembling that outwardlie which he conceived inwardlie. And to stand firme and assured, he got and procured by all the meanes he could all such aid and helpe as was to be gotten and had. He sent into Ireland for his garrison, which he had left there; and being at Rome he committed the charge and gouernment of all Ireland vnto the earle Richard; but joined Reimond in commission with him, because the earle without him would not do anie thing, nor take the charge vpon him. And then the king of his liberalitie gaue also vnto him the towne of Oxford with the castell of Ginkuilo.

### Of the victories of king Henrie the second.

Chap. 45.

**T**he king hauing indured more than twell yeares two whole yeares together aswell in England as in Aquitaine, in great troubles, much watchings, & painfull trauels, yet at length most valiantlie he preuailed against his enemies; & surely it was more of Gods goodness, than by mans power, and (as it is to be thought) for the reuenge of the disobedience & wrongs done by the sons against

against the father. But forsomuch as a mans owne household are commonlie the worst enemies; and of all enemies, the household & familiar enemy is most dangerous: there was no one thing, which more troubled and grieved the king, than the gentlemen of his private chamber, and in whose hands in a manner laie his life or death, would euerie night secretly and with treacherous minds run and resort to his sonnes, and in the morning when they should do him service, they were not to be found. And albeit these warres in the beginning were verie doubtfull, and the king himselfe in great despaire: yet his hard beginning had a good ending, and he in the end had the victorie to his great honor and glorie. And God, who at the first seemed to be angry with him, and in his anger to poure vpon him his wrath and indignation: yet now vpon his amendment and conversion, he was become mercifull vnto him, and well pleased. And at the castell of Sandwich, whereof Reinulfe Glandevill was then gouernour, who was a wise man, and alwaies most faithfull and trustie to the king, there was a generall peace proclaimed, and all England in rest and quietnesse.

In this warre the king had taken prisoners the king of Scots, the earles of Chester and of Leicester, besides so manie gentlemen and good seruants both English and French, that he had scarce anie prisons for so manie prisoners, nor so manie fetters for so manie captiues. But forsomuch as in baine doth a man triumph of the conquests vpon others, who cannot also triumph of the conquering of himselfe; and although the king had indured and abiden manie sorowes, great vniquietnesse, and much trouble; and at length hauing overcommed both them and his enemies, he might the sooner haue been weakened and aunged of them: yet setting apart those affections euen in the middle of his triumphs vpon others, he also triumphed ouer himselfe; vsing such kinds of courtesies & clemencies as before had not bene heard. For suppressing his malice and reuenging mind, he gaue honor to his aduersaries, & life to his enemies. And the warres thus after two yeares ended, and all the great sorowes overcommed, he granted peace to all men, and forgaued ech man his offense and trespasses. And in the end also his sonnes repenting their follies, came and submitted themselves, with all humblenesse yelding themselves to his will and pleasure.

### The description of king Henrie *the second.*

Chap. 46.

**T**here were not now amisse, but verie requisite that we should (for a perpetuall remembrance of the king) describe and set forth as well the nature and conditions of his inward man as of his outward; that men which shall be desirous hereafter to learne and read his most noble acts in chivalrie, may also as it were before their eyes conceiue his verie nature and liuelie portraiture: for he being so noble an ornament to this time and our historie; we might not well, neither doth this historie permit vs to omit and passe him ouer in silence. Wherein we are to craue pardon that we may plainelie declare and tell the truth: for in all histories the perfect and full truth is to be alwaies opened, and without it the same wanteth both authoritie and credit: for art must follow nature. And the painter therefore, whose profession and art is to make his portraiture as liuelie as may be, if he swarue from the same, then both he and his worke lacke and want their commendation. And albeit no man be

borne without his fault, yet is he most to be borne withall who is least spotted: & him must we account and thinke to be wise, who knowledgeth the same: for whie, in all woollie matters there is no certaintie; and vnder heauen is no perfect felicitie, but euill things are mixt with good things, and vices ioined with vertues. And therefore, as things spoken in commendation either of a mans good disposition, or of his woorthie doings, do delight and like well the hearer: euen so let him not be offended, if things not to be well liked be also recited and written. And yet the philosophers are of the opinion, that we ought to reuerence to the higher powers in all manner of offices and duties, as that we should not pronounce nor moue them with anie sharpe speeches or disordered languages. For (as Terence saith) faire words and soothing speeches breed friendship, but plaine telling of truth makes enemies. Wherefore it is a dangerous thing to speake euill against him, though the occasion be neuer so iust, as who can forthwith avenge the same. And it is a matter more dangerous, and he aduentureth himselfe verie far, which will contend in manie words against him, who in one or two words can weake the same. It were suerlie a verie happie thing, and that which I confesse passeth my reach, if a man intreating of princes causes might tell the truth in euerie thing, and yet not offend them in anie thing. But to the purpose.

Henrie the second, king of England, was of a be-  
rie good colour, but somewhat red: his head great and round, his eyes were fierie, red, and grim, and his face verie high coloured; his voice or speech was shaking, quivering, or trembling; his necke thort, his breast broad and big, strong armed, his bodie was grosse, and his bellie somewhat big, which came vnto him rather by nature than by anie grosse feeding or surfeiting. For his diet was very temperat, and to save the truth, thought to be more spare than comelie, or for the state of a prince: and yet to abate his grossenesse, and to remedie this fault of nature, he did as it were punish his bodie with continuall exercise, and did as it were keepe a continuall warre with himselfe. For in the times of his warres, which were for the most part continuall to him, he had little or no rest at all; and in time of peace he would not grant vnto himselfe anie peace at all, nor take anie rest: for then did he giue himselfe wholly vnto hunting, and to followe the same he would verie erlie euerie morning be on horsebacke, and then into the woods, sometimes into the forests, and sometimes into the hilles and fields, and so would he spend the whole daie vntill night. In the euening when he came home, he would neuer or verie seldome sit either before or after supper: for though he were neuer so wearie, yet still would he be walking and going. And forsomuch as it is verie profitable for euerie man in his life time, that he do not take too much of anie one thing; for the medicine it selfe which is appointed for a mans helpe & remedie, is not absolutelie perfect and good to be alwaies vsed: euen so it befell and happened to this prince; for partlie by his excessive trauels, and partlie by diuerse bruises in his bodie, his legs and feet were swollen and sore. And though he had no disease at all, yet age it selfe was a breaking sufficient vnto him. He was of a reasonable stature, which happened to none of his sons; for his two eldest sons were somewhat higher, & his two yonger sons were somewhat lower and lesse than was he. If he were in a good mood, and not angry, then would he be verie pleasant and eloquent: he was also (which was a thing verie rare in those daies) verie well learned: he was also verie affable, gentle, and courteous; and besides so pitifull, that when he had overcommed his enemy, yet would he be overcome with pittie towards him.



In warres he was most valiant, and in peace he was as proud and circumspect. And in the wars mistrusting and doubting of the end and event thereof, he would (as Terence writeth) trie all the waies and meanes he could deuise rather than wage the battell. If he lost anie of his men in the fight, he would maruellouslie lament his death, and seeme to pitie him more being dead than he did regard or account of him being aliue, more bewailing the dead than fauouring the liuing. In times of distresse no man more courteous, and when all things were safe no man more hard or cruell. Against the stubborne & vnrallie no man more sharpe, nor yet to the humble no man more gentle; hard toward his owne men and household, but liberall to strangers, bountifull abroad, but sparing at home: whom he once hated, he would neuer or verie hardlie loue; and whom he once loved, he would not lightlie be out with him, or forsake him: he had great pleasure and delight in halloking and hunting. Would God he had bene as well bent and disposed vnto god deuotion!

It was said that after the displeasure growne betwene the king and his sonnes, by the meanes and thorough the intising of the queene their mother, he neuer accounted to keepe his word and promise, but without anie regard or care was a common breaker thereof. And true it is, that of a certaine naturall disposition he was light and inconstant of his word: and if the matter were brought to a narrow street or pinch, he would not sticke rather to couer his word, than to denie his deed. And for this cause he in all his doings was verie proud and circumspect, and a verie byright and a seuerer minister of iustice, although he did therein graue and make his friends to smart. His answers for the most part were peruerse and froward. Justice which is God himselfe is free and without rewards to be ministered. And albeit for profit and lucre all things are set to sale, and do bring great gaines as well to the clergie as to the laitie: yet they are no better to a mans heires or executors, than were the riches of (2) Gehai the seruant to Elzeus, whose greedie takings turned himselfe to utter ruine and destruction.

He was a great peacemaker, and a carefull keeper thereof himselfe: a liberall almes giuer, and a speciall benefactor to the holie land, he loued humilitie, abhorred pride, and much oppressed his nobilitie. The hungry he refreshed, but the rich he regarded not. The humble he would exalt, but the mightie he did daine. He vsurped much vpon the holie church, and of a certaine kind of zeale, but not according to knowledge: he did intermingle and conioine the prophane with holie things; for why, he would be all in all himselfe. He was the child of the holie church, and by hir advanced to the scepter of his kingdome, and yet he either dissembled or vtterlie forgot the same: for he was slacke alwaies in comming to the church vnto the diuine seruice, and at the time thereof he would be busied and occupied rather in counsels and in conference about the affaires of his common wealth, than in deuotion and praier. The huielhoods belonging to anie spirituall promotion, he would in time of vacation consecrate to his owne treasure, and assume that to himselfe which was due vnto Christ. When anie new troubles or wars did grow or come vpon him, then would he lath & pounce all that euer he had in store or treasure; and liberallie bestow that vpon a roisser or a soldier, which ought to haue bene giuen vnto the priest. He had a verie prudent & forecasting wit, and thereby foreseeing what things might or were like to issue, he would accordingly order & dispose either for the performance, or for the preventing thereof: notwithstanding manie times the e-

uent happened to the contrarie, and he disappointed of his expectation: and commonlie there happened no ill vnto him, but he would forgettel therof to his friends and familiars.

He was a maruellous naturall father to his children, and loued them tenderlie in their childhood and yong yeares: but they being growne to some age and ripenesse, he was as a father in law, and could scarcelye brooke anie of them. And notwithstanding they were verie handsome, comelie, and noble gentlemen: yet whether it were that he would not haue them prosper too fast, or whether they had euill deserued of him, he hated them; & it was full much against his will, that they should be his successors, or heires to anie part of his inheritance. And such is the prosperitie of man, that as it can not be perpetuall, no more can it be perfect and assured: for why, such was the secret malice of fortune against this king, that where he should haue receiued much comfort, there had he most sorrow: where quietnesse & safetie, there vniquietnesse and perill: where peace, there enmitie: where courtesie, there ingratitude: where rest, there trouble. And whether this happened by the meanes of the (3) marriages, or for the punishment of the fathers sinnes: certaine it is, there was no god agreement, neither betwene the father & the sonnes, nor yet among the sonnes themselves.

But at length, when all his enemies and the disturbers of the common peace were suppressed: and his brethren, his sonnes, and all others his aduersaries as well at home as abroad were reconciled: then all things happened and befell vnto him (though it were long first) after and according to his owne will and mind. And would to God he had likewise reconciled himselfe vnto God, and by amendement of his life had in the end also procured his fauour and mercie! Besides this, which I had almost forgotten, he was of such a (4) memorie, that if he had once seene and knowne a man, he would not forget him: neither yet whatsoeuer he had heard, would he be vnmindfull thereof. And hereof was it, that he had so readie a memorie of histories which he had read, as a knowledge and a manner of an experience in all things. To conclude, if he had bene chosen of God, and bene obsequious and carefull to liue in his feare and after his laws, he had excelled all the princes of the world: for in the gifts of nature no one man was to be compared vnto him. Thus much brieflie, and yet not much besides the matter, I haue thought good to deuise, that hauing in few words made my entrie; or ther writers maie haue the better occasion more at large to discourse and intreat of this so worthy an historie. And therefore leauing the same to others, let vs returne to our Ireland, from whence we digressed.

(1) The words are *oculis glaucis*: which some do English to be greie eyes, like the colour of the skie, with specks in it: but some do English it a bright red, as is the colour of a lions eye, which is commonlie a signe or an argument of a man which will be some warmed & angrie: & so it is to be taken in this place: for the words, which follow, be: *Ad iram torrens*, which is to saie, grim looking eyes disposed to anger: which eyes were answerable to the complexion and disposition of this king.

(2) This historie is written in the fift chapter of the second booke of the kings, & in effect is this. When the prophet Eliza or Elzeus had healed Naaman the Syrian of his leprosie, he would haue rewarded the prophet, & haue giuen great and rich gifts: but he refused the same and would none thereof, wherefore Naaman departed auaie. But Gehai the seruant of the prophet, being touched with a greedie and a covetous

uous mind, and angrie that his master had refused such rich presents, secretly he ran after the Syriani; and overtaking him, did aske of him in his masters name a talent of silver, & certein garments: which he receiued doubled, and returned therewith. But he was no sooner come home, but that his countenance was rewarded, and he plagued with the leprosie of Naaman, which cloue vnto him as white as the snow.

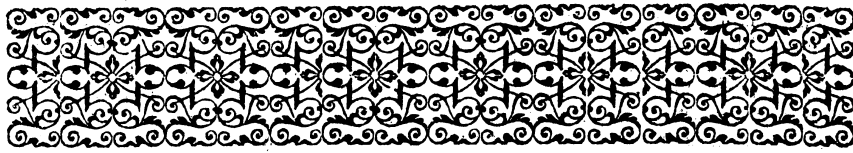
(3) The king married Cleonor the daughter and heire to the erle of Poitiers (who before was married to Letwes the eight and king of France, but diuorced from him for neerenesse of blood) and after that he had continued with hir sundrie yeares, and receiued by hir six sonnes and three daughters, he fell in loue with a yong wench named Kosamund, and then wearied of his wife. And the to be appeased, did not onelie in continuance of time find the means to find out this Kosamund, who was kept secret in a house builded like a labyrinth of purpose for hir safe keeping at Woodstocke, where when the queen had found hir, Kosamund liued not long after: but also for a further reuenge, she by means of hir sonnes who were noble & vallant gentlemen, caused warres to be stirred and raised against the king to his great inquietnesse: and this is one of the marriages of which this autho: meaneth. The other was of his son named Henrie, whome he did not onelie make and crowne king in his life time, but also for a confirmation of a peace to be had betwene him and Letwes the eight then French king, he married his said sonne to the ladie Margaret daughter to the said French king. By reason whereof his said sonne being once come to yeeres of age, and thinking it too long per he could haue the sole gouernment, as also being by the queene his mother intised, and taking hir part, he fled to the French king his father in law: and by his aid, as also of sundrie other noble men both English and French, who joined with him, made warres vpon his said father: which bred vnto him no little trouble and inquietnesse.

(4) There is not a moze commendable & moze ne-

cessarie vertue in a king, than is the gift of a quick and good memorie: for by it knowledge doth increase and experience is perfected. And therefore saith Cicero, that memorie is the treasure of all good things, and most necessarie to the life of man: wherein the moze the gouernor excelleth, the moze prouident is his gouernment. For why, as Plutarch writeth, the remembrance of things past are speciall presidents and examples of things to come. Diuers and sundrie men haue bene famous, and much commended for their excellencie in this vertue. Pythidates king of Pontus in Asia had vnder his domination two and thertie nations, and he was of such singular memorie, that he did not onelie vnderstand their seuerall languages, but also spake them perfectly: and in iudgements would heare each man to speake in his owne language, and answer them in the same. Cyrus king of Persia, the sonne of Cambyses, so excelled in memorie, that hauing an exceeding great multitude of men in his host, he would call euerie man by his proper name and surname. Cincas an ambassador from king Pyrrhus to the Romanes, was not in Rome aboue one whole date, before he could salute euerie of the senators, and euerie noble man of Rome by his particular name. Likewise Iulius Cesar and Adrianus the emperors of Rome were of such excellent memories, that euerie of them at one instant could both read and write, as also speake and heare. The like also is said of the famous and most excellent learned man Erasmus Roterodamus, who hauing alwaies for the most part sundrie and diuers clearks writing at one time and instant, of sundrie matters, would walke by and doونه among them, and indite to euerie one what he should write. And this thing is so necessarie in all princes, that in the old ages they were neuer wont to haue about them such men as were of a speciall memorie; to put them in mind of all such things as to them should be meet and requisite, and these were called Nomenclatores. Whether this king had any such attending vpon him or not, it is certein that he him selfe was of an excellent good memorie.

Thus far the first booke of the Conquest of Ireland.





# SYLVESTER GIRAL-

## dus Cambrensis, his second

### booke of the vaticinall historie of

### the Conquest of Ireland.

The Proheme of the author.



*W*E haue thus farre continued our historie, in as perfect and full order as we could, hauing omitted nothing worthie the memorie, as farre as the matter seemed to require: but being occupied and busied with the generall and necessarie causes in religion, although we had not sufficient leasure and time to follow and prosecute this our enterprise and matter begun, yet did not we thinke it meet to giue the same ouer, and to leaue it halfe vndoone. We haue therefore, and yet doo continue the historie but breefelie, not in anie high or eloquent stile; but in a common phrase and plaine speeches, giuing rather thereby an occasion to our posteritie for them to set foorth this historie, than to doo it our selues. For indeed our leasure is verie small, and such as it is, it is turned to troubles and vquietnesse, our loue and zeale into hatred, our ioy into sorrow, and our rest to molestations.

For now flourish not the honest exercises of studies, but the busie policies of warres: now the good studies of the mind are contemned, and the lusts of the bodie imbraced: now we haue no leasure to serue the Muses, but to be hammering with weapons: quiet minds are not now at leasure, but glistering weapons and armors are in euerie mans hands. Wherefore let not the reader looke now at our hands for anie good order, eloquence, or pleasantnesse in this our writing: for place must be giuen of necessitie vnto time. And as the same is now verie troublesome, so can the same bring foorth but troublesome matters. In these troubled times, and wanting conuenient leasure and quietnesse, I haue trauelled with the more paines to absolue and end this my worke: not after the maner of a student, but as a traeller; whose nature and condition is, that when he dooth set foorth on his iournie verie slacklie and slowlie, then dooth he make the more hast, and trauell the more speedilie. How soeuer it shall please God to deale with vs in the seruices now in hand, I haue as diligentlie as I can compiled this my historie as also my topographie, leauing the same as a monument of our will, to remaine to our countrie and posteritie for euer.





# THE SECOND BOOKE

## of the Conquest of Ireland.

The earle is sent backe againe into Ireland, and is made generall of the land, and Reimond is ioined in commission with him.

### Chap. i.



**R**ichard, being now returned into Ireland, the people there being aduertised of the great troubles which were beyond the seas, they being a people constant onlie in inconstancie, firme in wauering and faithfull in truthes; these (I say) 20 and all the princes of that land, the earle at his coming found to be revolted and to become rebels. For the recouerie and suppressing of whom, the earle then wholie bestirred himselfe; and at length having spent and consumed all his treasure, which he had brought ouer with him, his soldiors who were vnder the guiding of Herueie being then constable, lacked their wages and were unpaid: and by reason of the emulation betwene Herueie and Reimond, the seruice and exploits to be done against the Irishie was 30 verie slacke and slender; and by that meanes they wanted such pteies and spoiles of neat and cattell as they were wont to haue for their vittels. The souldiors in this distresse, wanting both monie for their wages and vittels for their food, assembled themselves and went vnto the earle, vnto whom with one voice they exclaimed and said; that vnlesse he would make and appoint Reimond to be their capteine againe, they would without all doubt forsake him, and would either returne home againe, or 40 (that which is worse) would go and serue vnder the enimies.

In this distresse was Reimond appointed the capteine, & forthwith having mustered his souldiers, he made a rode or iourneis into Dphalia vpon the rebels there, where he tooke great pteies, and were well recovered as well in horse as in armor. From thence they marched to Lismore, where when they had spoiled both the towne and countrie, they returned with great booties, taking the wate vnto Waterford by the sea side: and being come to the sea shores, where they found thirteene botes latelie come from Waterford, as also others of other places; all these they laden with their pteies, minding to haue passed by water vnto Waterford. But tarding there for a wind, the men of Corke, who had heard of their doings, and being but sixtene miles from them, do pre-

pare two and thirtie barks of their owne towne, and do well man and furnish them, being wholie determined to set vpon Reimond, and if they can to giue him the onerthrow; which they did: betwene whom was a cruell fight, the one part giuing a fierce onfet with stones and spaths, & the other defending themselves with bowes and weapons. In the end the men of Corke were overcome, and their capteine named Gilbert Mac Turger was there slaine by a lustie young gentleman named Philip Welsh. And then Adam Herford, who was the generall or admerall of that nauie, being well increased and laden with great pteies, sailed with great triumph to the citie of Waterford.

But Reimond himselfe was not present at this fight vpon the water, and yet hearing thereof, he came in all hast and marched towards them, taking his wate by the sea side, hauing in his companie twentie gentlemen, and threescore horsemen. And by the wate in his iourneie he met with Desmond Mac Artie prince of Desmond, who was coming with a great band of men to helpe and rescue the men of Corke where they fought together: but in the end Mac Artie had the worse side, and was overthrowne; and then Reimond hauing pteied and taken about foure thousand head of neat, he marched and came to Waterford. About this time also as they marched homewards, certeine Irishmen in those parties lieng skulking & lurking in the woods, when the pteies and cattell passed by, they issued out, took and carried awayne certeine of the cattell into the woods, whereupon the crie was vp, and came as farre as Waterford. Whereupon the souldiers and most part of the garrison issued out, among whom Spellerius was the best and most forward. For he being come to the woods, and hauing in his companie then onelie one souldier, put spur to the horse, and aduentured in the woods, following the Irishmen (by the abetting of the souldier who was with him) euen to the furthest & thickest part of the woods: where he was so farre entered, that he was in danger of the enimie: and the souldier being not able to retire was there taken, killed and helued in peeces. Spellerius then seeing himselfe to be inuironed round about with the enimies, and he in the like perill as the other was, because he alone against a thousand was neither able to rescue his man, nor helpe himselfe, but in danger to be taken as was the other, like a valiant gentleman draweth his sword, and with a lustie courage, euen in despite of their teeth maketh wate through them. And such as set vp on him he spared not, but cut off an arme of this man, a hand of that man, a head of one, and a shoulder of another, & he escaped throughout them without anie harme or hurt to his owne bodie, sauing that he brought two darts in his shield, and thre in his horse.

The

The ouerthrow giuen by the Irishmen against the souldiers which came from Dublin; and what the Ostomons were, of whom mention is made here and elsewhere.

## Chap. 2.

**W**hen these things were thus done, & the souldiers well refreshed by the bowties and prizes taken vpon the water and the land, Reimond being aduertised that his father William Fitzgerald was dead, he took shipping and passed ouer into Wales, there to take seisen, and to enter into the land descended vnto him. And in his absence Heruie was againe made lieutenant of the armie: who in the absence of Reimond, thinking to do some seruice and notable exploit, bringeth the earle vnto Calhill; and for their better strength and further helpe, sent his commandement vnto Dublin, that the souldiers there should come and meet them; who according came forth; and in the fourneie they passed thorough Dore, where on a certeine night they lodged themselves. Donald then prince of Limerike, a man verie wise in his nation, hauing vnderstanding by his priue espials of their coming, suddenly and vnwares herie earle in the moorning with a great force and companie scale vpon them, and slue of them foure gentlemen which were captains, and foure hundred Ostomen in this soe discomfort.

The earle as soone as he heard hereof, with great sorrow & heauinesse returned vnto Waterford. By means of this mishap, the Irishmen in euerie place took such a heart and comfort, that the whole nation with one consent and agreement rose vp against the Englishmen, and the earle as it were a man besieged, kept himselfe within the wals and citie of Waterford, and from thence he moued not. But Rothorike Deconor prince of Connagh, comming and passing ouer the riuer of Shenn, thinking now to recover all Aeth, innadeth the same with sword and fire, and spoileth, burneth, and destroyeth the same, & all the whole countrie euen to the hard walles of Dublin, leauing no castell standing or vnderstroied.

(1) These Ostomen were not Irishmen, but yet of long continuance in Ireland. Some saie they came first out of Powate, and were called Ostomen, that is to saie Gasterlings, or Gasterne men, because that countrie lieth East in respect of England and Ireland. Some thinke they were Saxons and Romans; but what soeuer they were, they were merchants and vsed the trade of merchandise, and in peaceable maner they came into Ireland; and there being landed they found such fauour with the Irishrie, that they licenced them to build haven townes wherein they might dwell & vse their traffike. These men builded the ancientest and most part of the citie and townes vpon or nere the sea side within that land; as namelie Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limerike, and others. And albeit they in proesse of time grew to be mightie and strong, and for their safetie did build townes and castels: yet they durst not to dwell among the Irish people, but still continued and kept themselves within their owne townes and forts, and thereof they are and were called since townesmen. And of them were these, being the inhabitants of Dublin, which came to meet the earle, and were thus slaine.

The returning of Reimond into Ireland, and how he married Basilia the sister vnto the earle.

## Chap. 3.

**T**he earle then seeing himselfe to be now in great distresse, and in a narrow strait, taketh aduise with his friends and counsellors that were best to be done. At length, as vnto his last refuge, he sendeth his letters to Reimond being yet in Wales, to this effect. As soone as you haue read these our letters, make all the hast you can to come awaie, and bring with you all the helpe and force that you can make: and then according to your owne will and desire, you shall assuredlie and immediatlie vpon your comming haue and marrie my sister Basilia. Reimond, as soone as he had read these letters, he was forthwith in hast to be gone, and thought it long yer he could be gone; not onlie in respect of the faire ladie, whom he had long loved, loved, and desired; but also that he might helpe and succour his lord and maister in this distresse and necessitie. Wherefore he maketh preparation accordingly, and by means of friendship and otherwise, he had gotten thirtie lustie yong gentlemen of his owne collins and kindred, and one hundred horsemen; as also three hundred footmen and botwomen of the best and chosen men in all Wales: all which were in a readinesse to go with him. And as soone as the shipping for them was readie, and the wind serving, he and his cousin Peilerius, with all the said companie took the seas, and shortly after arrined in twentie barks vnto (1) Waterford.

At the verie same time the townesmen of Waterford, being in a verie great rage and furie against the Englishmen there, were fullie minded and determined to haue killed them all where soeuer they could find them. But when they saw these barks comming in with their flags, hanging to their top masts, which to them were unknowne, they were astonished at their so sudden comming, and their denities were dashed. Reimond forthwith entered the towne with all his companie; and when all things were quieted and appeased, he & the earle went from thence vnto Waterford, with all their force and strength, leauing behind one (2) Purcell or Purcell his lieutenant at Waterford. But he verie hostilely minding to follow after the earle, took a boat, and as he passed ouer the riuer of the Shure, the maister of the boat and his companie which were townesmen of Waterford, saw this Purcell, and those few whom he had then attending vpon him. Which murder when they had thus done, they returned to the citie, and there without all pittie or mercie, spared neither man, nor woman, nor child; but slue as manie as they could find in the streets, houses, or anie other places. Howbeit the citie it selfe was safelie kept by such as were then in Reimonds towne, who drave the traitors out of the citie, as also in the end compelled them to yield and submit themselves, and to intreat for peace, which they hardlie obtained, both with an euill credit and harder conditions.

But Reimond still mindfull of the promise made vnto him, and he languishing untill the same were performed, would not depart from out of Waterford, untill messengers were sent to (3) Dublin to fetch and bring his louer Basilia to (4) Waterford to be married vnto him. Which being done, and he married, they spent all that daie and night in feastings & pastimes. And as they were in their most iollitie, newes was brought vnto them, how that Rothorike prince of Connagh had destroyed, wasted, & spoiled all Aeth, and was entered into the borders of Dublin. Whereupon



upon Keimond on the next morrow, setting apart and giuing ouer all wedding pastimes, mustreth all his souldiours, and without anie delaings marcheth towards the enimies. But Rothorike who had before tried his valiantnesse, and experimented his force, hearing of his comming, and not minding to trie or abide the same, retireth backe, and getteth him to his owne home and countrie. Then Keimond recouereth againe all those countries, and forthwith causeth all the forts and castels therin before pulled downe and defaced, to be now reedified and repaired, as also the castels of Trim, and of Dunlenses in apeth, or wth Hugh Lirrell was before the conestable, and for want of trespase and helpe compelled to leaue and forsake them. And thus by the means of Keimond, all things being recovered and restored to their former and pristine estate, the whole land for feare of him continued a good time in peace and rest.

(1) There is great varietie in such bookes and examples as I haue, and which I do follow in this point: some writing that Keimond did not land at Waterford, but at Wexford; and the tumult there being appeased, he went from thence vnto Waterford, and brought the earle vnto Wexford. Some write againe (as is aforesaid) that he landed at Waterford, and not at Wexford: but having saluted the earle, appeased the tumult, and set all things in order, he conducted the earle and the whole armie ouer land vnto Wexford. Although there be some variance in the exemplars, yet concerning the substance of the historie it is not materiall.

(2) There is also a varietie in the exemplars of this name; some write *Friscellus*, and some write *Priscellus*, and some *Priscellus*, or *Prucell*; it is like to be *Prucell*, for they of that name were seruitors in this conquest, and for their good seruice they were rewarded with lands and territories, and who are yet remaining about or nere the citie, and in the countie of Waterford.

(3) It is certaine that this Basilia abode at Dublin, but whether she were there married or at Wexford it is doubted. Some hold opinion, that Keimond after that he had met and also saluted the erle, they forthwith hearing the countries in Leinster, and especially about Dublin to be in an uprore, marched thither straitwaie without anie faile. And there Keimond as a lustie soldior in his armie married the ladie Basilia, and they issued with aduantage vpon the enimie. But the writer of best credit saith that the marriage was at Wexford.

### The secret practise of Herucie against Keimond.

#### Chap. 4.

**W**HEN Herucie seeing the honor and credit of Keimond daily to increase more & more, and he much grieved therewith, deuiseeth all the means he can how to stop and hinder the same: and forsomuch as he could not compass the same by anie open attempt, he practiseth it secretly, and by secret deuises. Wherefore he is now a suter to marrie the ladie Rosca, daughter to Maurice Fitzgerald, and consine germane to Keimond; that vnder the colour of this new amitie, alliance, and vnfained friendship he might take Keimond in a trip. Well, his secret deuises being to himselfe, and no such thing suspected nor mistrusted as he meant; he by his earnest sute obtaineth this gentlewoman, and marrieth hir. And Keimond also to make friendship on all sides to be the more firme, procured that Aline the earls daughter was married to William eldest

son of William Fitzgerald. And to Maurice Fitzgerald himselfe, who was latlie come out of Wales, there was giuen the halfe cantred of Dublin, which he had before of the kings gift, as also the castell of Guindoloke: and Apellertus because he was the better marcher had the other halfe cantred. But the cantred of land which was next towards Dublin, and which the king had once giuen vnto Fitzstephans, was now bestowed vpon the two Herfords.

### The obtaining of the priuilege

at Rome.

#### Chap. 5.

**I**N this meane time the king, though he were in great troubles, & much troubled with the wars, yet was he not vnmindfull of his realme of Ireland, as also of the orders made and deuised at the councell of Cashell, for the rebelle and reformation of the filthy and loose life of the Irishie. And thereupon sent his ambassadors vnto Rome to pope Alexander the third, of and from whom he obtained certeine priuileges, and vnder his authoritie; namely, that he should be lord ouer all the realme of Ireland; and by his power and authoritie they to be reduced and brought to the christian faith, after the maner and order of the church of England. This priuilege the king sent ouer into Ireland by one Nicholas Wallingford then prior, but afterwards abbat of Malmeburie, and William Fitzgerald. And then being at Waterford, they caused an assemble and a synod to be had of all the bishops and clergie within that land; and then in the open audience of them, the said grant and priuilege was openly read and published: as also one other priuilege before giuen and granted by pope Adrian an Englishman borne, at the sute of one John of Salisbury, who was made bishop of Karnocous at Rome. And by this man also he sent vnto the king for a token, and in signe of a possession thereof, one gold ring, which together with the priuilege was laid vp in the kings treasure at Winchester. The tenure of both which priuileges it shall not be amisse here to insert. And concerning the first, these are the words thereof.

Adrian the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his most deere sonne in Christ the noble king of England sendeth greeting, and the apostolike benediction. Your excellencie hath bene vertue carefull and studious how you might enlarge the church of God here in earth, and increase the number of his saints and elects in heauen: in that as a good catholike king, you haue and do by all meanes labor and trauell to enlarge and increase Gods church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting vp the weeds of sin and wickednesse: and wherein you haue and do craue for your better aid and furtherance the helpe of the apostolike see, wherein the more speedilie and discretlie you do proceed, the better successe we hope God will send. For all they which of a seruent zeale, and loue in religion, do begin and enterpryse anie such thing, shall no doubt in the end haue a good and prosperous successe. And as for Ireland and all other Islands where Christ is knowen, and the christian religion receiued, it is out of all doubt, and your excellencie well knoweth, they do all apperteine and belong to the right of saint Peter, and of the church of Rome. And we ate so much the more redie, desirous, & willing to sowe the acceptable seed of Gods word, because we know the same in the latter daie will be most seuerelie required at our hands. You haue (our welbeloued in Christ) aduertised and signified

Two priuileges sent from Rome to the king of England.

unto us, that you will enter into the land and realme of Ireland, to the end to bring them obedient unto law, and under your subiection, and to root out from among them their foule sins and wickednesse, as also to yelde and paie pœrelie out of euery house a yearelie pension of one penie unto saint Peter: and besides also will defend & keepe the rites of those churches whole and inviolate. We therefore well allowing and fauouring this your goodlie disposition & commendable affection, doe accept, ratifie, and assent unto this your petition: and doe grant that you for the dilatting of Gods church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of manners; planting of vertue, and the increasing of christian religion, you doe enter to possess that land, and there to execute according to your wisdom what soever shall be for the honoz of God, and the safetie of the realme. And further also we doe stricte charge and require that all the people of that land doe with all humblenesse, dutifulnesse, and honoz receiue and accept you as their liege lord and soveraigne, referring and excepting the right of the holie church, which we will be inviolably preserved; as also the pœrelie pension of the Peter pence out of euery house, which we require to be truly answered to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome. If therefore you doe mind to bring your goodlie purpose to effect, in due order to traueile to reforme the people to some better order and trade of life: and that also by your selfe, and by such others as you shall thinke meet, true, and honest, in their life, manners and conuersation, the church of God may be beautified, the true christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things to be done, that by anie meanes shall or may be to Gods honoz, and the saluation of mens soules: whereby you may in the end receiue at Gods hands the reward of an everlasting life, as also in the meane time, and in this life carrie a glorious fame, and an honorable report among all nations. The tenure and effect of the second priuilege is thus.

Peter pence.

The second priuilege.

Alexander the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his dærelie beloued son the noble king of Engl. and sendeth greeting, grace, and the apostolike benediction. For so much as things given and granted upon good reasons by our predecessors, are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed; we well considering and pondering the grant and priuilege, for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to be appertaining, and latelie given by Adrian our predecessor; we following his steps doe in like maner confirme, ratifie, and allow the same: referring and saving to saint Peter and to the church of Rome the pœrelie pension of one penie out of euery house as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland by your meanes be reformed and recovered from their filthy life and abhominable conuersation; that as in name so in manners and conuersation they may be christians: that as that rude and disordered church by you being reformed, the whole nation also may with the profession of the name be in acts and life followers of the same.

### The titles of the kings of England unto Ireland.

Chap. 6.

**E**t then the cruious & ignorant cease and giue over to quarrell, and auouch that the kings of England haue no right nor title to the realme of Ireland. But let them well vnderstand that by five manner of waies, that is to saie, by two ancient titles, and three latter they haue to auouch and defend the same, as in our to

pographie is declared. First it is euident and apparent by the histories of England, that Gurguntius the sonne of Belin king of Britaine, as he returned with great triumph from out of Denmarke, he met at the Isles of the Orkades a nauie (1) of a certaine nation of people, named Baldenes, now Balions, and those he sent into Ireland, appointing unto them certaine guides and leaders to conduct & direct them thither.

Likewise the same histories do plainlie witnesse, that king Arthur, the famous king of Britaine, had made of the Irish kings tributaries to him: & he on a time holding & keeping his court at Westchester, Ethomarus king or monarch of Ireland, with other the princes thereof, came & presented themselves before him. Also the Irishmen came out of (2) Balion, the chiefe citie in Wilsaie. And for so much as men, be they neuer so free, yet they may renounce their right and libertie, and bring themselves into subiection: so it is apparent that the princes of Ireland did so, and of their owne accord, submit & yelde themselves to king Henrie of England, & sware unto him faith and loialtie. And albeit such men of a kind of a naturall lightnesse and inconstancie, be not ashamed nor afraid to denie and renounce their faith: yet that can not so release and discharge them. Euery man is at his owne choise and libertie how to contract and bargain with anie one, but the same once made he can not feet nor swaue from it. And finally the holie pope, in whom is the effect of perfection, and who by a certaine prerogative and title requirith & claimeth all Islands, because by him and by him and by his meanes they were first reduced and recovered to the christian faith; he I saie hath ratified and confirmed this title.

(1) The historie is this, that Gurguntius the son of king Belin made a viage into Denmarke, there to appeale the people, who were then by in rebellion against him: and hauing preuailed and ouercome them, he in his returning home wards by the Isles of the Orkades; there met him a fleet or a nauie of thirtie or (as some saie) thre score sailles of men and women latelie come and exiled from out of that part of Spaine, called then Baldenus, whereof Balion was the chiefe citie, but now it is a part of the countrie of Gascoigne, whose capteine named (as some write) Bartholomeu, did present himselfe before Gurguntius, and discoursing vnto him the cause of their trauels, besought him to consider of their distresse, and to grant vnto them some dwelling place, and they would become his subiects. Which their request the king granted, and taking their oath of allegiance sent and caused them to be conducted into Ireland, where as his subiects they remained and continued.

(2) These people were named Iberi, & before that they came to seeke vnto Gurguntius for a land to dwell in, they dwelled in that part of Spaine, where of Balion is the metropole, which is now part of Wilsaie, and this countrie before and long after the time of Gurguntius, was still subiect to the kings of Britaine, now called England.

### The rebellion of Donald prince of Limerike, and of the taking of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 7.

**A**t the meane while, Donald O Bria prince of Limerike waxed verie insolent, and nothing regarding his former promise and oath made to the king, began & did with his owne hand to raise a rebellion against his fealties and seruice. Whereupon Remond

mustered his armie, gathered and picked out the best and lustiest men which he had. And having twentie and six gentlemen, three hundred horsemen, and three hundred bowmen and footmen in readinesse and well appointed, about the kalends of October marched towards Limerike to assaile the same. When they came thither, the river of the Schenin, which inuironeth and runneth round about the citie, they found the same to be so deepe and stikle, that they could not passe over the same. But the lustie young gentlemen who were greedy to haue the pzeie, but more desirous to haue the honoz, were in a great agonie and greafe, that they were thus abarred from approaching to assaile the citie. Whereupon one (1) Dauid Welsh so named of his familie and kindred, although otherwise a Chamber or a Welshman borne, and nephue vnto Reimond, who was a lustie and valiant young soldier, and a vertie tall man aboue all the rest, was verie hot and impatient, that they so long lingered the time about nothing. Whereupon hauing a greater regard to win fame and honoz, than fearing of anye perill or death, taking his horse and putting his spures to his sides aduentureth the water, which being verie stikle and full of stones and rocks was the more dangerous: but yet he so wisselie marked the course of the streame, and so aduised and guided his horse, that he passed the river, and safelie recovered the further side: and then he cried out aloud to his companie, that he had found a forde: but for all that there was neuer a one that would follow, saving one Gesteire.

But they both returning backe againe to conduct ouer the whole companie, the said Gesteire, his horse being caried awaie with the violence of the streame, they were both drowned. Which when Speilerius (who was also come thither) did see, he began to fret with himselfe, partly for that his couline & kinsman of so noble an enterpryse had so bad a successe: partly also disdainning that anye should atchue to honoz but himselfe. Whereupon being mounted vpon a lustie strong horse, setteth spurre to his side, and being neither dismayed with the stiklenesse and danger of the water, nor afrated with the mishap fallen to the gentleman, who was then drowned, more rashlie than wisselie aduentureth the river & recovereth the further side & banke. The citizens some of them watching and meeting him at the waters side, and some standing vpon the towne wals fast by the river side, minding and meaning to haue dyinen him backe againe, or to haue killed him in the place, hurled stones a god pace vnto him. But this noble and lustie gentleman, being thus sharpelie and hardlie beset in the middle of perils and dangers, his enemies on the one side hardlie assailing, and the river on the other side stopping and closing him vp from all rescue, standeth to his tackle, and as well as he could couering his head with his shield, defendeth and saueth himselfe from his enemies. Whildest they were thus bicketing there was great shooting and noise on both sides of the water. But Reimond being then the generall of the field, and in the reereward, knowing nothing hereof, as soone as he heard of it, came in all hast through the campe vnto the waters side. Where when he saw his nephue on the other side, to be in the middle of his enemies, and like to be utterlie cast awaie and destroyed vntlesse he had some speedie helpe and succour, was in a marvellous grieefe & agonie, & verie sharpelie crieth and calleth out to his men, as followeth.

(1) This Welsh was so called, the same being the name of his familie and kindred, and not of the countrie of Wales, wherein he was borne. He was a worthy gentleman, and of his race there are yet remaining manie good and worthy gentlemen, who

are chieftie abiding in the prouince and citie of Waterford: for there were they first planted.

The oration and speech of Reimond vnto his companie, and of the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.

#### Chap. 8.

**Y**e worthy men, of nature valiant, and whose prowesse we haue well tried, come ye awaie. The waie heretofore not knowne, and the river hitherto though not passable, by our aduentures a forde is now found therein: let vs therefore follow him that is gone before, and helpe him being now in distresse. Let vs not suffer, nor see to worthy a gentleman, thus for our common cause and honoz oppressed, to perish and be cast awaie before our eyes and in our sights for want of our helpe, and by meanes of our sluggishnesse. It is no time now to vse manie words, nor lesse sure serueth to make manie speeches. The shortnesse of the time, the present necessitie of this noble gentleman, & the state of our owne honoz bygeth expection, & requireth hast. And euen with these words he put spures to the horse, and aduentureth the river: after whome followed the whole companie, euerie one striving who might be foremost. And as God would they passed all safe ouer, saving two soldiers and one gentleman named Guido, who were drowned. They were no sooner come to land, but that their enemies all fled and ran awaie, whome they pursued, and in the chase slue a number of them, as also entered and toke the towne. And hauing thus gotten both the citie and the victorie, they recovered their small losse with great spoiles & riches, as also reaped great honoz and fame.

Now reader, which of these thou thinkest thou best valiant, and best worthy of honoz? Him who first aduentured the river, and taught the way? Or him who seeing the losse of his companion, the perill of the river, and the multitude of the enemies, did yet (not fearing death nor perill) aduenture himselfe in the middle of his enemies? Or him who lastlie setting all feare apart, did hazard himselfe and all his host to saue the friend, and to aduenture vpon the enemies? And this one thing by the waie is to be noted, that on a tuesday Limerike was first conquered, on a tuesday it was againe recovered, on a tuesday Waterford was taken, on a tuesday Waterford was gotten, and on a tuesday Dublin was towe. And these things came not thus to passe, as it were by a set match, but euen of a common course of fortune, or by Gods so appointment. And it is not altogether against reason, that martiall affaires should haue good successe vpon Mars his daie.

A note concerning tuesday the daie of Mars.

#### The description of Reimond.

##### Chap. 9.

**R**eimond was big bodied and brode set, of stature somewhat more than meane, his haire yellow and curled, his eyes big, greie, and round; his nose somewhat high; his countenance well coloured, pleasant, and merie. And although he were somewhat grosse bellied, yet by reason of a certeine liuelinesse which was in him, he couered that fault: and so that which seemed to be a blemish in his bodie, he couered with the vertue of his mind. He had such a speciall care of his men and soldiers, that he would be a spie ouer his watchmen, and in his trauell that waie he watched manie whole nights, ranging and walking abroad in the camps. And in this he was verie happie & fortunate, that he

C. i.

would neuer or verie seldome late violent hands vpon anie, of whom he had charge or were vnder his gouernement, although he had rashlie or vnadvisedlie ouerthrowne himselfe, & straled out of the waie.

He was verie wise, modest, and warie, being nothing delicate in his fare, nor curious of his apparell. He could atwaie with all weathers, both hot and cold; and indure anie paines: he was also verie patient, & could verie well rule his affections. He was more desirous to do good to such as he gouerned, than to be glorious of his gouernement: for he would shew himselfe more like to be a seruant than a master. Finally to conclude, he was a verie liberall, wise, gentle, and a circumspect man. And albeit he were a verie valiant capteine, and a noble soldior: yet in all martiall affaires, he passed and excelled in wisdom & prouidence. A man doubtles in both respects much to be praised and commended: hauing in him thatsoeuer appertained to a valiant soldior, but excelling in all things belonging to a good capteine.

### The description of Meilerius.

Chap. 10.

**M**eilerius was a man of a browne henn and complexion, his eyes blacke, his looke grim, and his countenance sowre & sharpe, and of a meane stature; his bodie for the bignesse verie strong, broad breasted, & he was small belied. His armes and other lims more sinewous than fleshie, a stout and a valiant gentleman he was and emulous. He neuer refused anie aduenture or enterprise which were either to be done by one alone, or by mo; he would be the first that would enter the field, and the last that would depart from the same. In all seruices he would either haue the garland or die in the place, and so vnpatient he was in all exploits, that he would either haue his purpose, or lie in the dust: and so ambitious and desirous he was to haue honor, that to attaine thereunto, there was no means nor mild thing but that he would suerlie haue the same either in death or in life: for if he could not haue it and liue, he would suerlie haue it by dieng. And verelie both he and Keimond haue been worthie of too much praise and commendation, if they had bene lesse ambitious of worldly honors, and more carefull of Christs church, and deuout in christian religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might haue bene preserved and kept safe and sound: and also in consideration of their so manie conquests and bloudie victories, and of the spilling of so much innocent blood, and murdering of so manie christian people, they had bene thankfull to God, and liberallie contributed some good portion for the furtherance of his church and religion. But what shall I saie? It is not so strange but much more to be lamented, that this vnthankfulness euen from our first comming into this land, untill these presents, this hath bene the generall and common fault of all our men.

### The commendation and praise of Robert Fitzstephans, and of his cousins.

Chap. 11.

**W**hat shall we speake or saie, how well Robert Fitzstephans and his sonnes haue deserued? What of Maurice Fitzgerald? What shall I saie of Robert of Barrie, a man verie honest and valiant, whose worthie commendations by the premisses are to be knowne? What shall be said of Miles of Cogan, the nephue vnto Fitzstephans and Maurice, who as he came ouer with the first, so in commendation and for his seruice deserueth to be the chiefe and first? What shall we

saie of Robert Fitzhenrie, & the brother vnto Miles, who if he had not so soone bene dead and cut, he would doubtlesse haue bene nothing behind his brother? What shall we speake of Keimond of Kintune & of Robert Barrie the yonger, they both were verie worthie, tall, handsome, and worthie men: What also shall be said of Keimond Fitzhugh, who although he were but of a little stature, yet for his honestie & prouidence not to be forgotten: These three lastlie spoken of for their valiantnesse and prouelle done in the parties of Desmond, deserue great honor and commendation, and great is the pittie that through too much hardinesse their daies were so shortened, and their time so cut off? What did also a number of our gentlemen of the same their kindred & cousenage deserue, whose noble acts were such, and deserued such a perpetuall fame and memorie, that if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred monthes, and so manie voices of yron; yet could I not vtter and at full declare their worthinesse and deserts. A kindred, O nation, which in double respects art noble! for of the Troians by a naturall disposition thou art valiant, of the french nation thou art most expert and skillfull of armes and chualtrie. O worthie nation and kindred! which of thy selfe art sufficient and able to haue conquered anie nation, if enuie and malice had not maligned at thy worthinesse. Well then Keimond had taken order for the keeping of the citie, and had well vittelled the same, he left therein a garrison of his owne men, fittie gentlemen, two hundred horsemen, and two hundred bowmen; ouer whom he appointed Miles of St. Davids his cosine to be lieutenant: and so as a noble conqueror he safely returned into the borders of Leinster. But for the nature of enuie, who neuer ceaseth to persecute vertue. For Herue of Spount Maurice, notwithstanding by meanes of the late affinitye he were thought to be a good frend, yet could he not forget his old malicious mind and wicked desires: for still he secretlie from time to time sent his messengers and letters to the king of England, and full vntreulie did aduertise the state, event, and successe of all things, affirming that Keimond contrarie to the kings honor and his owne allegiance, had determined to haue assumed and chalenged vnto himselfe not onelie the citie of Limerike, but also the whole land of Ireland. And to make his the more probable, and himselfe of more credit, he aduertiseth that Keimond had placed and appointed garrisons for the purpose; and had swozne the whole armie to obserue certeine articles by him prescribed, to the great prouidence of the king. Which his aduertisment being interlined with manie good words, the king so credited the same, that he beleued it to be most true: for as it is well seene, a little suspicion of an insurie done or offered to be done vnto a prince, doth more sticke in his mind, than manie benefits and good seruices before done. The king therefore after the winter following, sent ouer foure of his seruants in message to Ireland, namelie Robert Bolowe, Osbert of Hereford, William Bendegre, and Adam of Cernemie: of which, two of them to come awaie and to bring Keimond with them, and the other to tarry and remaine behind with the earle.

### The description of Herue.

Chap. 12.

**W**e haue of others, so let vs also now make and set forth the description of Herue. He was of stature a tall and a comelie man, his eyes graie and somewhat big, amiable of face and pleasant of countenance, an eloquent man, hauing a long and a round necke. his shoulders some.

some at low, his armes and hands something long, he was broad breasted, but small in waiste, though the same being big in others is thought to be commendable, his bellie was somewhat big and round, his thighs, legs, and feet being well proportionated and answerable to his bodie; of stature he was indifferent. But as in bodie he was well beset & compact, so on the contrary, his mind, life, and conversation were corrupt & disordered. For even from his childhood he was given to lecherie, being readie and forward to performe in wanton & filthy actions, whatsoever liked him or anie others, who were of the like disposition: and therefore he forbore neither incest nor adulteries, nor anie other such like filthinesse. Besides, he was a pious and an envious accuser, and a double man, uncerteine, baine, and altogether unconstant, sauing in inconstancie; a verie subtil man and a deceitfull: vnder his tong he had both milke and honie, but both of them were mixed with poison. He was sometimes in great prosperitie, and all things fell out according to his owne desire; and suddenlie fortune turning his wheele, he had such a fall, that he did neuer recover the same againe. He was sometimes a verie good soldier, and had good experience in the seats of wars, after the manner used in France; but he was so suddenlie altered & changed, that he became more skillfull in malice than valiant in prowesse, more full of deceit than renowned in honor, more puffed up in pride than endowed with worship, more hastie than happie, and more full of words than abounding in truth.

### The succouring of the garrison at Limerike.

Chap. 13.

Reimond hauing receiued the kings determination by the foresaid foure messengers, prepared all things in a readinesse for his passage ouer accordinglie, and nothing wanted thereunto but onelie a west wind. But before the same happened, messengers came from the garrison at Limerike, aduertising that Donold prince of Thomond had besieged the citie round about with a great armie, and that their vittells which they had in the towne, aswell that which they found at their coming thither, as also what so euer was else provided, were all spent and consumed; and therefore requested that they might with all speed be rescued and holpen. The earle, who was verie sorie & pained for these newes, and desiring all the waies he could to helpe them, caused a muster to be taken of all his souldiers; who were so greued for the going awaie and departure of Reimond, that they utterly denied and refused to go and to serue that waie, vnles Reimond were their capteine and lieutenant. Whereupon they tooke aduise with the kings messengers what were best to be done in this distresse. At length it was thought best, that Reimond should take the enterprize in hand; and he though verie loth, yet at the request of the earle and the foresaid gentlemen, yielded himselfe to that seruice, and marched forth toward Limerike, hauing with him foure score gentlemen of seruice, two hundred horsemen, & three hundred archers, besides a porch of kencile, and Donold of Ossie, and certeine other Irishmen, who serued and attended him. And as he was marching and coming toward Cashill, tidings was brought him that the prince of Thomond had raised his siege and was coming towards him to meet him, and was now come to the passe of Cashill: which passe although naturallie of it selfe it were verie strong, yet by means of new trenching, plashing of trees, and making of hedges, it was made so strong, that no

horsemen could either enter or passe through the same.

### The oration of Donold to his soldiers, the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 14.

Reimond being now almost come to the place where his enemies lay, diuided his host or armie into three parts or companies, and determined to giue the onset or adventure. Whereupon Donold prince of Ossie, who was a most tall enimie to the prince of Thomond, and now verie desirous that some good exploit should be done; and beholding the Englishmen now also set in god arate, for though they were but few in number in respect of the others, yet they were picked men, valiant and contragions: he also to encourage them, to shew themselves like valiant men, blessed and maketh these speeches vnto them. *Ye worthie, noble, and valiant conquerors of this land, you are this daie ballantlie to giue the onset vpon your enemies, which if you do after your old and accustomed manner, no doubt the victorie will be yours; for we with our spars, and you with your swords, will so sharplie them pursue, as they shall verie hardlie escape our hands, and auoid our force. But if it so fall out, which God forbid, that you be ouerthrowne and haue the worse side: be you assured that we will leaue you and turne to our enemies, and take part with them. Therefore be of good courages, and loke well to your selues, and consider that you are now far from anie fort or place of refuge, and therefore if you should be driuen to flee, the same will be long and dangerous to you: as for vs yet may not trust vnto vs, for we are determined to stick to them who shall haue the victorie, and will pursue and be on the backs of them who shall flee and run awaie; and therefore be no longer assured of vs than whilst we be conquerors. Pelletius who had the fore ward, hearing these words, being warmed with the same, suddenly like a hurling and a blustering wind entered into the passe, pulled downe the fastnesse, and brake downe the hedges, and so made waie, with no small slaughter of the enemies, whereby the passe was recovered and the enemies overcome. And they then marched without perill vnto Limerike, where they entered the third daie in the Easter weeke, being on tuesday. And as the first conquest of Limerike was vpon a tuesday, so was the second also, where for a time they staid, and restored all things by the enemies before spoiled, & set the same in good order. The enemies finding themselves to be too weake, and that it was better to bow than to breake, praied to haue a parlee and a communication with Reimond: & in the end the messengers of Rothorke king of Connagh, and of Donold of Thomond, did obtaine the same; and a parlee was appointed for them both, which was in one daie, but not in one place; for Rothorke of Connagh came by boates vpon the riuer of Sheen, as far as the great loch of Dirigid, & there staid. And Donold not far from thence kept himselfe and his companie in a certeine wood. But Reimond chose a place not far from Killaloe, which is about seauentene miles from Limerike, and in the middle betwene them both. The parlee betwene these continued a pretie while, but in the end both kings submitted & yielded themselves, gaue hostages, made fealtie, and were sworn to be true from thenceforth for euer, to the king of England and to his heires.*

These things thus done and concluded, Reimond returneth in great triumph and iolitie vnto Limerike. And by and by there came messengers vnto him from Dermot Mac Artie prince of Desmond, praiering and requesting him to aid and helpe him, being



being the king of Englands faithfull and letge man against his eldest sonne Cormon Melehan, who went about to dyne and expell him out of his land and dominion: & promised him good intertainment both for himselfe and for his souldiours for the same. Keimond nothing refusing the offer, and verie desirous of honoz, taketh aduise of his frends and companions; and by all their consents, the so:nele towards Cozke was liked. Whereupon Keimond displaeth his banner, and marcheth thitherwards, and taketh by the waie great pzeies and booties of neat, cattell, and other things: of the cattels he sent a good portion backe vnto Limerike for vittelling of that citie; & in the end he conquered the whole countrie, subdued the rebellious sonne, and restored Dermont the prince to his estate and right. And thus by reason of Keimond Mac Artie, he was restored and recovered, who otherwile had bene in vtter despaire, and out of all remedie. And now to recompense his son Rozmach, who before this, by waie of a peace and an intreatie, both vnjustlie & guilefullie had taken and imprisoned him, he to acquite guile with guile, and the like with the like, toke his sonne and cast him into prison, and not long after smote off his head.

### The death of the earle *Strangbow.*

Chap. 15.

**W**hen these things were thus aduoycing in Desimond, there came a messenger in all hast from Dublin, with letters to Keimond from his wife Basilia, the effect whereof the messenger knew not. These letters Keimond forthwith deliuered to a familiar friend of his to read them vnto him secretlie, and apart from all others, the tenure of them was as followeth. To Keimond his most louing lord and husband, his owne Basilia witheth health as to his selfe. Know ye my dære lord that my great chæketoth, which was wont to ake so much, is now fallen out; wherefore if ye haue anie care or regard of me, or of your selfe, come awaie with all speed. Keimond hauing considered of this letter, did by the falling of the tooth fullie coniecture the death of the earle, for he late verie sick at Dublin before his comming awaie from thence. But he being thus deceased, which was about the kalends of June, they at Dublin did what they could to keepe the same secret, for feare and in doubt of the Irishmen, vntill that Keimond were come with his band of souldiers vnto them. Keimond himselfe forthwith returned vnto Limerike: and notwithstanding he were verie sorrie and much grieved with this newes, yet dissembling the same, and bearing it out with a good countenance, would not noz did vtter or disclose it to anie bodie, sauing to a few wise and discret men of his familiars and trustie counsellors. And then vpon good aduise and deliberation had among them, it was concluded and agreed vpon, that forsomuch as the earle was dead, and that Keimond also was to depart awaie ouer into England; that the citie of Limerike which was so farre remoted and in the middle of manie enemies, should for the time be left, and the garrison to be conducted and brought from thence into Leinster, for the defense and safe keeping of the towne and forts vpon the sea coasts. Where Keimond full much against his will yelded to this their aduise and counsell, being much grieved that hauing taken paines to recover the citie of Limerike, he was now neither able to keepe it himselfe, noz yet had any to leaue behind him, who would take charge vpon him. But at length he sent for Donald prince

of Thomond, being the kings baron & swozne subiect, and vnto him he committed the custodie and charge of the citie: who forthwith pretending all truth and fidelitie was contented therewith; and did not onelie put in hostages, but also toke a corporall oth, and was solemnlie swozne for the safe keeping and the restitution of the same at the kings will and pleasure, as also in the meane time to keepe the peace.

Then Keimond and all his companie departed and went awaie: but they had not so long passed ouer the one end of the brydge, but that the other end was forthwith broken downe, euen at their heeles; and the citie which was well walled, defended and vittelled, was set on fire in foure sundrie parts, which they saw and beheld with no small grieue of mind. The false traitor then openlie shewing and teaching what credit was to be giuen themselves to the Irish nation, who so wickedlie, impudentlie, and perfidiously did periture themselves. The king of England not long after, being aduertised hereof, is said to haue thus said: Noble was the enterprize in the giuing of the first aduenture vpon the citie, but greater was the rescuing and recovering thereof againe; but it was onelie wisdom, when they left and forsooke it. Keimond then returned vnto Dublin with his whole garrison in safetie, and then the erle, whose corps by his commandement was reserved vntill Keimonds comming, was buried in the church of the Trinitie at Dublin, before the rood there, by the appointment of Laurence the archbishop, who did erecte all the funerall seruises and obsequies.

### The comming of William Fitzaldelme *and others ouer into Ireland.*

Chap. 16.

**T**hese things thus doone, the kings messengers vpon these new changes and chances were to take new aduises, and hauing thoroughlie debated the state of the countrie, and the necessitie of the time, they thought it best and did conclude that Keimond should tarie behind, and keepe the countrie in good state and order; but they themselves to returne backe to the king. Who accordingly prepared themselves, and at the next westwlie wind then following, they toke shipping and passed ouer into England; and being landed, did in post and with all the hast they could, make their repaire vnto the king; vnto whom they declared the death of the earle, & all other things concerning the state of that land. The king then vpon aduise and deliberation had in this matter, sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, with twentie gentlemen of his household, to be his lieutenant, & ioined John de Courcie in commission with him, who had attending vpon him ten men. Likewise Robert Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan, who had noble serued him in his wars two yeres, were also sent with them, hauing twentie men attending vpon them. These assone as they were arriued, and come to land, and Keimond hauing vnderstanding of the same, assemblith his companie and souldiours, which was a companie well besene, and marcheth towards Wexford, and there in the confines or marches of the same he met Fitzaldelme and the rest of his companie, whom he verie louinglie saluted and embraced: and forthwith according to the kings pleasure, he yelded and deliuered vp vnto Fitzaldelme, then the kings lieutenant, all the citie and towne, as also all such hostages as he had within that land.

Fitzaldelme when he saw and beheld so solie and iustie

The ladye  
Basilia let-  
ter to hir hus-  
band Kei-  
mond.

Keimond  
man beg  
vpon a co

lustie a companie about Keimond, and well marking also Spellerius, and others the nephews of Keimond, about the number of thirtie persons, mounted upon their horses, verie lustie and bjaue, and well besene in like armor, with their shields about their necks, and their staves in their hands; courting by & doome after their maner about the fields. He entred thereat, and turning backe to his men, said secretly unto them; I will shortly cut off this pride, and quash this bjauerie. Which in the end it partly came to passe, for both he and all the rest which followed him in that office, did as it were by a secret consprache, enuie and maligne at Keimond, Spellerius, Fitzmaurice, sonnes to Fitzstephans, and all other of their race and kindred. For this was alwaies the lucke and fortune of this kindred and familie.

In all seruices of warres they were then the foremost, and had in best price, and in all martiall affaires they were the best and most valiant men: but when there was no such seruice in hand; and no need of them, then were they contemned, and no account was made of them; but by a secret malice they were abused, relected and refused. And albeit great was their malice, yet was their nobilitie so honorable and great; that by no meanes, so what they could, was the same to be extirpated or rooted out. For euen at this date, such good success hath their noble beginnings had, that their offspring hath euer since (1) continued in that land; in much honor, force and power. And to saie the truth, who persued the force of the enemies in that land? Euen the Geraldines. Who did best keepe & prefer the land in safetie? The Geraldines. Who made the enemies to go backe & be afraid? The Geraldines. Who be they which for their good deserts are most maligned and enuied at? The Geraldines. Suerlie, if it had pleased the prince to haue considered of them, according to their deserts and worthinesse; no doubt the whole state of Ireland long yer this had bene quieted and established. But causelesse were they alwaies had in suspicion, & their worthinesse still had in gelousie: and they put in trust, as in whome was neither valiantnesse of seruice, nor assurednesse of trust. But yet ye worthy and noble men, who for to attaine to honor, haue not bene afraid of death; and for to obtaine fame and renowne, haue not esteemed your selues; be not dismayed, though ye be vn courteous considered, and without your deserts disdained and maligned at: but go ye onwards, and proceed in your wonted steps of vertue. And if my pen can go according to worthinesse, I shall be happe, and receiue the guerdon of vertue & immortall fame: for vertue cannot faile nor die, but either in this life or in the life to come, or in both, shall haue his iust reward and desert. And albeit your valiant seruice and worthinesse, either by the slackenes of the king, or by meanes of other mens secret and enuious practices, haue not bene hitherto considered nor rewarded: yet shall not I faile, with my pen to publish, and in my writings to remember the same. And therefore thinke not now, neither do you giue ouer to labor and trauell from daie to daie to grow and increase in honor, fame and renowne. For the memorie thereof (farre surpassing all the treasures in the world) for a time through malice maie be covered, but neuer suppressed nor extirped: but as fire long hid, shall in the end breake out into great flames, and for euer remaine in perpetuall memorie.

About this time was borne in Gwendelocke a monstrous man, begotten by a wicked man of that countrie upon a cow, a vice then too common in that wicked nation. It had the bodie of a man, but all

the extreame parts of an ore, for from the ankles of the legs and the wrists of the armes, he had the hooves of an ore, his head was all bald, sauing a few small & thin heares here and there: his eyes great, round and blacke, like an ore; nose he had none but onelie two holes, speake he could not but onelie belowed like a cow. This monster did daillie resort vnto the house of Maurice Fitzgerald, about dinner times, and such meate as was giuen him he would take in his hooves, and put to his mouth, and so feed himselfe; &c: but to returne to the matter. William Fitzaldelme, being now in high authoritie, and having the gouernement and charge of the land in his hands, marcheth along the sea coasts, and vieweth all the towne, forts and castles that waies: but for the inner countrie, the mounteines and hills upon the maine land, and bordering upon the Irishie, he neither cared nor passed for the same: but yet misliked not the wealth and riches thereof. For being a berie greedy and a couetous man, and especiallie hungry to haue gold and treasure, whereof was good store in that land, he greedilie scraped and scratched together whatsoeuer was to be gotten.

About this time, Maurice (1) Fitzgerald in the kalends of September died at Wexford, whose death was lamented, & his departure bewailed of all the countrie. For whie, he was a berie graue & a valiant man, & who for his constancie, truth, courtesie & loue left not his like behind. After his death, William Fitzaldelme sent for the sonnes of the said Maurice, and so dealt with them, that he neuer left them, vntill by one means or other he had crassilie gotten from them the castell of Guendoke. Whome after wards he gave them fernes in exchange: which albeit it were in the middle of their enemies, yet like lustie and couragious gentlemen, they builded there a strong castell, which they kept & inhabited maner all their enemies. Walter Almane, so called in name, and not for that he was ether in nature or stature an Almane, being nephew to William Fitzaldelme, was made seneschall of Wexford; who nothing degenerated from the maners & conditions of his uncle, but was one who was a corrupt man in all his actions & doings, being couetous, proud, malicious and enuious. And suerlie it is commonlie seene, that there is none lightlie worse, than when a beggerlike rascal from nothing, and from a base estate, is advanced to wealth, credit and estimation. For such a one alwaies doubting and mistrusting all things, suppresseth all things, & thinking all things to be lawfull for him to do, doeth all extremities at his will and pleasure. There cannot be (I saie) a worse beast, than when a cruell rascal and proud begger is raised to estate, and made a ruler over his betters.

This Walter entered into acquaintance with Mough prince of Kencile, and by him being corrupted with great bribes, did what he could to procure the utter destruction of Keimond, and all his foresaid collins and kinsmen. And to begin the execution of their practices, the foresaid William first toke awaye from Keimond all his lands about Dublin, and about Wexford. And whereas he receiued letters of commandement from the king, to restore vnto Fitzstephans a cantred of land which he had in Dphelan, he being well bribed, detracted and lingered the execution thereof: but yet in the end appointed and assigned vnto them other places which were further off and remoted; and the same the more perillous, because they were in the middle of the enemies.

(1) It is verie true, that these Geraldines euen since haue continued in this land of Ireland, and did daillie grow and increase to much honour: there being at this instant two houses aduanced to the

the titles of earledoms, and sundrie to the estates of barons. And so long as they continued in the steps of their ancestors, they were not so honourable as terrible to the Irish nation: but when they leaning English government, liked the loose life of that ravenous nation, then they brought in coine and liuerie, and a number of manie other Irish and diuelish impositions, which hath bene the ruine of their honour, the losse of their credit, & in the end will be the overthrow of all their houses and families.

(2) This Fitzgerald was buried, and yet lieth in a monasterie of Cister friers without the walles of the towne of Wexford, which house is now dissolved, and the monument of his burial almost destroyed: there wanting some good and worshipful man to restore the same againe. He deserved well of his prince and countrie: and therefore lamentable it is, that in so backward a countrie no one good man is to be found, that of so worshipful a knight will not restore so worshipful a monument.

### The description of William Fitzaldelme.

Chap. 17.

**T**his Fitzaldelme was a grosse and corpulent man, as well in stature as in proportion, but of a reasonable height; he was verie liberal and courtlike. And albeit he were of great courtesie, and would give to anie man much honour and reverence, yet was the same altogether with toiles and guiles: for vnder bonie he gave venem, and his sugred words were mingled with poison. And as a venemous serpent covered with greene leaues, he with an outward shew of courtesie covered his mindfull trecherie. For to the outward shew he was liberal and courteous, but inwardlie full of rancor and malice. In countenance pleasant, but in a sinking brest was hid a sinking vapor: outwardlie as meeke as a lambe, but within as wilde as a fox: carteng vnder sweete honie most bitter venem. His words as smooth as oile, and yet indeed they were deadly strokes: whome he honoured and reuerenced this daie, he would either spoile or destroy the next daie. A cruell enemy against the weake and feeble, and a flatterer vnto the rebell and mightie: gentle to the mild and savage, and courteous to the enemy; but extreme to the good subject, and cruell to the humble; and by that means he was not fearefull to the one, nor trustie to the other. A man full of flatterie, and yet altogether craftie and deceitfull. He was also much giuen vnto wine and to women. He was a greedy couetous man, and an ambitious flatterer, being altogether bent to the one and the other.

(1) This William was the sonne of Aldelme father to Burke erle of Kent (as some saie) and his son Richard was sent into Ireland, and there gentle advanced: and of him (being lord of Connagh) descended the burgeses called Clanricards, who were the best blood of the foresaid Richard, and these do yet remaine in Connagh, of whom is the earle of Clanricke now liuing.

### How John de Courcie inuadeth Visser.

Chap. 18.

**J**ohn Courcie, who (as is before said) was ioined in communion with William Fitzaldelme, when he saw the course and manner of his dealings, who as he was co-

uorous, and did nothing but for monie; so was he timorous, and did all things in craft and deceit: as also that the enemy feared him not, and the good subject loved him not. And considering also that the soldiers and garrison at Dublin, by means of their capteins couetousnesse were unpaid of their wages, and by reason of his sloth and sluggishnesse the vittells were scant, & none went & scouted anie more abroad as they were wont to get anie booties or prizes, he secretlie dealed with some of them, and by his wife conference, and wittie persuasions, allureth and lured into him even such as were the valiantest, honestest, and chosen men of them all: who were content and verie glad to accompanie and follow him. And having so gotten into his companie two and twentie gentlemen, and about three hundred others, he boldly entred and inuadeth into the province of Visser, a countrie which hitherto had not tried the force and strength of the English nation. And then was fulfilled the prophesie of Merlin Celodine (as is said, howbeit I will not so affirme it) A white knight sitting vpon a white horse, bearing birds in his shield, shall be the first which with force of armes shall enter and inuade Visser.

A prophesie of Merlin fulfilled.

This John Courcie was somewhat of a broome colour, but therewith somewhat whittish, and at that time he rode vpon a white horse, as also did beare in his shield three painted (1) birds. After that he had passed three daies iourneys through the countrie of Visser, he came the fourth daie (being the halendes of Februarie) to the citie of (2) Dohne, without anie resistance of the inhabitants thereof: he being an enemy and a guest vnlooked for. And (3) Odonell then the ruler of that countrie, being affrighted and amazed at their so sudden coming, fled awaie. The soldiers which before their coming from Dublin were halfe pined with famine, and hunger starved, hauing now recovered great booties and prizes of neat and cattels, were full and well refreshed.

At this verie present time, there was come thither out of Scotland a legat from Rome named Williamus, & he took great pains to intreat & make a peace betwene Odonell & John de Courcie, vntill all the persuasions that he could, affirming that if he would depart and go awaie, there should be a yearelie tribute paid to the king of England: but all his words auailed nothing. Odonell seeing that words could little auail, assembled all the forces of the countrie: and within eight daies hauing gotten about ten thousand soldiers, with force inuadeth, & with great courage cometh to enter & break in to the citie of Dohne. For in Ireland, as it is commonlie also in all other lands, they which inhabit in the north, are more warlike and cruell than anie others in other parts. John Courcie seeing the course and bent of the enemies, who not onelie vpon a hope and confidence of their great multitude against so few enemies; but also their valiant and courageous minds, who were fully determined to inuade the citie: thought it better with his small companie (which though they were but few in respect of their aduersaries, yet they were soldiers valiant, courageous, and of good seruice) to issue out and aduenture the fight with them, than to be pinned & shut vp in a beggarlie ward made with turfes in a corner of the citie, and there for want of vittells to be famished. Wherefore he issued out and ioined the battell with them, where the fight was hot, the blowes a farre off on the one side, and the darts on the other side: then lance against lance, and the bill against the spar, and the sword against the skine: who buckled so lustilie the one against the other, that manie a man fell that daie to the dust. And in this terrible fight and buckling, he that had seeme how valiantlie each man

A prop of Ceto fulfilled

shewed himselfe, and specially how John Courcie most valiantlie with the stroke of his sword mang-  
led manie a man, killing some, but wounded and manied manie, would and must needs haue com-  
mended him for a right worthy, noble, and right valiant warriour.

(1) The greiue these birds as this autho<sup>r</sup> saith, which by heralds are thus blasoned. Argent three griphs or getres gules crowned gold: this griph or getre is a kind of an eagle, but such as is ravenous, and far-  
deth more upon carrion than upon anye fowle of his owne preieng: & for his cowardnesse carleth neither the name nor praise appertaining to the true eagle.

(2) Downe is a towne lieng in the Aros, which is in Ulster, a profitable and a fertile soile: it is the see of the bishop of that diocese, who beareth his name of the said towne, being called the bishop of Downe.

(3) The Latine word is *Dunlennus*, which I doe find to be Englished *Dowell*, which is the name of a great familie or nation in the province of Ulster; but whether this Latine be trulie so interpreted, I refer it to the reader, or such as be expert in such Irish names.

### The commendation of Roger Power, and the victorie of John de Courcie, and of the propheties of Celodine.

Chap. 19.

**I**n this fight there was manie a worthy man, which valiantlie acquitted himselfe: but if it might be said without offense, there was no one man who did more valiant acts than (1) Roger le Power, who albeit he were but a young man and beardless, yet he shewed himselfe a lustie, valiant, & courageous gentleman: & who grew into such good credit, that afterwards he had the government of the countrie about Leighlin, as also in Downe. This fight was verie long & doubtfull, each partie manfullie defending themselves, and none yielding the one to the other. But as the common proverbe is, be the date neuer so long, yet at the length it ringeth at euensong: so likewise this fierce, long, and cruell fight had his end, and the victorie fell to John de Courcie, and a great multitude of the enemies were slaine in the field, as also upon the woars of the seas as they were fleeing and turning awate. When was fulfilled the old prophesie of Celodine the Irish prophet, who forespeaking of this battell said, that there should be such a great bloodshed therein of the Irish people, that the enemies perceiuing them should wade up to the knees in blood. Which thing came so to passe; for the Englishmen perceiuing them and killing them upon the woars, the same were so soft, that with the weight of their bodies they sunke downe up to the hard knees or knifels, and so the blood flowing and lieng upon the woars, they were said to be therein up to the knees.

The same man also (as is said) did write that a poore stranger, and one come out from other countries, should with a small power come to the citie of Downe, and against the will of the gouernour thereof should take the same. Manie other things also he wrote of sundrie battells to be waged, and of the euents thereof, which were all fulfilled in John de Courcie. This booke the said John had, and he esteemed the same, that still he had it about him, and in his hands; and did manie times, yea and for the most part direct his doings by the same. It was also written in the same booke, that a young man with force and armes should breake and enter in through the walls of Waterford, and conquer the same with

the great slaughter of the townsmen: moreover, that the same man should come to Waterford, & from thence to Dublin, where he should enter in without anye great resistance; & all these things (as is apparent) were fulfilled in earle Richard. Likewise he wrote in the same booke, that the citie of Limericke should be twice left and forsaken by the Englishmen: but the third time it should be kept, which thing came so to passe. For first (as is before written) Desmond had it and gaue it ouer: the second was, when the king had given the same to Philip de Buzle, for he being brought thither by Fitzthreghans, and Miles Cogan, to take and enter into the same, and being come to the riuer side of Shenin for the same purpose, was there utterlie discouraged to proceed anye farther, and so without anye thing done, leaueth the same as he found it, and came backe againe; as hereafter in his place it shall be shewed. And thus (according to this vaticine) twice it was left, but the third time it shall be kept.

But this is to be implied and meant of Hamon de Malognes the iusticiarie there appointed; in whose time the said citie being under his government, was by treacherie and treason destroyed, and so forsaken and left; but afterwards recovered by Speilerius: ever since which time it hath remained and bene kept in the possession of the Englishmen. Well then to the battells of John de Courcie, first he had the victorie in two notable battells or fights at Dublin; the one in Februarie, and the other in Iulie: in which he hauing but a small companie of men, fought against sixtene hundred of his enemies, of whom he slue and ouerthrew a great number, and had the victorie. The third was at Fierlie about the taking of a preie, where by reason of the strait & narrow passes, he was so much and euerie effronter ouerset by the enemies, and so had the worse; some of his men being killed, and some scattered and dispersed abroad in the woods and fields, so that he had scant eleuen persons left with him. And notwithstanding that he had thus lost his men and horses, yet was he of such a valiant mind and courage, that with those few which were left, he went through his enemies, and in spite of them all trauelled two daies and two nights on foot in their armour without meat or drinke thirtie long miles, vntill he was past danger, & so came safelie vnto his owne castell againe. The fourth battell was at Wriell, where manie of his men were killed and manie fled. The fifth was at the bidge of Pnor, after and upon his coming from out of England, and yet therein he had the victorie and conquest. So in three battells he had the victorie, but in two he receiued both the losse and hurt; and yet in the third more annoie the enemye, than was hurted himselfe.

(1) The race & issue of the Powers hath ever since and yet doth remaine in Ireland, who nothing degenerating from this their ancesto<sup>r</sup>, haue for their part shewed themselves valiant and men of good seruice, for which they haue bene honorable rewarded, and are now barons and peeres of the realme. Their habitation and dwelling is in the province or countie of Waterford, and not far from the citie of Waterford.

### The description of Iohn de Courcie.

Chap. 20.

**I**n this John de Courcie was white and pale of colour, but verie fierce and arrogant, he was sinowous and a verie strong made man, verie tall and mightie, and of a singular audacitie: and being from his verie youth bent

A prophesie  
of Merlin  
fulfilled.

A prophesie  
of Celodine  
fulfilled.

brant to the wars proved a verie valiant soldier; he would be the first in the field and foremost in the fight; and so ambitious and desirous he was of honor, that were the enterprise neuer so perillous, and the service neuer so dangerous, yet he would giue the aduenture. And albeit he were the generall or capteine, yet setting the prioritie thereof apart, he would be as a common soldier; and serue in the place of a privat seruitor; and manie times being more rash than wise, and more hasty than circumspect, he had the worst side and lost the victorie. And although in service he were thus forward, earnest, and vehement; yet in time of peace and rest he was verie sober, modest, and altogether giuen and disposed to serue God, and hauing the victorie of his enemies and good successe in his affaires, he would ascribe the honor vnto God, and be thankfull for the same. But as Tullius teacheth, nature neuer made any thing perfect and absolute in all points. And so it appeared in this man; for though his too much pinching and sparing, and by reason he was verie incertaine and inconstant; his vertues (otherwise great, and deseruing great praises and commendations) verie much imperished and blemished. He married the daughter of Gorted king of Maline. And after that he had waged manie battels, and fought sundrie times with his enemies, he at length had the maiestie and conquest over them: and then hauing brought the whole countrie to a good peace and rest, he builded sundrie and diuerse castles throughout Ulster, in such maner and convenient places as he thought best. And by the way this one thing me thinketh is verie strange, that these three notable & the chiefe posts of Ireland, namelie Berurie, Kilmord, and this John de Courcie, by Gods secret (but not vnto us iudgement) neuer had any lawfull issue. I might also say the like of Melcius, who as yet hath no lawfull issue by his wife. Thus much hauing breuie and by the waie spoken of the noble acts of John de Courcie, and leauing the same vnto others to be more at large set forth and described, we will now returne againe to Dublin.

The three chiefe posts of Ireland so thour illue lawfull.

The councell or synod kept at Dublin;  
of Viuian the popes legat, and of Miles Cogan  
issuing into Connagh.

Chap. 21.

**I**n this meane time, Viuianus the popes legat remained still in Ireland, and held a synod at Dublin of all the clergie, in which he openly confirmed and published the right which the king of England hath to the realme of Ireland, as also the popes ratification and confirmation of the same; commanding and charging euerie person, of what estate, degree, or condition: sooner he were, that vpon paine of excommunication he should not denie his loialtie, nor breake his allegiance vnto him. And moreover (1) so much as the manner and custome was among the Irishie, that whensoever any gods, come, or vittels, were put and kept in any church, no man would medle or deale to carrie the same a waie; yet neuertheless, he gaue licence and libertie to all Englishmen, that whensoever they went, or were to go in any housing, and could not elsewhere be provided of any vittels, that they might lawfullie take what they found in any church: so that they left with the church wardens, or such as had the charge thereof, the true and iust value of so much as they took a waie. These things thus done, Miles of Cogan, who was lieutenant of the bands of soldiers vnder William Fitzaldeline, as also constable of the citie of Dublin, he

with 40 gentlemen, whereof 20 were vnder the conduct of Ralph the son of Fitzstephans, as also his lieutenant, and they hauing with them 200 horsemen & 300 footmen, passed ouer the riuer of Sherin, & invaded Connagh, which hitherto no Englishman had aduentured. The Connagh men forthwith set on fire and burned all their towne, villages, and churches, as also all such corne as they had in their baggards, and in their caues, and could not carrie with them. Likewise they took downe the images and crucifixes, and hurled them abroad in the fields. Neuertheless, the Englishmen marched on wards, till they came to the towne of Diamond, where they staid eight daies together; and finding the countrie forsaken of the people, and barren of vittels, they returned backe againe ouer the Sherin: and by the waie they met with Rotho: the prince of Connagh, who late in a wood nere the Sherin watching for them, and he had three great troops and companies with him of the best fighting men of Connagh. Betwene them there was a long and a cruel fight, in which spiles lost but three of his owne companie, but manie of his enemies were slaine. Which done, he recovered ouer the riuer, & so came safetie to Dublin.

(1) This vsage and custome is yet at this present obserued, and euerie church in the countrie stuffed and filled with great chests full of corne, which the husbandmen doe for safetie keepe therein: and this lieth safe at all times, euen in the verie warres among the Irishes: howbeit the same is not so religiously kept and obserued in these daies as in times past.

How William Fitzaldeline is sent from  
home into England, and Hugh de Lacie put in his  
place: and how Miles Cogan and Robert Fitzstephans haue the kingdome of Corke  
giuen vnto them.

Chap. 22.

**W**illiam Fitzaldeline, who during his abode and being in this land, had done nothing worthie the commendation, sauing that he caused the flasse called Johns flasse to be fetched from Armagh, and brought to Dublin; he (I saie) and Miles Cogan, with Robert Fitzstephans were sent for by the king to come home. In whose tome the king sent ouer Hugh de Lacie, and made him his deputie ouer the whole land, joining in commission with him Robert Fitzstephans then seneschall of Ulster and Waterford. The king, after the returne of the aforesaid Fitzaldeline and others, thinking and considering with himselfe the good service of Miles Cogan, Robert Fitzstephans, and others; as also how necessarie it were, that such noble seruitors and valiant men were placed among the Irish people, wherby to keepe them in good order and dutifull obediens; he gaue to Robert Fitzstephans, and to Miles Cogan in fee for euer to be equallie diuided betwene them all south Bounster (1) that is to saie, the whole kingdome of Corke, from the west part of the riuer at Leismore vnto the seas, sauing and reseruing the citie of Corke, and one cantred of land there vnto adioining. Also he gaue vnto Philip de Brouse all the north Bounster, that is to saie, the kingdome of Limerike, sauing and excepting the citie of Limerike it selfe with one cantred ther vnto adioining, to haue vnto him and to his heires for euer in fee. These men thus rewarded, confederated themselves together to loine and helpe one another, and euerie of them maketh the best preparation that he can. Which being in readines they took shipping and arrived into Ireland in the moneth of Nouember, and landed at Waterford: from thence they came

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sted along vnto Cozke, where they were receiued with much honoz both by the citizens; and also by an English gentleman named Richard of London, who was deputie there vnder Fitzaldelme.

As soon as they had pacified and quieted Dermot (2) Mac Artie prince of Desmond, and the residue of the noble men and gentlemen in those parties, Fitzstephans and also Miles Cogan diuided betwene them the seauen cantreds, which were next to the towne: for these they kept and held in best peace and rest. Fitzstephans had the thre cantreds which laie in the east part, and Cogan had the foure which laie in the west, the one hauing the moze because they were the woysler, and the other had the fewter cantreds that were the better soile and ground. The citie it selfe remained in their ioint gouernement, and the residue of the cantreds being foure and twentie remained in common, and the profits thereof growing they equallie diuided betwene them. A cantred both in English and in Irish is so much land as containeth one hundred villages, as is in our topographie declared, which is commonlie called an hundred. These things thus done, they bying and conduct Philip de Buse vnto Limerike. Fitzstephans had with him twentie gentlemen and fortie horsemen, Miles Cogan had twentie gentlemen & fiftie horsemen, Philip de Buse had twentie gentlemen & thre score horsemen, besides a great number of bowmen & footmen, which they all had when they were come to Limerike, which was about fortie miles from Cozke, & onlie the riuier of Shenir was betwene them and the citie: the same at their coming was set on fire before their eyes by the citizens themselves. Peter the lesse, Stephens and Miles offered to adventure ouer the water, and to enter the towne; or if Philip thought it so good, they would there build a castell vpon the riuers side right ouer against the towne. But Philip albeit he were a valiant and a good man, yet considering with himselfe how dangerous the place was, being in the middle of the enemies, and farre remoted from all succors and helpe, without which he was not able with his small companie to defend and keepe the same, as also being partly perswaded by the counsell and aduise of his companie, thought it better to returne home in safetie, than to dwell in the middle of his enemies in continuall perill and danger. And it is not to be much marvelled that in this iourneie he had so euill successe: for whie he had gathered & reteined to him the notablest murderers, theues, & seditious persons that were in all Southwaies, and the marches of the same, and these were of best credit with him, and he most ruled by them.

About this time Amere duke Fitzstephans son, a lustie yong gentleman and a towardlie, died at Cozke in March, to the great sorrow and græfe of all his friends. Here about this time was found and seene a great tode at Waterford, wherof was made much wondering, as is in our topographie declared. Also within the space of thre yeares there was seene thre eclipses of the sun, howbeit these were not vniuersall, but particular eclipses seene onlie in the land. After that Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan had quiettie and peaceable gouerned and ruled the kingdom of Desmond five yeeres together, and by their prudence and modestie had restrained the haustie forwardnesse, and rash disposition of their yong men, Miles and Kase the sonne of Fitzstephans a lustie yong gentleman, and who had married Miles daughter, went toward Limerike, there to meet & to haue a patle with Waterford men: as they late in the fields waiting and looking for them, one Macature with whome they should and had appointed to haue lien at his house the next night following, suddenly

and bntwaies came stealing vpon them, and there traitorouslie sue them, and sue of their companie. By meanes wherof the whole countrie forthwith was in an vpoare, inso much that Dermot Mac Artie, and all the Irishie in those parties, as also the traitor Macature, were out: and denieng to be any longer the kings loiall subjects, made wars against Fitzstephans, who now once againe felt the course of fortunes disposition. And these so much annoied him, that he could neuer recouer himselfe againe, untill that his nephue Desmond, who succceeded him in the gouernement there, came and rescued him: yet that notwithstanding, he was neuer his owne man, neither could he be at a perfect peace and rest.

And by the waie this is to be noted and considered, that as the northerne men be togribe and valiant; so are the southerne men craftie and subtil, the one seeking honoz, the other deliting in craft & deceit; the one valiant, the other tollie; the one of great courage, the other set all on treason and falshood. But to the matter. When Desmond hard how fortune frowned vpon his vncle Fitzstephans, and what distresse he was in, being shut vp in the citie of Cozke, and his enemies assailing him round about, forthwith assembled his companie, and hauing in readinesse twentie gentlemen, and one hundred of footmen and bowmen, he taketh shipping at Waterford, and sailing along the coasts, maketh towards Cozke with all the hast he can, that he might relæue and comfort his friends, and be a terror vnto his enemies. And in the end hauing oftentimes encountered with the enemies, some he killed, some he drove out of the countrie, and some he compelled (which was the greater number) to submit themselves and to sue for peace: and thus in the end after great stormes and tempest followed a faire wether and a calime. Merie shortly after Richard of Cogan, brother vnto Miles, & nothing inferior vnto him in valiantnesse, or any other respect: came into Ireland with a iollie picked companie and chosen men, being sent to the king to supplie his brothers want. Also in the end of the same winter, and in the moneth of Februarie (3) Philip Barrie nephue to Fitzstephans, a verie honest and a wise gentleman, came ouer with a lustie companie of chosen men, as well for the aid of his vncle, as also for the recouerie of his land in Melehan, which was perforce taken awaie (4) from Fitzstephans, as also afterwards from Kase Fitzstephans sonne. In the same passage also came Gerald an other nephue of Fitzstephans, and brother vnto Philip Barrie, who with his good aduise and counsell did verie much pleasure and helpe both his vncle and brother: for he was learned and a great traveller, in searching to learne the site and nature of that land, as also the first origine of that nation, and whose name the title of the booke beareth. About this time Herrie of Pont Moris professed himselfe a monke in the monastrie of the Trinitie in Canturburie, and gaue to the same in franke and pure almes all his patronages and impropriations of all his churches, lieng by the sea coasts betwene Waterford & Waterford, and so became a monke, & liued a solitarie life in a religious habit: who as he changed his habit, so would God he had changed his mind! & as he hath laid awaie his secular weeds, had cast off his malicious disposition!

(1) The gift which the king gaue vnto these two gentlemen of this countrie is yet extant vnder his broad seale, and was given by the name of the king, dome of Cozke, being bounded from the riuier which skatteth by Limerike towards the citie of Limerike, vnto Knocke Brendon vpon the seas on the west, to be holden of the king, and of his heires by thre score knights fees. The citie it selfe without cantred of land

what a cantred is.

These eclipses of the sun in thre yeeres.

land was reserved to the king, saving that they two had the custodie thereof. This kingdome in course of time for want of helmes male of them, came to two daughters. The one of them was married to Carew and the other to Courcie, & they in the right of their wives inioied the same during their lives; and after them their helmes, untill such time as by a division growing amongst the Englishmen, the Irish expelled them, and recovered the countie unto themselves.

(2) These Mac Arties are yet remaining in the said prouince of Conke, and they be now dispersed into sundrie families, but the chiefeest of them is named Mac Artie Moe, and he in the time of king Henrie the eight was advanced to the honoz and degree of an earle, being called the earle Clan Artie, which in common speech by interposition of the letter C is pronounced Clancartie.

(3) In this point there is a varietie among the writers, some writing that Fitzstephans should take away the land from Philip Barrie, and give it to his son Rafe; and to recover this out of their hands, the said Philip came over with such power and force as he could make. Some write againe that the land after that it was given to Philip Barrie, he departing into England left it in the custodie and charge of Robert Fitzstephans, who when he liked not or could not keepe it any longer, delivered the custodie thereof to his sonne Rafe: who as his father so was he wearie to keepe the same. And for that cause Philip Barrie minding to inioie, and to make the best thereof, with such force and helpe as he had gotten, came over both to helpe his uncle, & also to fortifie & build holds & castels upon his said land, whereby he might be the better able to defend and keepe the same: and this seemeth to be the truth of the historie.

(4) This Philip of Barrie, having seized upon lands and possessions in Ireland, his posteritie have ever since continued in that land; and nothing degenerating from their first ancestoz, have from age and to age bene noble and valiant gentlemen, and who for their fidelitie and good services, were advanced to honour and made vicounts: and in that title of honoz do continue still. But would to God they were not so nuzled, rotted, and altogether seasoned in Irishie! the name and honoz being onelie English, all the rest for the most part Irish.

### How Hugh de Lacie builded castels, and fortified in Leinster and Mesh.

Chap. 23.

**W**hest these things were thus a dooing in Desmond, Hugh de Lacie a good and a wise man buildeth sundrie castels both in Leinster and Mesh, and fortifieth the same verie stronglie: and among others he builded one at (1) Leighlin upon the river of (2) Barrow besides Mfsozie, a place naturallie of it selfe verie strong, which place Robert Polye by the kings commandement had the charge of, untill he gaue the same over and fortooke it. What worthie champions and fit marchmen were this Polye & Fitzaloeine, to be sent to dwell and rule in a nation, which is destituted and wanteth noble and valiant men! But a man maie see the course of fortune, who when he is disposed to smile, how he advanceth and raiseth by men from base estate to high degrees: for why, these two had more pleasure in chambering and plaieng the wairtons with young girls, and to plae upon a harpe than to beare a shield or flasse, or to weare armour. And trulie it was to be marvelled, that so noble a prince could send such cowards to beare rule, and have any

horritie in places of service. But to the matter. Hugh de Lacie being a verie wise man, all his care was to bring all things to a peace and quietnesse: and therefore such as were oppressed or driven out of their lands and territories, he restored them, and with such courteous behaviour and gentle speeches he dealt with all men, that in a verie short time he drew unto him the hearts of the people, who desirous to dwell under his government, manured the grounds, which being then wast and untilled, was in short space full sowed and fraphted both with come and cattell. And then for the safetie of the people and defense of the countie, he builded towne and erected castels in euerie place, made ordres & established lawes for the government of the people. And by this it came to passe, that every man inioied the labours of his owne hands, and euerie man lived in peace one with the other, and euerie bodie loved him, and he assured of all men. But having thus by his wisdom, policie, and good government recovered that nation to good conformitie and obedience, behold enue (which alwaies maligneth vertue) he was had in a jealousie and suspicion, that his dytt and policie was to appropriate the whole land to himselfe, and as the lawfull king and monarch would crowne himselfe king of Ireland. Which opinion was so received & false rumour so spread, that it was in a short time caried into England; which when it came to the kings eares, you maie not thinke that he at all liked thereof, or could brooke the same.

(1) This Leighlin standeth full upon the river of Barrow, and it is a verie old & ancient castell called by the name of the Blake castell, a fort in those daies verie strong: it standeth in the baronie of Mdone, which is the ancient inheritance of the Carews, who being barons of Carew in Wales, one of them married the daughter and heire of the baron of this Mdone, & so the Carews became & were for the course of sundrie yeares, untill in the troublesome times, in king Richard the seconds time they were expelled, as all others or the most part of the English were. But being dwelling there, some one of them builded a religious house of Grete friers nere adjoining to the said castell, which being since dissolved in king Henrie the eighths time, the same fell into the kings hands, who made thereof a fort, and kept there a perpetuall garison, and thus was it discovered from the baronie. There is also one other Leighlin distant from this about an English mile, where is the cathedrall church of that diocesse, and whereof the bishop taketh his name being called the bishop of Leighlin; but for difference sake the same is called old Leighlin, and this other Leighlin bridge, by reason of a bridge builded of stone over the river at that place, and whereof the one end butteth upon the foresaid Blake castell.

(2) The Barrow is a goodlie and a notable river, having his head or spring in the hill called Mons Blandina or Slogh Blome, in which also are the heads or springs of the two other notable rivers Sure and the other Coire. This Barrow keepeth & hath his course through the countie of Ler, and passeth by the market towne of Athie unto Carlow, and from thence unto Leighlin, and so to Kosse, a little above which towne it meeteth and joyneth with the Coire, and they together keepe their course about six miles, untill they meet with the Sure, which is nere unto the late abbete of Dunzabrie: and as they all do spring and rise out of one mountaine, so after they have taken their severall courses, they meet together and take one waie into the seas. They are all navigable, and all a like replenished with sundrie sorts and kinds of fishes.

The

The description of Hugh  
de Lacie.

Chap.24.

**I**f you will know what manner of man Hugh de Lacie was, you shall understand his eyes were blacke and deepe, and his nose somewhat flat, and the right side of his face from the chin upwards by a mischance was shetoblie skalled: his necke was short, and his bodie hachie, as also not fleshy but sinewy and strong compact; his stature was but small, and his proportion deformed, but in conditions he was verie sober, trustie, and modest. He was verie carefull in his owne priuat matters, but in causes of government and in all publicke affaires he was most vigilant and carefull. And albeit he were a verie good souldier, and one of great experience in martiall affaires; yet in his sundrie adventures wherin he was sometimes rash and verie hachie, he sped not alwaies best nor had the best successe. After the death of his wife he was somewhat lose of life, being much giuen to women, of whom he made no great chosse: he was verie greedie and covetous of wealth and possessions, but overmuch ambitious of honour and reputation. At this time in Keinsler flozthed Robert Fitzhenrie brother unto (1) Speilerius, who in his youthfull yeares was verie lustie like the flower of the garden, which when the winter draweth and is cold, doth fade and wither away. Likewise (2) Alexander and Giralbus the two sonnes of Spaurice. And albeit Giralbus were a man but of meane stature, yet verie wise, sober, and honest. Also Roger le Botweze constable of Leighlin, Hugh de Lacie, and William le Botweze seneschall of Waterford, Robert Barrie the younger sonne of Philip Barrie, and both the Keimonds were of best fame and credit in these daies. About this time befell and happened the two strange wonders at Fother in Speth, whereof we have spoken in our topographie; namely, of the woman violentlie and perforce abused in a mill by a souldier, and of the otes there stolen and caried away.

(1) Pessa the daughter of the great Abelas had three husbands, by the first named Henrie she had a sonne, who being named after his name, was named Fitzhenrie, who was father to Henrie, Robert, and this Speilerius.

(2) This same Pessa had to hir third husband one Gerald of Windsoze, and by him had issue hir fourth son, named Spaurice, who was father to William Gerald and this Alexander. This Gerald was a valiant and a noble gentleman, and who had wars against Abelas the father of this Pessa, and kept the towne and castell of Penbrooke against him and all his forces: but in the end after a peace concluded betwene them, he married this ladie, and had with this issue by hir.

How Hugh de Lacie upon a vaine suspicion was sent for into England, and of his returne againe from thence.

Chap.25.

**T**he suspicion conceived of Hugh de Lacie daile increased more & more, and as is before said came to the kings eares, who as princes in such causes was verie gelous, and could not like thereof, and therefore forthwith sent for Hugh de Lacie by John constable of Che. Richard Richard Wet, whom he appointed to carrie and serve in his place, & to be the gouernour of lordes

iustices of the land. But before he should depart and go awaie, it was agreed by a common consent, that there should diuerse castels and sundrie foris be builded in Keinsler: for Speth was alreddie mettle well and indifferently fortified & incastelled. First therefore they builded two castels in Fotheret of Donolan, the one for (1) Keimond, and the other for Cristh his brother: the third was at (2) Treseldermont nere to Spozoghs countrie for Walter of Kidenf. The fourth for John (3) Clauill upon the river of Barrow not far from Leighlin: the fifth at Collady for John Herford. And as for Bildeare, which with the countrie adjoining was before by the earle in his life time giuen to Speilerius, was taken from him; & in exchange the countrie of (4) Ler was giuen to him, which was a wild and savage countrie, full of woods, passes, and bogs, and in the middle of the enemies, as also from ante succour or rescue: howbeit not vnfit for this such a champion of Spars and so worthy a souldier.

These things being thus done in the summer time, Hugh de Lacie toke his passage ouer to England; and made his speedie repaire to the kings presence, where he so wisely and dutifullie behaued himselfe, that the king not onelie was resolved of his trust and fidelitie, but also putting especiall confidence in him, he sent him backe againe. And calling home the foresaid John de constable and Richard Wet, made him his generall and deputie of the land, and toke assurance of him for his trust in this behalfe: howbeit he toied in commission with him one Robert of Salisbury, who should in the kings behalfe be a counsellor and a trustie assistant unto him in all his doings. Now Hugh de Lacie being returned backe againe into Ireland, and there settled and placed, thinketh vpon his first deuises, how to fortifie the countrie and to keepe it in good order. And the more castels he builded, and the more Englishmen he did bestow and place therein, the soner and better did he thinke to bring the same to passe and effect. Among manie castels therfore which he builded, he made one at Lachmeho in Ler, which he gaue to Speilerius, as also gaue him his nece to wife; also one castell nere to Abowie which he gaue to Robert Wigaret, and not farre from thence an other castell which he deliuered to Thomas Fleming. And not farre from thence he builded one other castell at the Spozach on the river of the Barrow, which Robert Fitzrichard had: besides in Speth he builded the castels of Dunach and of Kilaire, as also Adam Fuceport and Gilbert Spigents castels, and manie others, which were now too long to be particularlie repeated and recited.

And about this time was that strange talke and communication in a wood in Speth, betwene a priest and a wolfe, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie: which thing though it may seeme verie strange & most incredible, yet the same is not to be discredited: for as S. Jerome saith, you shall find in scripture manie strange things, & which to a mans iudgement shall seeme to be nothing true at all: and yet neuertheless they are most true. For nature can not preuaile nor doe a thing against the Lord of nature: neither ought a his creature to contemne or scoone, but rather with great reuerence and honour to consider the workes of God his creator. Not long after this king Henrie the younger, the son of king Henrie the elder, being seduced & caried (the more was the pittie) by lewde and naughty counsels, rebelled the second time against his father, and had gotten vnto him the most part of the best noble men in all Poitiers, & the best gentlemen in all France: besides his brother Geoffrey the earle of Britanie the chiefe author and cause of this rebellion, and manie others of his confederates. But in the end, by

Talke betwene a priest and a wolfe.

Gods

Gods iust iudgement and vengeance for his unnatural ingratitude against his father, who though he were a verie valliant and a lustie gentleman, yet against death nothing can helpe, and so died about June at Boreas to the great sorrow of manie. And verie shortly after also the foresaid Giffreie, a noble and a valliant gentleman, & who for his worthinesse and prowesse might haue bene the sonne of Achilles or Achilles, who now revolting the third time from his father, and rebelling against him, was by Gods iust iudgement about the kalends of August taken out of his life, and so died.

(1) Bessa the daughter of the great Rhebus prince of Wales had thre husbands, the third of them was Gerald of Windsor, and these had to their first sonne William Fitzgerald the father vnto this Desmond, and Griffith.

(2) Treveldermont is a castell about a fiew miles from Catherlough, & sometimes a verie faire towne and walled round about, and bordering nere to the baronie of Drogheda. The English writers do saie that this castell was not builded in this Treveldermont, but at Bilkien, a castell about thre miles from this, and both now belonging to the earle of Bilkien. But the Latine booke, which are of eldest writing and credit, and whom I do herein follow, do write it by erresse words, Treveldermont.

(3) This castell of Clauill not far from Leighlin, is supposed to be that which is now called Carlow or Catherlough: howbeit the common fame of the countie doth attribute this castell of Carlow to Cua the earls wife, and the ladie and heire of Leinster, and that she should build the same. But there appereth no such things of hir doings, for by the course of the historie it is plaine, that the castles builded in Leinster were done by the Englishmen onelie, and for their defense and safetie.

(4) The countie of Ler is parcell of Leinster, & lieth in the marches and extreame confines of the same by the west: it is verie strong and fast, being full of woods and bogs, and therefore a safe receptacle for rebels and outlawes. It is within the diocesse of Leighlin, and before now of late no shire ground, but inhabited by the Spores, who were alwaies rebels and traitors. But in hope to reforme the same it was made a countie of it selfe, by an act of parliament in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie, and named the Quenes countie.

### The death of Laurence archbishop

of Dublin, and of John Comin made archbishop in his place.

Chap. 26.

**I**n this meane time Laurence archbishop of Dublin died at the castell of Angiers in Normandie, about the kalends of December 1186. He was a verie tall and a god man, but somewhat in displeasure with the king, who had him in suspicion because he was at the court of (2) Laterane, and there inuighed much against the king of England and his honour; & for that cause in his returne homewards through Normandie was staied, and in the end there died: where he was buried in the high church of our ladie. After him John Comin an Englishman borne, and a monk in the abbete of Cuenham, was by the kings means elected orderlie by the clergie of Dublin archbishop, and afterwards confirmed by pope Lucius at Viterbe, where he was also made a cardinal. A man he was verie well learned and eloquent, and verie zealous in causes of the church, wherein he would

haue done verie much good, if that he had not bene too woldie, & haue sought to haue pleased woldie princes, and to haue bene in the kings fauour.

(1) This one thing is and was a common observation in the Romish church, that if anie one had received the charact thereof, that although he were neuer so rebellious, nor so great a traitor against his prince, yet the same was to be interpreted to be in defense of the holie church, and such a one was counted a godlie and a holie man, though by the scriptures he who resisteth his prince is said to resist God himselfe.

(2) The counsell of Laterane is said to be one of the greatest synods or generall counells that hath bin, it was kept at Rome vnder pope Innocent the third An. 1204. Spaine decrees were there made for the aduancing of the Romish antichrist: but yet the counsell could not be brought to his full perfection by reason of the ciuill wars in Italie. But among other decrees this was concluded, that all controuersies betwene kings and princes, the correction thereof should appertene to the pope: as also no man should be counted emperor, except the pope had admitted him and crowned him.

### The comming of Iohn the kings sonne into Ireland.

Chap. 27.

**T**he king to aduance his younger sonne named Iohn had giuen him the dominion ouer Ireland, and he thereupon had taken homage of sundrie persons for the same: and now minding to bring the same to a final end & perfect order, sendeth ouer into Ireland before his sonne Iohn the new archbishop of Dublin, who as a forerunner vnto his sonne should prepare all things in readinesse against his comming, who forthwith toke his iourne about the kalends of August, and sailed ouer into Ireland. Also in the moneth of September then next following, he sent ouer Philip of Worcester, a valliant souldier, a sumptuous and a liberall man, with fortie gentlemen, who was commanded to send ouer (1) Hugh de Lacie, and he to staie there as gouernour of the land until Iohn his sonne came ouer. This Philip being thus placed in authoritie, the first thing he did he resumed and toke into the kings vse the lands in Wexham, and diuerse other parcels which Hugh de Lacie had before sold, and these he appointed to serue for the kings provision and diet. And after the winter was past, he assembled and mustered all his men and companies, & began to trauell from place to place; and in March about the middle of Lent he came to (2) Armagh, where when he had extorted and perforce exacted from the bargie there a great masse of monie and treasure, he returned vnto the citie of Dolone, and from thence to Dublin in safetie: being well laden with gold, siluer, and monie, which he had exacted in euerie place where he came: for other good he did none. In this iourne there happened two strange miracles, the one at Armagh concerning the great anguish and griefe of (3) Philip when he departed and went out of the towne, the other was of a (4) fornicer which Hugh Trell toke away from the poore plessis at Armagh, as moze at large is declared in our topographie.

(1) This Hugh de Lacie albeitt he were thus sent for, yet he went not ouer, as it appereth by the course of the histories of this time, he was about building of a castell at Derragh, and there being among his labourers,

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shops pall

Two strange  
miracles.

laboyers, and seeing one not to frame verie well in his worke, taught him what he should do, taking his pickaxe in both his hands and brake the ground. This wicked Irishman when he saw his lord and master thus stopping and labouring, suddenly came behind him, and with his axe or weapon strake him in the head and slue him, but his inheritance and possessions came & descended to his two sonnes Walter and Hugh.

(2) In Ireland there are foure archbishops, one at Dublin for the prouince of Leinster, another at Cashill for the prouince of Mounster, the third at Down for the prouince of Connaught, & the fourth at Armagh for the prouince of Ulster. The chiefest of them is the archbishop of this Armagh, for although euerie one of the others be named primate of Ireland, yet this one alone is named primate of all Ireland; which title he hath partly because he is successeur to S. Patrick, who first converted Ireland to the christian faith, and had his see and church at this Armagh; one other cause is because this archbishop was the first that received a pall from the pope, which pall is a certaine measure of cloth, which the pope haloweth and giueth or sendeth to euerie archbishop, who weareth the same vppermost vpon his garment. The nature of this pall, of the first inuention thereof and the causes whereto it is giuen to euerie archbishop, is not incident nor appertaining to the course and nature of this historie, and therefore I will omit it. This Armagh was sometimes a faire towne, and therein a faire cathedrall church, long farre and remote from all good neighbors, and in the middle of the dunes and other sauage people; the same hath bene and still is and lieth wast: and the archbishop removed to a house of his named Liscannam, which lieth nere the towne of Drogheda, being a place of better safetie.

(3) The historie is, that this Philip of Worcester being well landed with great riches exacted from the cleargie and departed, he was no sooner out of the towne, but that he was taken with a sudden pang, which for the time was so vehement, that it was supposed he would neuer haue recovered it.

(4) This Hugh Eirell among other the spoiles which he took, he had a great hving fornice or pan which serued for the whole house, for which his doing the priests cursed him, and he caried this along with him untill he came to the citie of Downe. And on a night he being in his lodging, the same was entred with fire, and the houses which were the said pan, as also much goods which they brought with them, and a great part of the towne was burned. In the morning, when he saw the great spoile, and yet the said pan as nothing hurt nor perished, he began to repent and be sorie, and so restored the pan againe.

### The coming of Heraclius the patriarch into England.

Chap. 28.

While these things were doing in Ireland, Heraclius the reuerend patriarch of Jerusalem, hauing gone a long iourneie from the east to the west, came into England about the beginning of Februarie; who brought with him the keyes of the holie citie and sepulchre, with the kings ensigne and martiall signe, in the behoufe of all the states of the holie land, as well of the brethren of the order of the temple as hospitall: and with the consent of all the cleargie and laitie, making supplication to king Henrie the second, falling at his feet with teares, and humble desiring him, that he would be pitifullie moued to the aid of

the holie land, and Christs patrimonie, desperate lie afflicted by the infidels: otherwise affirming (which within two yeares happened) that the whole kingdom would fall hostile into the hands of the Soldane of the Saracens and of Egypt. Whereto a glorie was it to this king and kingdom, that he passing so manie emperours, kings and princes, as though there were no helpe in the middle part of the world, should come into this corner of the earth, & as it were into an other world to require aid: Whereto worthie, perpetuall and incomparable had the kings glorie bene, if he setting aside other businesse, and forsaking his kingdoms, had taken without delate (at this calling of Christ) Christs crosse, and haue followed him! Whereto, he should haue received of him the euerlasting kingdom, if he had serued him in this necessitie of whom he received his kingdom, and so glorious a grace of gouernement on earth. Whereto if he would haue defended here (for his abilitie) the patrimonie of so worthie a kingdom in this point of necessitie, and this trial of deuotion, he might haue bene worthilie fortified in earth by such a patrone and tutor in all his affaires and necessities whatsoeuer.

### The answer of the king to the patriarch.

Chap. 29.

When the king for answer herof being appointed at last by the king at London, manie as well knights as of common sort, by the admonishments of the patriarch, as the sermons of Baldwin the archbishop were crossed to the seruice of Christ. At the last the patriarch received this answer of the king, that it was not good to leaue his realme without defense and gouernement, & leaue open his lands beyond sea to the rapacitie of the Frenchmen that hated him: but as concerning monie, he would giue both that which he sent thither, to be reserved for him, and more also for the defense of the holie land. To whom the patriarch answered by following this aduise. Whereto you do nothing: and by this meanes you shall neither saue your selfe, nor rescue Christs patrimonie. While come to seeke a prince, and not monie. Cuerie part of the world almost sendeth vs monie, but none sendeth vs a prince. Whereto we desire a man that may want monie, and not monie that may want a man. But, when the patriarch could get no other answer of the king, he taketh an other deuise: he desireth him to giue to their aid one of his sonnes, and if none other, yet his yongest sonne John, that the blond descending from the Anioles might in a new brandy raise by the kingdom.

John himselfe, albeit he was readie to passe into Ireland giuen him by his father, with a great armie, (prostrating himselfe at his fathers feet) desired (as they saie) that he might be sent to Jerusalem, but he obtained it not. So the patriarch seeing he could do nothing, and draw no oile out of the hard stone, he spake thus against the king, in the audience of manie, with a theatfull and propheticall spirit. O glorious king, thou hast reigned hitherto among the princes of the world with incomparable glorie, and your princelie honour hath hitherto daile increased to the type of highnesse. But now doubtle is this trial being forsaken of God, whom you forsake, and destitute of all heauenlie grace. From henceforth shall your glorie be turned into sorrow, and your honor to reproch so long as you liue. I would to God the king had auoided this theat by penance, like the king of Persia, and had caused this sentence to be altered!

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spaga pall is.

Two strange  
miracles.

This was  
the saying of  
the patriarch.



The holie man spake this thing thise, first at London, then at Dover, and lastlie at Chynon castell beyond the sea. And I would to God the patriarch had bene a man without that prophetical spirit, & had rather spoken a lesing, that we may for more euident touch such things byelie as were before spoken by that true forespeaker, which we saw shortly to take effect. Whereas the king reigned thirtie and fve peares, thirtie peares were granted him for worlde glorie, expectation of his conuersion, & triall of his deuotion; but the last fve peares fell vpon him, as vpon an vngatefull, reprobate, and abiect seruant, in reuengement, sorrow, & ignominie. For in the two and thirtie peare of his reigne, immediatlie after the coming of the patriarch, his first enterprisse of sending his sonne John into Ireland, both the labour and cost was frustrate and lost. The three and thirtie peare, whereas he neuer lost land before; he lost to king Philip (being but a child) almost all Anjou. The foure and thirtie peare he lost the castell Rader; and twelue all Berie. The fve and thirtie peare of his reigne, and the fourth peare after the coming of the patriarch, not onelie king Philip of France, but his son Richard of Poitiers rising against him, he lost the cities of Towres and Spaine, with manie castles, and himselfe also; according to that in saint Gregorie: Those that the Lord hath long forbore, that they might be conuerted, if they do not conuert, he condemneth them the more grieuoullie.

### The croising of kings.

Chap. 30.

**W**hat perchance the king was referued by beauntie disposition to the victorie of desired loue. How much greater is it to reape things cast downe, than to vnderprop things likelie to fall: And who had knowne Hector, if Troie had continued in prosperitie? By so much as aduersitie is more instant and byged, by so much the glorie of valliantnesse will shine the brightier. For by the secret iudgement of God, within two peares after the victorie was giuen to the pagans and Heathens, against the christians, either to reuenge the cold deuotion of the east church, or to trie the deuout obedience of the westerne men; the worthy Richard earle of Poitiers hearing this overthrow, toke deuoutlie the croisure vpon him at Towres, giuing an example to other princes in that matter. Wherevpon the king of England, the earles father, and Philip king of France, who had bin before at variance (with Gods grace, and the archbishop of Towres perswasion) in that place and that houre, at their conference at Guisours were croised, with manie other great men of the clergie and laitie. And as kings folowed the example of the erle, so after their example the emperor Frederike, through the perswasion of the duke of Alba, with manie states of Almane were croised in the lords court at Pentz. So as it is thought, the king of England being referued more than all other to the restoring of the decayed state of the holie land, if he had finished his life in this victorie; doubtlesse that famous prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius had bene verified in him. His beginning (saith he) shall wauer with wild affections, and his end shall mount to heauen.

A prophesie of Merlin touching the king

### The discord of the kings.

Chap. 31.

**S**udden discord rose betwene the kings and that (which was worse) betwene the father and the earle, through the working of the old enemie, & their sinnes deserving the same,

to the great hinderance of their noble enterprisse: as though they being vnfit for it, the honoz thereof was referued for other; or perchance according to the sentence of Gregorie: Aduersitie, which is obieced against god bolues, is a triall of vertue, and not a signe of dispraise. Who is ignorant how happie a thing it was that Paule was drinen into Italie, and yet he suffered shipwacke: But the ship of his heart was safe among the surges of the sea. Likewise therefore as vertue is perfected in infirmitie, and gold tried in the fire: so the constancie of faith that cannot be crazed with tribulations, doth increase more as sinapis; and the courage of the mind is more valiant againe than troublous assaults of fortune. How much rather would I, that these kings accompanied with a few men acceptable to God, had taken vpon them this laborious, but yet a glorious iourneie, than to warre proud for the great wealth that they had gathered of manie people to this end. Read over the whole bible, and consider these latter times, and you shall find, that victorie hath bene gaited, not with force and humane power, but with Gods grace and store of vertues. For as Cassiodorus saith: An armed people without the Lord is vnarmed. And as Seneca saith, Not the number of the people, but the vertue of a few get the victorie. Of the foure before named, the emperor Frederike, albeit he was the last croised, yet in the execution thereof he was the first: whome therefore I account so much the more worthy of victorie in heauen, and glorie in earth, that he forsaking large kingdomes and his empire, delayed not out the matter.

### A vision and exposition thereof.

Chap. 32.

**T**herfore I thought it not inconuenient to set downe a vision, which he that hideth much from wisemen & reuealeth it to babes visited me withall, being a most simple and vile wretch. In the miserie of this time, in that ciuill and detestable discord betwene the king and the erle of Poitiers, I being with the king at Chynon castell the seventh ides of Maie: at night in my sleepe about the cocke crowing, me thought I saw a great multitude of men looking vp into heauen, and as it were wondering at somewhat. So I lifting vp mine eyes to see what the same was, I saw a bright light breake out betwene the thicknesse of the clouds, and the clouds being incontinentlie seuered asunder, and the loiter heauen as it were being opened, and the sight of mine eyes pearling through that window to the empyreall heauen, there appeared the court thereof in great multitude, wide open as it were to be spoiled, all kinds of munition being bent against it. You might haue scene there a head cut from one, an arme from another, and some stricken through with arrowes, some with lances, and some with swords. And when manie of the beholders either for the brightnes, or terror, or pittie, had fallen flat on their faces: me thought that I (to see the end of the matter) did steepe it longer than the rest. So they hauing gotten the victorie ouer all the other, the bloudie flanes fell vpon the pynce of the beauntie orders, sitting in his throne as he was wont to be pictured, and drawing him from the throne on the right hand, hauing his breast naked, they thrust him through the right side with their lances, and immediatlie there folloved a terrible voice in this maner, Woch, woch, Oholi-ghost! But whether it came from heauen, or was uttered by the people beneath, I can not tell; and so the terror of this voice & the vision awakened me.

A strange vision.

The meaning  
of the foresaid  
vision.

I call him here to witnesse, to whom all things are apparant and manifest, that immediatlie as I sat in my bed, & reuolued these things in my mind, I was in so great an horroz both of bodie and mind, for halfe an houre and more, that I feared least I should haue fallen besides my selfe. But recourfing becomlie to the onlie refuge of humane saluation, & blessing my forehead with the crosse estones, & fortiffing my mind thereby, I passed the rest of the night without sleepe, & so through Gods grace returned fullie to my selfe: yet to this daie I can neuer remember that vision without horroz. What may be more terrible to a creature than to see his creator smitten through with weapons: What man without græfe can abide to see the seruants of God, & patrons of men to be murdered? Who can behold the Lord of nature to suffer, & dooth not suffer therewith? What this vision portendeth, without p̄iudice to anie I will shew briefly. He that suffered once in his owne person for all, giueth vs to vnderstand, that he now suffereth againe, but that in his flocke. And he that by triumphing ouer the crosse, and ascending to the right hand of his father, hath victoriously entered his kingdome; his enemies now go about to depriue him of his kingdome, and subuert his church, which he gathered vnto him by the shedding of his blood. Therefore, as I do suppose, this passion did not appeare vpon the crosse, but his maiestie: as though the crosse now being taken awaie, his enemies go about to take that glorie from him, which he got on the crosse. Else that his faithfull had suffered, not in the crosse, but with weapons in that holie land, which he after so manie miracles had consecrated with his blood. So likewise he declared this his passion which he for his susteined, not in the crosse, but in his maiestie: so he signified, that all the court of heauen suffered with the like compassion, mouing his to reuengement with the shewing of so great græfe. As concerning that voice beginning in a barbarous language and ending in Latine, what I thinke I will shew. Woch, woch, in the Germane tong, is a signe of græfe doubled. And there that wooll mourning voice began in the Germane tong, and ended in Latine, it maie be signified thereby, that onlie the Almans and the Italians take this the affliction of their Lord more grievouslie than other nations, as the hasting declareth. God forbid that the passion or lamentation be here vnderstood by anie slaughter of the christians and people in this expedition.

### The memorable euents of our time.

Chap. 33.

I thinke it not impertinent to set downe here (by occasion) the aduentures and notable euents in England: and first of all, the sudden death of the detainers of the kingdome of England against the lawfull heire, the nephew of Henrie by his daughter Matilda: as well the death of the worthy knight Eustachius the son of king Stephan, and son in law to Lewes the French king: as of his mother quene Matilda the countesse of Wallogne. When the concord adaption made betwixt king Stephan, and Henrie duke of Normandie. And then after the death of king Stephan, the marriage of quene Elianor, and the translation from crowne to crowne. Immediatlie, the aduancement of the duke to the kingdome, and the coronation of king Henrie the second. The assiege of the castell of Bridgenorth vpon Seuerne, and the compulsion of the worthy knight Hugh Mortimer to dedition, to the terrible example of all. What ne-

deeth manie words: To confound the intyght, and to make euen the ragged, there were prosperous successes. And as destruction fell vpon the detainers of the kingdome, so likewise it fell vpon the peacebreakers of the same, as well of the bycthen, as also of the sons.

The subbing of prince Dene at Colshull in Northwales in a wooddie streit, not without the losse of manie knights. A sumptuous expedition to Holouse, albeit it was vnprofitable. An altercation & warre betwene the king of England and Lewes of France, through the dotting of both parts. The yielding vp of prince Khesse by the means of his vnckle Dene at Pencador in Southwales, the king of England comming thither. The vniuilling & wretched confession onelic by word & by writing (as some say) of Thomas of Canturburie, and his suffragans at Clarendon, as concerning annates: when that prophete of Merlin Ambrosius seemed to be fulfilled; The bolis tongs shall be cut out. The inturions crying out of all the court at Northampton against the father, bearing the crosse, & maintaining the rights of the crucifix, and the pitie departure of him to erile that night. The ambassage of Reinold archbishop of Colken, & chancelor to the emperoz, from the said emperoz to the king of England: who was an effectuous persuader of marriage to be had betwene Henrie the emperozs nephew duke of Saronic and Bauier, and Matilda the kings eldest daughter: he moued also, but in vaine, to let cleare the Almans schisme. Not long after the publike perurie through out all the realme, by the kings proclamation against the six of saint Peter, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And incontinently the countie Cunceline, and other states of Saronic came from the duke into England for the kings daughter.

The coronation of king Henrie the third, son to king Henrie, solemnized in London by the archbishop of Pothe, to the p̄iudice of the church of Canturburie. Ambassadors came from Spaine, and obtained the kings daughter Elianor, to be married vnto Ansaldo, king of Toledo and Castile. The comming of Demetrius (being expelled) to the king, and the sailing ouer into Ireland of Fitzstephan, earle Richard. The expedition of the lord of Oswestrie in Powes, and his returne by occasion of raine: not without his hurtfull dismembryng, of the plegges, and great slaughter of his enemies. The martyrdom of Thomas. The often shining miracles. The departure of the noble Henrie bishop of Winchester, descended of the kings blood at Winchester. The biage of the king into Ireland. The conspiracie of the states against their prince, and the children against their father. The comming of two cardinals into Normandie, to make inquirie of the death of the martyr. The sudden returne of the king out of Ireland into Wales, and so into England, thence into Normandie; with an appealing of the said cardinals, and the French king. The first departure of the yong king with his two brethren from his father into France. The victorie of the civil and two yeares warre, and the kings mercie towards the vanquished, as we haue shewed before. The comming of Huguntio Perie Leon cardinal of the title of saint Angelo into England, and the celebration of a counsell vnder him of all the cleergie of England, at London, as concerning the contention of supremacie betwene Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and Roger of Pothe: but the allegations on both sides with fitts and flauces brake it off. The bishop of Capua, and Diaferus elect of Croia, and earle Florius, came from William king of Sicill, to haue marriage betwene him and Joane the kings yonger daughter.

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A prophete  
of Merlin  
filled.

\*Albion  
sterij.

A strange  
vision.

The ambassadores of the kings of Spaine, Castile, and Navar, came into England: who as concerning lands and castles (whereof they contended) promised altogether to stand unto the king of England arbitrement. Wherefore the king assembling at London all the lawyers & wise men in the land of both orders; when the cause was proposed, and the allegations heard on both sides, by famous advocats; among whom, Peter of Cardon, that came in the behalfe of the king of Navar, excelled in eloquence: the king using wise counsell, and intending to end the contention by transaction, that giving somewhat from one, and keeping somewhat from an other, he would hurt neither parties much. But as he was appointed judge by both, so he was careful for the commoditie of both as much as could be. So making a transaction, and ingrossing it in writing, he wrot the iudiciall examination for a proviso; That if either part refused to stand to his arbitrement, the definitive strife might be dirempted by sentence. The coming of Lewis king of France into England, who went on pilgrimage to Canturburie, to the martyr Thomas, to require his helpe devoutlie, whom he in the time of his exile had helped: and offering a cup pretious both for matter & substance in the place where the holie bodie was buried, when he had declined a while prostrat on his face, and had laid his bare head a while in the right side hole of the marble stone that standeth thereby; at last, rising from his prayer (that he might confirme the memorie of his pilgrimage with everlasting record) in the presence of the king of England, the earle of Flanders, the archbishop of the see, the prior of the couent, and other men of state, he gaue yearelie unto Canturburie abbete an hundred tuns of wine.

The second defection of king Henrie the third, and earle Gesteire, with the sudden death of the yonger king at Harcel. The coming on pilgrimage of Godfre archbishop of Cullen, and Philip earle of Flanders unto Canturburie. The death of earle Gesteire. The coming of Heraclius the patriarch, and the sailing of earle John into Ireland. Almost all things as they be here set in order, chanced in our time, in no great distance betwene, in and about the space of thre and thirtie yeares. How glorious had all these things bene, if they had ended to a good end! Which successe would have hapned, if he setting other things aside, had followed Christ, when he was called, of whom he received all these benefits; and had spent the last five yeares reigne in his service. But these things being before rehearsed by the way, let vs returne to the historie.

The recapitulation of fundrie acts,  
and of the coming of John the kings  
sonne to Ireland, with his  
successe there.

Chap. 34.

**N**ow omitting the building of thre castles, one at Tipperarie, the other at Archghin, & the third at Lismore, after the coming of earle John, & speaking nothing of the euill fortune of thre worthie yong men; Robert Barrie at Lismore, Keimond Fitzbush at Dlethan, and Keimond Cantinensis at Dyon. Of part of the garrison of Archghin slaine in the wood there, by the prince of Limerike on Midsummer daie, & foure knights there killed, not without manfull defense. Of them of Limerike, and the noble man Magraine slaine at Tipperarie. Of them of Archghin slaine againe by those of Limerike in taking of a prey.

Of Dermuctus Mac Artie prince of Desmond, with others slaine in a parlie nere Cozke by them of Cozke, and the garrison of Theobald brother to Walter. Of the slaughter of them of Kencelon, with their prince invading Meth by the men thereof, & William Little, and one hundred of their heads sent to Dublin. Of the finding out of the bodies of Patrike, Brigit, & Columbe at Dundalk, & their translation from thence by the procurement of John de Curcie.

Of the heading of Hugh Macie at Doznoch, through the treason of his owne Irishmen. Of the killing of twelue noble knights under John de Curcie, in the returne from Connagh. Of the traitorous and lamentable slaughter of Roger Polowe, and manie others in Osserie: and though that occasion, the praisie conspiracie of all Ireland against the Englishmen, manie castles being therewith destroyed. All which things are not unworthie to be recorded, when the dominion was translated to the kings son. But assigning these doings to other writers, we will proceed to more profitable matters. How and therefore this first enterpryse of the kings son had no good successe I thought good to declare briefly: that this small addition (albeit it can not be a cure to that which is past) yet it may be a caveat for things to come. ¶ This recapitulation followeth in a more absolute forme, pag. 53. which being delivered out of sundrie copies, do perfect one another.]

When all things meete and necessarie for so great a iournie or voyage were at the king his commandement and charges made ready; then John the kings yonger sonne a little before made lord of Ireland, was sent over; and in the Lent time (1) he toke leaue of his father, and as he travelled towards saint Davids to take shipping, he passed and rode along by the sea coasts of South Wales, and so came to (2) Denbroke. There brought and accompanied him unto the ship a noble and a worthy man named Keimulfe Glanville, one of the best his most private counsell in all weightie matters, as also cheefe iustice of England. And on wednesdaye in the Easter weeke, the wind being at east and blowing a good gale, he toke ship in Milford haven, but for hast he left to do his deuotion and oblation at saint Davids, which was but an euill halloving; nevertheless on the next morrow about noontide he arrived in safetie unto Waterford with all his company, which were about thre hundred gentlemen, and of bowmen, footmen, horsemen, and others a great number. Then was fulfilled the baticine or prophesie of old Merlin: A burning globe shall rise out of the east, & shall compass about the land of Ireland, and all the foules of that land shall see round about the fire. And hauing spoken these words of the father, he continueth his speech, and thus speaketh of his sonne: And of this fire shall rise a sparkle, for feare of which all the inhabitors of the land shall tremble and be afraid: and yet he that is absent shall be more esteemed than he that is present, and better shall be the successe of the first than of the second.

John at this his first arrivall into Ireland was of the age of 12 yerres, which was from the first arrivall of his father thirtene yeares, of the landing of the earle Strangbow foureteene yeares, and from the first entrance of Robert Fitzstephans sixtene yeares, and the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie and five, Lucius then Romaine bishop, Frederike the emperour, and Philip the French king. There passed over with the king in the same fleet manie good clerks, among whom (3) one was speciallie commended unto this yong lord by his father, for that he was a diligent searcher of naturall histories,

Note.

Prophecies  
of Merlin  
fulfilled.

The ancient  
house of the  
Carmes.

hystories, as also had bene before two peares in the same land, and there collected sundrie notes, and sufficient matter as well for his hystorie, as for his topographie: and which after that he was returned home, and attending in the court, did (as lesure served him) digest and set in good order of a booke, the same being his labor of thre peares. A trauell to him painefull, but to his posteritie profitable, although much mistaked and crueld at by such as then were living: the one liked it well, but the other dispaired it; the one reaped a benefite and commoditie, but the other of a secret malice maligning the same, fretted in his humors, and was grauelled in his owne follie.

(1) The first dosage of the king his sonne, being then but a child of twelue yeeres of age: the English chronicles do make small mention thereof. But such as do write thereof, do report that the king brought his sonne as farre as Gloucester on this isle: and there dubbing and honoring him with the degree of knight, sent him on his iourne.

(2) Penbroke is an old and an ancient towne, builded by a noble man named Arnulph Montgomerie, the ancestor of the Carews; whose names are Montgomeries, & lieth in West Wales named Demetia, but now of this towne is called Penbroke, Shire. It standeth upon a creeke of Milford haue, about two miles from the castell Carew: of which castell the Montgomeries builded, and there dwelling toke the name thereof, & were called Carews, which name that familie doth yet retaine. In this towne of Penbroke standeth a goodlie and a strong castell, which hath bene in times past the seat and house of manie a noble man bearing the name of the earles of Penbroke. In this was king Henrie the seventh boorne. It is now in great ruine and in decay.

(3) This man ment here is Giraldus Cambrensis the author of this booke, who (as it appeareth by this and other his works) was learned and much giuen to studie. He was archdeacon of saint Dauids, and descended from Girald of Windsor, and the ladie Bessia his wife, for he was the son of Maurice, and the sonne of the foresaid Girald and Bessia: and so this Girald of Windsor was his Proauus or great grandfather.

The praise and commendation as also the excuse of Robert FitzStephans and the earle Strangbow.

Chap. 35.

Robert FitzStephans was the first who taught and shewed the waie to the earle, the earle to the king, and the king to his sonne. Great praise-worthie was he that gaue the first aduenture, and much was he to be commended who next followed and increased the same: but about all others he deserved best, who fulfilled, absolved, and ended the same. And here is to be noted, that albeit both FitzStephans and the earle did helpe Wermont Mac Morogh to recover his countrie of Leinster, as also defended and kept the same from robbers, theues, & enemies: yet they did it in diuerse respects. The one in respect of his faith and promise, the other for loue of Gna, & of the (1) inheritance, which by his should grow and come vnto him. But as concerning the intruding vpon Waterford, and the conquests of sundrie territories as well in Desmond as in Meth, I can not excuse them. The earle, who in right of his wife was lord of Leinster, the first part or portion of Ireland, surrendred and yielded by all

his right and title there vnto the king himselfe, and toke it againe to hold of him. The like also did all the princes of the land. Whereby as also by other old and ancient records it is apparant, that the English nation entred not into this land by wrong and inturie, (as some men suppose and dreame) but vpon a good ground, right, and title.

(1) The course of this hystorie in the beginning doth plainelie declare, how that Wermont after his departure from the king came to the citie of Bristol, and there hauing conference with Richard Strangbow erle of Cheshire, did offer vnto him his onelie daughter and heire in marriage, with the inheritance of all Leinster: conditionallie that he would passe ouer into Ireland, and to helpe him to recover his land, which conditions were accepted and afterwards performed. Afterwards he lieng at saint Dauids for passage, there he met with Robert FitzStephans, & did condition with him, that if he would passe ouer into Ireland to helpe him, he would giue him the towne of Waterford with certeine cantreds thereunto adjoining, which conditions were then accepted and afterwards performed. Thus it appeareth that the one for loue of the gentlewoman, and the other in respect of his promise did passe ouer into that land and realme.

The causes of lets whiche this conquest could not nor had his full perfection.

Chap. 36.

Happy and for euer happy had Ireland bene, which being valiantlie conquered, well replenished with towines, and fortified with castels from sea to sea of the first (1) aduenturers, who were then minded to haue established a good order and gouernment, had not they through the secret malice and treacherie of some men bene called awaie and sent from home. Hea happy had it bene, if the first conquerors (being noble and valiant men) might according to their desert haue had the charge of gouernment committed vnto them. For whie, a nation which at the first comming ouer of our men, when they were galled with our arrows, and a fraid of our force, they were then easie to be reclaimed. But partlie by meanes of trifling and delaieng of time, which is alwaies dangerous, and partlie by reason that the best seruitors being called home from thence, new rulers toke too much ease, and liued in too much securitie; nothing was done to anie purpose: and thereupon the people of that countrie toke hart of grace, and practised our manners in shooting and the vse of our weapons: and by little and little they became so well expert and skilfull therein, that whereas at the first they were easie to be ouercommed, were now strong and hardie, and not onlie able to resist, but also readie to put vs in danger and hazard. And the causes herof who so listeth to search, shall easilie find out the same: for if you will read ouer the bookes of the kings & prophets, examine the course of the old testament, and well consider the examples of these our latter daies; you shall find it most certeine and true, that no nation, no state, no citie, nor common-wealth was euer ouerthrowne by the enimie, nor ouercome by the aduersarie but onelie for sinne and wickednesse. And albeit the Irish people and nation for their sinfull and abhominable life did well deserue to be ouerthrowne and ouerrun by strangers; yet was it not Gods will and pleasure that they should utterlie be brought into subiectiō: neither was it his good will & pleasure that the Englishmen, though they had brought some of them into subiectiō.

In the cause of ouerthrowes by the enimie.

ff. 19. on,

The ancient house of the Carews.

Note.

Prophecies of Merlin fulfilled.

The four  
Irish pro-  
phets.

on, yet they should not therefore haue the whole empire and entire souereignie ouer them: for both were sinfull people and merited not anie fauour at Gods hand, but deserued to be senerelie punished, and therefore neither the one (albeit he were a conqueror, and had the ouer hand) could yet obtaine a seat (2) in Pallas castell, nor yet the other be fullie subdued & brought into perfect subiection. The Irish people are said to haue the foure men whome they account to be great prophets, and whome they haue in great veneration and credit (3) Merlin, Bracton, Parrike, and Columkill, whose books and prophetes they haue among themselves in their owne language, and all they in treating and speaking of the conquest of this land, do affirme that the same shall be assailed with often warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaughters great. But yet they do not assure nor warrant anie perfect or full conquest vnto the English nation (4) not much before dooms daie. And albeit the whole land of Ireland, from sea to sea, haue for the most part bene in the power of the Englishmen, and by them fortified and replenished with sundrie and manie castles, though sometimes to their perilles and smarts: yet Bracton saith, that the king who shall make the absolute and final conquest, shall come from out of the deserts and mounteins of saint Patricke, and vpon a sun daie at night shall with force breake into a castell builded in the fastnesse of Ophalie: and untill that time the English nation shall from time to time be in continuall troubles with the Irishie, sauing that they shall hold and iniole the whole land bordering vpon the east coasts of the seas.

(1) The course of this historie doth at full declare in particulars, how the first aduenturers were maligned, & as much as might be discredited. First Robert Fitzstephens, whose seruice was counted notable, and his fidelitie to his prince and king trustie and assured: yet fell he into the kings displeasure, was cast into prison, and albeit deliuered out againe, yet the king conceiuing some gelousie of him, had him ouer into Normandie, where he serued two yeares in his warres: and although he were againe afterward sent ouer into Ireland, yet was he not in anie authoritie or office. The earle Strangbow although he came ouer with the king his speciall licence, yet his good successe was so enuied at, that the king made proclamation, that all his subjects being in Ireland with the earle, should returne & come home; and that no vittels, no munition, nor anie reliefe should be transported out of anie of his dominions into Ireland. And albeit the earle afterwards were reconciled to the king, yet was he faine to yeld vnto him all his land and dominion of Leinster vnto the kings deuotion, & to receiue the same againe to be holden of the king. Keimond who could not be charged, nor spotted with anie vntruth: yet the treacherous Herute with his false informations so inueigled and falselie informed the king against him, that he was sent for home, and not trusted with anie gouernement. Hugh de Lacie, who (as the historie saith) was the first that made waie into Ulster, who fortified the prouince of Leinster and Opth with manie strong holds & castles, and brought all the countrie to a peaceable state; he was suspected to haue meant the improprietation of the whole land to his owne vse, and was dismissed of his charge and gouernement, and sent for home: and in place and lieu of these were sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Chester, and others, in whome was no value at all, but onelie to pill and poll the people, and to heape vp treasure and riches.

(2) Pallas was the daughter of Iupiter, who for

her excellent gift in inuention, is said and fained by the poets to be borne of the braine of Iupiter with out anie mother, she inuented the order of warres, and deuised the maner of fightings, she maketh men to be bold, and giueth the victorie. And because Englishmen could not obtaine a full and a perfect victorie: therefore they were said not to sit in Pallas castell.

(3) There were two Merlins, and both were philosophers: the one was named *Merlinus Calidonus*, or *Syluester*, because his dwelling and habitation was nere or by a wood called *Calidonia*, he was borne in the marches of Scotland, but a man verie excellentlie well learned in philosophie, and in knowledge of all naturall causes; and by diligent obseruations he would gesse maruellouslie at the euents of manie things. Wherevpon he was taken for a prophetier, and reputed for a magician or a diuino. He was in the time of king Arthur, about the yeare five hundred and threescore, and of this Merlin it is spoken in this historie. The other Merlin was before this man and in the time of Woitiger: about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred and threescore, and he was named *Ambrosius Merlinus*, who was also excellentlie well learned, both in philosophie and the art magike; but his sentences were so darkelie couched, that nothing could be conceiued nor vnderstood by them before the euent.

(4) Much adoe there hath bene, and manie books written, concerning the full conquest of this land: so manie heads, so manie reasons. But if men would haue the truth plainelie told, it is come to be sene how the verie cause proceedeth and is continued for want of a generall reformation. But Plato hath so blinded mens eyes, that seeing they can not nor will not see: but hereof I shall moze at large write in an other place.

A breefe repetition of certeine things  
done within the course of the historie  
that are omitted.

Chap. 37.

Here by the waie it were not amisse brieflie to touch & declare of certeine things which happened, & which (for certeine causes) are not at full discoursed in this storie, as we wished that we might haue had the oportunitie so to haue done. First therefore you shall vnderstand, that John the kings sonne at his first comming ouer builded thre castles, one at Athrych, an other at Ardephinan, and the thirde at Lisemore. Likewise thre worthie gentlemen were lost and killed: namely, Robert Bartie at Lisemore, Keimond Fitzhugh at Dithan, and Keimond Bantune at Dhozie. Also how Donald the prince of Limerike secretlie stole vpon the earles armie in Dhozie, as they were coming from Dublin towards Limerike, and slue foure hundred Dhozians, and foure noble gentlemen, which were their capteines; among whom was Dgranie an Irishman. And also Dermond Mac Artie prince of Desmond, being at parlie with certeine men of Cork not farre from the said towne, was there set vpon by the said Corkemen & (1) Theobald Fitzwalter, and there was he and the most part of his companie slaine. The like happened in Opth, where they of Kencole & their capteine made a robe, and being set vpon by one William the iustice of that countrie, they were all slaine and a hundred of their heads sent vnto Dublin. Moreover John de Courcie found the bodie of saint Patricke, saint Brigid, and saint Colome at Dhozie, and removed them from thence. Hugh de Lacie builded his castell at



at Dernaeh, was there traitorouslie slain. John de Courcie at his returne from out of Connagh lost Arlene of his best gentlemen. Roger le Poivre a valiant, and a lustie yong gentleman, was by treason taken and murdered in Dnlozie, whereupon the Irishmen forthwith brake out from their due obedience to the king of England, and rebelled against the Englishmen, destroyed manie castels, and let the whole realme in a great sturre and inquietnesse. Other sundrie things happened which were too long to recite: and therefore leaving the same, we will returne to our historie.

(1) This Theobald Fitzwalter, who by his nation was named Becket but by his office Butler, was the sonne of Walter the sonne of Gilbert: & was the first Butler that came into Ireland, who being a wise and an expert man, was first sent with William Fitzaldelme. Afterwards he was sent over by king John to view and serch the countrie; and in the end he grew into such credit, that he was infeoffed with great livings there, as also advanced (and his posteritie after him) to great honors & promotions, which now are named earles of Desmond and Deslozie.

The causes why England could not  
make the full and finall conquest  
of Ireland.

Chap. 38.

**T**here were not amisse, that we now did consider the causes, and declare the impediments, why the kings sonne had not the best successe in this his so honourable a tourne, and therefore his so famous attempt toke not effect: that albeit the same can not reuoke and remedie that which is past and done, yet that it maie be a forewarning to that which maie follow and insue. The principall and chiefe cause I suppose and thinke to be, because that whereas the patriarch of Jerusalem named Heracitus came in an ambassage unto him, in the name and behalfe of all the whole land of Palestine called the holie land, requesting that he would take upon him to be their helpe, and defending the same against the Saladine then king of Egypt and of Damasco: who hauing bent his whole force against them, was like within two yeares following utterly to be overrun, the said holie land, unless some rescue in the meane time and with expedition were provided: he utterly denied and refused the same. And being further vrged to send one of his sonnes, although it were the yongest: he denied that also: making no account neither of the cause it selfe, which was Christ; nor of the people, which were Christians: neither yet of the person, which was a reuerend and honourable personage.

And yet neuerthelesse he sent forth his yonger sonne in a tourne of holing, more sumptuous than are needfull or profitable: And whether I praise you: Was it into the east and against the Saracens and miscreants? No, no, it was into the west, & against his euen christian, nothing lacking the aduancing of Gods glorie, nor promoting of his cause, but onelie for his owne priuat lucre and singular commoditie. An other cause was this. At the first landing and entrie of the kings sonne at Waterford, a great manie of the chiefe of the Irishmen in those parties, and who since their first submission to king Henrie had continued faithfull and true, they being aduertised of this his arrivall, did come and resort unto him in peaceable manner, and after their best order to salute him, and congratulate his comming. But

our new men of Normans, who had not before bene in those parties, making small account of them, did not onelie mocke them, and laugh them to scorn for the manner of their apparell, as also for their long beards and great glibs, which they did then weare and be according to the vse of their countrie: but also they did hardlie deale and ill intreat manie of them. These men nothing liking such intertainment shifted themselves out of the towne, & with all hast sped themselves home: euerie one into his owne house; & from thence they with their wiues, children, and household, departed and went some to the prince of Limerike, some to the prince of Corke, some to Rothorike prince of Connagh, and some to one lord, and some to an other: and to these they declared orderlie how they had bene at Waterford, and what they had seene there, and how they were intreated; and how that a yong man was come thither garded with yong men, and guided by the counsels of yong men: in whom there was no staie, no sobrietie, no steadfastnesse, no assurednesse, whereby they and their countrie might be assured of anye safetie.

These princes and namelie they three of Connagh, Corke, and Limerike, who were the chiefe, and who were then preparing themselves in a readinesse to haue come and saluted the kings sonne, and to haue yielded unto him the dutifull obedience of faithfull subiects: when they heard these newes, they began straightwaies to imagine, that of such euill beginnings wofull endings would insue: and reasoning the matter among themselves, did conclude, that if they thus at the first did deale so discourtesilie with the humble, quiet, and peaceable men: what would they do to such as were mightie and stout, and who would be loth to receiue such discourtesies at their hands? Wherefore with one consent they concluded to stand and ioine togither against the English nation, and to their uttermost to aduenture their liues, and to stand to the defense of their countrie and liberties. And for the performance thereof, they enter into a new league among themselves, and swoore each one to the other, and by that means enemies before are now made friends and reconciled. This we know to be true, and therefore we speake it, and that which we saw we do boldlie witnesse. And for so much as we thus fondlie and in our pride did abuse them, who in humblenesse came unto vs: therefore did we well deserue by Gods iust iudgement (who hateth the proud and high minded) to lose the others, for by this example they were utterly discouraged to like of vs. And this people and nation though it be barbarous and rude, not knowing what apertineth unto honour: yet most and aboue all others do they desire to be exalted and honoured. And although they be not ashamed to be found false of their word, and vnjust in their dealings: yet will they greatlie commend lieng and commend truth, louing that in others, which is not to be found in themselves. But to the matter. What great euils and inconueniences do grow by such follies and insolencies, a wise man may wel learne by the example of Rehoboam the sonne of Salomon, & so by an other mans harms learne to beware of his owne. (2) For he being lea and carried by yong mens counsels, gaue a yong mans answer unto his people, saing unto them; My finger is greater than was my fathers loins, and whereas he beat you with rods, I will scourge you with scorpions, by reason whereof ten tribes forsoke him for euer, and followed after Jeroboam. Another cause is this, when Robert Fitzstephans came first over, and also the earle; there were certeine Irishmen which toke part with them, and faithfullie serued vnder them: and these were rewarded and had giuen unto them for recompense certeine

The incomes following  
the conquest of  
the king's  
government.

lands, which they quietly held and inhabited, until this time of the coming over of the king his sonne: for now the same were taken from them, and given to such as were new come over, contrarie to the promise & grant to them before made. Whereupon they forsooke vs and fled to our enemies, and became not onelie spies upon vs, but were also guides and conductors of them against vs: they being so much the more able to hurt and annoy vs, because they were before our familiars, and knew all our orders and secrets. Besides this, the cities and townes upon and neere the seacoasts, with all such lands, revenues, tributes, and commodities as to the same did belong and appertene, and which before was imployed and spent for the defence of the commonwealth & countrey, and in the service against the enemies, were now all assigned and bestowed upon such as were given to pillaging and polling, and who late still within the townes, spending their whole time, and all that they had in drunkenness and surfeiting, to the losse and damage of the good citizens and inhabitants, and not to the annoyance of the enemies. And besides sundrie other commodities, this was one, and a speciall one; that at the very first entrie of the king his sonne into this unruly and rebellious land, the people being barbarous, and not knowing what it was to be a subject, nor what appertained to government, such men were appointed to have the charge, rule and government, as who were more meet to talke in a parlour than to fight in the fields, better skill to be clad in a warme gowne than to be clothed in armour, and who knew better how to pill and poll the good subjects than to resist and encounter the enemy: yea for their valiantnesse and prowess they might well be resembled unto William Fitzaldelm, under whose government both Ireland and Wales were almost utterly destroyed & lost. For whie, they were neither faithfull to their owne people nor dreadfull to their enemies; yea they were utterly void of that affect, which is naturallie ingrafted in man, which is to be pittifull to the humble and prostrate, and to resist the proud and obstinate; but rather of the contrarie, they spoiled their owne citizens, and winked at their enemies: for to resist and withstand them nothing was done, no castles nor fortresses builded, no passes for safetie made, no waies for service opened, but all things went to ruine, and the common state to wacke. Moreover, the servingmen and the soldiers which were in garrison, they liking well of their captains and masters manners and loose life, gave themselves to the like, spending their whole time in rioting, banqueting, whoresome, and all other dissolute and wanton orders, tarrying still within the townes and places far off from the enemies. For as for the marches (so called because the same bordered upon their enemies; or rather of spars, because in those places martiall affaires were and are wont to be most exercised) they would not come neere the sight thereof, and by that means the people there dwelling and seated, the soles there manured, the castles there builded, were altogether destroyed, wasted, spoiled, and burned. And thus the prowess of the old captains, the good services of the veterans & well experimented soldiers by the insolent, dissolute, and loose life of these new comes was discredited: whereof was nothing else to be awaited for but after such calmes must needs ensue stormes and tempests. And albeit they thus lieng in the townes in securitie and at rest, wallowing in loose and wanton life, everie daie being a holie daie to Bacchus and Venus: yet the state of the land at large was most miserable and lamentable. For everie where was howling and weeping, the manured fields became waste, the castles destroyed, and the people

murdered, and no netwies but that the utter destruction of the whole land was at hand. And in this distress and necessitie, it had bene verie requisite and needfull that the soldiers should have taken by their weapons, served against the enemy, and have defended the common state: but it was farre otherwise, for there was such lawing & veneration in the townes, one daile luting and troubling another, that the veteran was more troubled with lawing within the towne, than he was in perill at large with the enemy. And thus our men given over to this trade and kind of life, became fainthearted, and afraid to looke upon the enemy: and on the contrarie the enemy most strong, stout, and bold. Thus was the land then governed, and thus the same passed towards the destruction of the English nation and government, which had doubtlesse verie shortlie followed and ensued, had not the king provided a speedie remedie for the same. For the king being advertised how disorderly things framed, and considering with himselfe in what perill the state of his realme and people stood, he with all speed sendeth for all these new come soldiers, in whom (other than the name of a soldier was nothing of ante value and commendation) and commandeth them to repaire and come home, and sendeth over in their places these old beaten and well tried soldiers, by whose service the land before had bene conquered and kept among whom one and the chiefe was John de Courcie, who was made lord deputie, and had the government of the land committed unto him: who, according to his office and dutie, setteth in hand the reformation of all things meet and requisite to be redressed: who the more valiant and forward he was in his said affaires and services, the more the land grew to good order, and intoid peace & quietnesse. For whie, he would not be idle himselfe, neither would he suffer his soldiers to lie idle like loiterers and sluggards: but was alwaies labouring and travelling abroad, and marching still towards the enemies, whom he followed and pursued even through the whole land, to the uttermost parts thereof, as well in Conne, Thomond, Connagh, and elsewhere; and if by any means he could have ante advantage of them, he would surely give the onset and adventure upon them: which for the most part was to their overthrowe, though he and his sometimes were galled, and felt the smart. And would to God he had bene as proudent in the one as skillfull and hardie in the other! But to my former purpose. Among the many and sundrie inconveniencies happened by this government of these new officers (as is before said) there was none greater, nor more to be lamented than was this: that notwithstanding God of his goodness did give the victory, and send the happie successe in this noble conquest: yet was there nevertheless due thanks attributed unto God, nor ante remembrance given unto his church; but to increase a further ingratitude, they took and spoiled a waile from the same their lands and possessions, as also minded to abridge them of their old and ancient privileges & liberties. No great a note of ingratitude, and an argument of too much unthankfulness: whereof that unquietnesse and troubles did ensue, the sequence thereof (for the course of sundrie years) did shew and declare.

So many outrages & disorders, which did creepe in by the disordered government under the king his sonne, were not so much to be imputed to his young and tender yeares, as unto the evil counsels and directions of such as were about him, and had the speciall charge thereof: for such a savage, rude, and barbarous nation was by good counsels, discret directions

Lawing  
worse than  
warring.

The State  
was! could  
you see that  
curried fault  
and abuse?

Lawsing  
swayle than  
swaring.

ations and prudent gouernement to haue bene gouerned and reduced to good order and conformitie. For whie, if a realme which by wise and prudent gouernement is brought and reduced to a perfect state, yet being committed to the gouernement of a child is cursed and brought to manifold distresses, troubles and miseries (5) how much more then is it to be so thought of that land, which of it selfe being rude and barbarous, is committed to the gouernement of such as be not onelie rude and barbarous, but also lewd and euill disposed. And that this did so happen and come to passe in Ireland, all wisemen doe know it, and the elder sort doe confesse it to be true, although young men to couer their folies, would reiect it to some other causes & impediments. For whie, such of them as had procured vnto themselves great livinges, lordships and territories, they pretended at the first that they would be readie to serue the king his sonne, to defend the countrie, to resist the enimie, and that they would doe this and that with manie good mooues. But when they had gotten what they would, and had that they sought for, then it manifestlie appeared that it was singular gaine & priuat profit which they shot at: for hauing obtained that, they neuer remembred their oth to their lord, nor cared for the common state, nor passed for the safetie and defence of the countrie, which in dutie they ought chieflie to haue considered.

(1) The Irish nation and people euen from the beginning haue bene alwaies of a hard bringing vp, & are not onelie rude in apparell but also rough & ouglie in their bodies: their beards and heads they neuer wash, clesse, nor cut, especiallie their heads; the haire whereof they suffer to grow, sauing that some doe vse to round it: and by reason the same is neuer kembered, it groweth fall together, and in procelle of time it macteth so thicke and fall together, that it is in freed of a hat, and keepeth the head verie warme, & also will beare off a great blow or stroke, and this head of haire they call a glibe, and therein they haue a great pleasure.

(2) The historie is written in the first booke of the kings the twelue chapter, and in the second of the chronicles the tenth chapter: the effect thereof is, that after the death of Salomon the people of Israell requested Rehoboam his sonne, to ease them of the grieuous burdens and heauie yoke which his father laied vpon them, who leauing the counsell of the old counsellors, gaue them answer by the aduise of young heads, as in this place is recited.

(3) What these Irishmen were, there are diuerse opinions. Some thinke that they were such as did inhabit about Wexford, some thinke that they were they of Kencelo, for they faithfully serued the Englishmen vnder their capteine named Morogh at Limerike, when the earle of Desmond recovered the same. But I find it to be noted of the Dynians, who are now dwelling within the baronie of Doreon, and has a seat there by the gift of the Kanentaughes, but since resisting against them and denieng to paie their accustomed cheuerie, yelued themselves vnto the earle of Dymond, paing vnto him a certeine blacke rent to be their defendor against the said Kanentaughes, but in right they are tenants to the barons of Doreon.

(4) This is meant of that which is before spoken in the twentieth chapter in the description of this John de Curcie, where his too much rashnes is noted to be a great fault in him.

(5) It is written by the preacher, or Ecclesiastes, Who be vnto the Lord thou land whose king is but a child. Which is not meant absolutelie of a child, but of such a one who (as a child) hath an euill affection, and

is void of that grauitie, wisdom, and maiestie as is requied in a prince and gouernour. For Josias when he was crowned king of Iehuda, was but eight yeares of age; and yet because he did that which was right in the sight of God, and ruled the land godlie and vprightlie, he is commended in the scriptures for the same.

### Three sorts of people which came and serued in Ireland.

Chap. 39.

There were three sundrie sorts of scrutoys which serued in the realme of Ireland, (1) Normans, Englishmen, and the Cambrians, which were the first conquerors of

the land: the first were in most credit and estimation, the second were next, but the last were not accounted nor regarded of. The Normans were verie fine in their apparell, and delicate in their diets, they could not feed but vpon deinties, neither could their meat digest without wine at each meale; yet would they not serue in the marches, or ante remote place against the enimie, neither would they lie in garrison to keepe ante remote castell or fort; but would be still about their lords side to serue and gard his person; they would be where they might be full and haue plentie, they could talke and brag, swaie and flare, and standing in their owne reputation, disdain all others. They receiued great intertainment and were liberallie rewarded, and left no meanes by sought how they might rule the roile, beare the sway, and be advanced vnto high estate and honour. In these things they were the first and foremost, but to serue in hosting, to encounter with the enimie, to defend the publike state, & to follow ante martiall affaires, they were the last and furthest off. And for asmuch as those noble and worthy scrutoys, by whose seruice, trauels and industrie, the said land was first entred into and conquered, were thus had in contempt, disdain, and suspicion, and onelie the new comes called to counsell, and they onelie credited and honored: it came to passe that in all their doings they had small successe, & by whole and little their credit decayed, and nothing came to effect or perfection which they took in hand.

The Normans fine in their apparell and delicate in their diet.

(1) This king, besides England and Scotland, had in his rule and gouernement the duchie of Normandie, and the earledomes of Gascoigne, Guen, Anion, & Poitiers, beside the losse of that which came to him by the right of his wife. And albeit he trusted the Englishmen well inough, yet being borne on the other side of the seas, he was more affectionated to the people of those provinces there subiect vnto him: for of them he chose both them which were of his counsell in peaceable gouernment, as also his scrutoys in martiall affaires. And albeit he had of euerte of these provinces some, yet because Normandie was the chieffest, and he duke thereof, they went all vnder the name of Normans, and so called Normans.

### How or by what manner the land of Ireland is throughlie to be conquered.

Chap. 40.

It is an old saying, that euerie man in his owne art is best of credit & most to be believed: & in this matter they are speciallie to be credited, who haue bene the chieffest travellers and scrutoys in and about the first conuerie

The Circle  
does! could  
you see that  
curled fault  
and abuse?

Great ods  
betweene the  
warres in  
France and  
Ireland or  
Wales.

uerie of this land, do know and can best discover the  
natures, manners, and conditions of these people  
and nation: for as the matter speciallie toucheth  
them, so none can do it better than they. For whie, by  
reason of their continuall warres with them being  
their most mortall enemies, none can better saie  
than they how they are either to be conquered or  
vanquished. And here by the wale happie had Wales  
bin, I meane that Wales which the English people  
do inhabit, if the king ther of in governing the same  
or when he incountried with his enemies had used  
this deuise & policie. But to the matter. These For-  
mans although they were verie good souldiers and  
well appointed, yet the manner of the warres in  
France far differeth from that which is used in Ire-  
land and Wales; for the soile & countrie in France  
is plaine, open, & champaine; but in these parts it is  
rough, rockie, full of hills, woods, & bogs. In France  
they weare complet harnesse, and are armed at all  
points, not onelie for their honoꝝ, but especiallie for  
their defense and safeties; but to these men the same  
are combersome & a great hinderance. In France  
they keepe standing fields & trie the battels, but these  
men are light horsemen & range alwaies at large.  
In France they keepe their prisoners and put them  
to ransomes, but these chop off their heads and put  
them to the sword. And therefore when the battell is  
to be waged in the plaine, open, & champaine coun-  
trie, it behoueth all men to be armed, some in com-  
plet harnesse, some in iaches, some in Almane ri-  
nets, & some in brigandines & shirts of maille, accor-  
ding to their places of seruiue. So on the contrarie,  
where the fight & trial is in narrow streits, rockie  
places, & where it is full of woods & bogs, & in which  
sotmen are to serue and not horsemen, there light  
armoꝝ and slender harnesse will best serue. To fight  
therefore in such places and against such men, as be  
but naked and unarmed men, and whome at the first  
push and aduenture, either the victorie must be had  
or lost, light and easie armoꝝ is best and convenient.  
And againe these people are verie nimble & quicke  
of bodie, and light of foot, and for their safetie and ad-  
uantage they seeke wates thorough streits and bogs,  
and therefore it is not for anie man laden with much  
armoꝝ to follow and pursue them. Moreover, the  
Frenchmen and Normans most commonlie are  
horsemen, and do serue on horsebacke, & these men  
haue their fables so great and depe, that they can-  
not at ease leape vp and downe; and being on foot by  
reason of their armoꝝ, they cannot serue nor trauell.  
And you shall further vnderstand, that in all the ser-  
uices and hostings, both in Ireland & in Wales, the  
Welsh seruitors, and especiallie such as do dwell  
in the marches, by reason of their continuall wars,  
they are verie valiant, bold, and of great experien-  
ces, they can endure ante paines and trauels, they  
are used to watchings and wardings, they can abide  
hunger and thirst, and know how to take aduantage  
of their enemie; and their seruice by horse is such, that  
they are ready to take aduantage of the field, be-  
ing quicke & ready to take and leape to the horse, as  
also to leaue the same, & to follow the enemie at their  
best aduantage, whether it be on horse or on foot. And  
such kind of seruitors and souldiers were they, which  
first gaue the aduenture and first predailed in Ire-  
land: and by such also in the end must the same be  
fullie conquered, that when the battell is to be fought  
& waged in the plaine and champaine countrie, and  
against such as be thoroughlie armed and appointed  
for the same, it is reason that the aduerse part be like-  
wise armed and appointed. But when the matter  
is to be waged in steepe places, rough fields, rockie  
hills, or in marshy and boggie grounds, and against  
such as be quicke of foot, and do seeke others to

tops of hills, or to bogs, and woods: then men of  
the like exercise, and hauing light armour, are to  
be allowed. And in the Irish wars this one thing  
is to be considered, that you do in euerie thing toine  
your botmen with your footmen and horsemen,  
that by them they may be defended from the Irish,  
whose nature and conditions are to run in and out,  
and with their darts are wont shewdile to annoie  
their enemies, who by the botmen are to be kept off.  
And moreover, that the hither part of the land lying  
on the east side, or part of the Shenin which diuideth  
the three other parts from this, and this being the  
fourth part must be well fortified with castles and  
forts: but as for Connagh & Thomond, which lie in  
the further side of the Shenin, and all those parties  
(sauiug the cite of Limerike which must needs be  
recovered and kept in the English gouernement)  
must for a time be bozied withall, and by little and  
little by fortifying of the frontiers in meet places be  
gotten and recovered, and so by little and little to  
grow in vpon them as occasion shall serue.

How the Irish people being vanqui-  
shed are to be gouerned.

Chap. 41.

Where he means and policie to be  
used in conquering this people, who are now  
more light in their bodies than in constant in  
mind: so when they are vanquished, they must  
in an order be ruled and gouerned. First and princi-  
pallie therefore it is to be considered, that whosoever  
shall be gouernor ouer them, that he be wise, con-  
stant, discret, and a staied man; that in time of peace,  
and when they are contented to liue vnder law and in  
obedience, they may be gouerned by law, directed by  
right, and ruled by iustice; as also to be stout and va-  
liant, ready and able with force seuerellie to punish  
all such as (contrarie to their dutie and allegiance)  
shall either rebell and break out, or otherwise liue in  
disordered maner. Moreover, when anie haue done  
amisse, and contrarie to dutie haue rebelled, and do  
yet afterwards knowledg their follie, and yelding  
themselves haue obtained pardon; that in no wise  
you do afterwards enill intreat them, neither yet  
laie their former faults to their charges, neither cast  
them in the teeth of their folles: but hauing taken  
such assurance of them as you may, to intreat them  
with all courtesies and gentlenesse, that by such god  
means they may the better be induced and incoura-  
ged to keepe themselves within their dutie, for loue  
of their god gouernement which they see: and yet be  
afraid to do enill for feare of punishment, which they  
are to receiue for their enill and letud doings. And  
if they will not thus order and gouerne them, but  
confound their doings, being slacke to punish the  
enill, and quicke to oppresse the good and obedient, to  
flatter them in their rebellions and outrages, and to  
spoil them in peace; to fauor them in their treasons  
and treacheries, and to oppresse them when they liue  
in iustitie, as we haue seene manye to haue done  
harelle these men, so disorderable confounding all  
things, they in the end shall be confounded them-  
selves. And because harms foresene do least annoie &  
hurt, let them which be wise looke well, that in time  
of peace they do prepare for the warres. For after the  
Gleson daies and calme seas do follow stormes and  
tempests: and therefore, when they haue had best  
times and leisure, let them build and fortifie castles,  
cut downe and open the passes, and do all such other  
things as the nature of warres requireth to be pre-  
pared. For this people bring uncerteine, craftie,  
and subtil, vnder colour of peace, are wont alwaies  
to be standing and deuising of mischiefs. And also be-  
cause

No better  
examples.

Robert  
w. h. v. s. than  
examples.

The Lerne  
village in Ire-  
land.

cause it is good to be wise by another mans harme,  
& warie by other mens examples. For nothing doth  
better teach a man than examples, and the paterns  
of things done afore time. Let not them forget what  
became of these worthie men, Miles of Cogan,  
Rafe Fitzstephans, Hugh de Lacie, Roger Bolowe,  
and others, who when they thought of least danger  
they were in most perill: and when they thought  
themselves in most safetie, they were intrapped and  
destroyed. For as we haue said in our Topographie;  
this people is a craftie and a subtle people, and moze  
to be feared when it is peace, than when it is open  
warres: for their peace indeed is but enimitie, their  
policies but craft, their friendships but coloured, and  
therefore the more to be doubted and feared. And by  
experience the same in some part hath bene proued:  
and therefore, as Euodius saith, Let the fall and ruine  
of things past be forewarnings of things to come.

And because herein a man can not be too wise nor  
warie, it were good that an order were taken (as it  
is in Sicilia) that none of them should weare any  
weapon at all, no not so much as a staffe in their  
hands to walke by. For euen with that weapon,  
though it be but slender, they will (if they can) take  
the aduantage, and beweeake their malice and can-

kered stomachs. Finally, forsomuch as the kings of  
England haue a iust title, and a full right to the land  
of Ireland in sundrie and diuerse respects; and con-  
sidering also that the same is chieflie mainteined by  
the intercoure and traffike of merchandizes out of  
England; and without the same cannot releue and  
helpe it selfe; it were verie expedient that for the ac-  
knowledging of the one, and for the inioing of the  
other, as also for the supporting of the continuall  
charges of the king of England there yeaerlie be-  
shewed: that there be a yeaerlie tribute paid and an-  
swered vnto the kings of England, either in monie,  
or in such commodities as that land breedeth, aswell  
for the continuance of the title in memorie, as also  
for the avoiding of manye inconueniences. And be-  
cause time weareth auaie, and men do daillie perishe  
and die, that this order for the perpetuall honour of  
the king and of his realme, and the memorie of this  
conquest, the same be ingrossed and registred in a  
publike instrument to indure for euer. And thus ha-  
uing spoken that we know, and witnessed that we  
haue seene, we doe here end this historie, leaving vn-  
to others of better knowledge and learning, to con-  
tinue the same as to them shall be thought most need-  
full and conuenient.

*Thus farre Giraldus Cambrensis.*



The processe of Irish affaires (beginning where  
Giraldus did end) vntill this present age, being a wit-  
nesse of sundrie things as yet fresh in memorie: which  
processe from henceforward is intituled  
*the Chronicles of Ireland.*



Leauing at the conquest of Ireland penned  
by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, we are now to pro-  
ceed in that which followeth: wherein our  
authour (as he himselfe writeth) vsed such  
notes as were written by one Philip Flat-  
burie, out of a certeine namelesse author,  
from this place vnto the yeare 1370: and  
we hauing none other helpe besides (ex-  
cept onelie Henrie of Marleborow) do set downe that which we  
find in our oft mentioned authour, and in the same Marleborow  
in all the whole discourse that followeth, except in some cer-  
teine particular places, where we shew from whence  
we haue drawne that which we write  
as occasion serueth.





# THE CHRONICLES of Ireland, &c.



castell built  
at Derwath.

1186  
Lacie is trait-  
orous to the  
king.

Curcie and  
Hugh Lacie  
the younger  
became the  
realme in  
quiet.

1199.  
King John  
laureth his ne-  
phew Arthur.

Ugh de Lacie (of whom such me-  
mozable mention  
is made hertofore)  
the rather to meet  
with such hurlie  
burlies as were  
like to put the state  
of the Irish coun-  
trie in danger, if  
the same were not  
the soner brought  
to quiet, erected  
and built a number of castels and forts in places  
conuenientlie seated, well and sufficientlie garni-  
shed with men, munitions, and vittels, as one at  
Derwath, where diuerse of the Irish praied to be  
set on worke for wages. Lacie came sundrie times  
thither to further the worke, full glad to see them fall  
in the with anie such exercise, wherein might they  
once begin to haue a delight, and take the sweetnesse  
of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of  
reformation: for which cause he visited them the oft-  
ner, and mercilie would command his gentlemen  
to giue the laborers example to take their toles in  
hand, and to worke a season, whilst the poore soules  
looking on might rest them. But this pastime grew  
to a tragicall end. For on a time, as each man was  
busilie occupied, some lading, some heading, some  
plastering, some grauing, the generall also himselfe  
digging with a pickaxe: a desperat villaine among  
them, whose tole the noble man bled, espieng both  
his hands occupied, and his bodie inclining down-  
wards, till as he stroke watched when he so stooped,  
and with an are cleft his head in sunder, little este-  
ming the torments that for this traitorous act insued.  
This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of  
Meth, for that he was the first that brought it to a  
nite due order of obedience vnto the English power.  
His bodie the two archbishops, John of Dublin,  
and Mattheu of Cashill buried in the monasterie  
of Westie, and his head in saint Thomas abbete at  
Dublin.

By occasion of this murder committed on the  
person of Hugh Lacie, John Curcie, and Hugh La-  
cie the younger, with their assistants, did straight ex-  
ecution vpon the rebels; and preuenting euerie mis-  
chiefe per it fell, staied the realme from vprores.  
Thus they knitting themselves together in friend-  
ship, continued in wealth and honor vntill the first  
yeare of king Johns reigne, who succeding his bro-  
ther king Richard, took his nephew Arthur, son to  
his brother Geffrey earle of Britaine, and dispat-  
ched him (some said) with his owne hands, because  
he knew what claime he made to the crowne, as des-

cended of the elder brother. And therefore not onelie  
the French king, but also certeine lords of England  
and Ireland fauored his title: and when they under-  
stood that he was made a waite, they took it in mar-  
uelous euill part. And Curcie either of zeale to the  
truth, or parcialitie, abhorring such barbarous cru-  
eltie, whereof all mens eares were full, spake blon-  
die words against king John, which his lurking ad-  
uerfaries (that laie ready to vndermine him) caught  
by the end, and used the same as a meane to lift him  
out of credit: which they did not onelie bring to passe,  
but also procured a commission to attach his bodie,  
and to send him ouer into England. Earle Curcie  
mistrusting his part, and belike getting some inhe-  
ring of their drift, kept himselfe aloofe, till Hugh La-  
cie lord iustice was faine to leue an armie and to be-  
trude Ulster, from whence he was oftentimes put  
backe: whereupon he proclaimed Curcie traitor,  
and hired sundrie gentlemen with promise of great  
recompense, to bring him in either quickie or dead.  
They fought once at Downe, in which battell there  
died no small number on both parts; but Curcie got  
the vpper hand, and so was the lord iustice foiled at  
Curcies hands: but yet so long he continued in  
practising to haue him, that at length Curcies owne  
captains were inuiceth to betraie their owne mas-  
ter: insomuch that vpon Good fridate, whilst the  
earle out of his armour visited barefooted certeine  
religions houses for deuotion sake, they laid for him,  
toke him as a rebell, & shipped him ouer into Eng-  
land the next waite, where he was adiudged to perpe-  
tuall prison. One Seintleger addeth in his collec-  
tions (as Campion saith) that Lacie paid the tra-  
itors their monie, and forthwith thereupon hanged  
them.

This Curcie translated the church and prebenda-  
ries of the trinitie in Downe, to an abbete of blacke  
monks brought thither from Wexter, and caused the  
same to be consecrated vnto saint Patrike: for  
which alteration, taking the name from God to a  
creature; he deemed himselfe worthilie punished.  
Not long after (as saie the Irish) certeine French  
knights came to king Johns court, and one among  
them requiered the combat for triall of the right to  
the duchie of Normandie. It was not thought expe-  
dient to leopord the title vpon one mans lucke, yet  
the chalenge they determined to answer. Some  
friend put them in mind of the earle imprisoned, a  
warrior of notable courage, and in pitch of bodie like  
a giant. King John demanded Curcie, whether he  
could be content to fight in his quarrell: Not for the  
said the erle, whose person I esteeme vnto this ad-  
uenture of my blood, but for the crowne & dignitie of  
the realme, in which manie a god man liueth against  
thy will, I shall be contented to hazard my life.

Curcie bit-  
terly displea-  
sed words a-  
gainst king  
John.

He is accusid.

He is procla-  
med traitor.

He is taken

Translation  
of prebenda-  
ries to monks.

A chalenge for  
a combat made  
by certeine  
French  
knights.

Curcies an-  
swer to king  
John.

He taketh vpon  
him to de-  
fend the cha-  
lenge.

These

Curcie  
taketh the  
monie  
etc.

11

12

King  
went  
Ireland

He is  
hereof  
glad



Justice Fitz-  
gerald.  
Lucas arch-  
bishop.

1230

1234

1241

The lord  
Wendon.  
Geffrie  
Genuill.

1252

1253

The castell of  
Schligath.

Donnill.

John Fitz-  
geffrie lord  
justice.  
Blaine de la  
Zouch lord  
justice.  
Stephen de  
long Espas.

William Dene  
lord justice.  
Grane castell  
destroyed.  
Mac Carcie.

1261

Sir Richard  
Capell lord  
justice.

Lord John  
Fitzthomas  
laine.

The lord in-  
justice taken.

ports the same had borne to their prejudice for a time  
finisterlie misconstrued, so as the gentlemen had  
still bene kept backe, and not rewarded according  
to their deserts. The king now informed of the truth  
made Justice Fitzgerald the sonne of Justice afore-  
said lord chiefe iustice of Ireland. Lucas succeeded  
London in the archbishops see, and was consecrated.  
In the yeare one thousand two hundred and thirtie,  
Richard Sparshall was taken prisoner in battell at  
Kildare. Some write that he was wounded there, and  
within few daies after died of the hurt at Kilkenny,  
and was buried there in the quere of the  
church of the friers preachers, nere to the place where  
his brother William was interred, who departed  
this life in the yeare one thousand two hundred thir-  
tie and one.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fortie and  
one, Walter Lacie lord of Meth departed this life  
in England: he left two daughters behind him that  
were his heires, Margaret married to the lord Wer-  
don, and Matilda the wife of Geffrie Genuill. King  
Henrie in the six & thirtieth yeare of his reigne, gave  
to Edward his eldest sonne, Gascoigne, Ireland,  
and the countie of Chester. In the yeare following,  
Hugh Lacie earle of Ulster departed this life, and  
was buried at Cragfergus, in the church of the  
friers minors, leaving a daughter behind him, that  
was his heire, whose name Walter de Burgh or Bourke  
married, and in right of hir was created earle of Ul-  
ster, as after shall appeare. Justice Fitzgerald lord  
justice of Ireland, being requested by this prince to  
come and assist him with a power of men against the  
Welsh rebels, left a sufficient garrison of men in  
the castell of Schligath, which he had latelie builded,  
and then came over with Helin Schonher, and a la-  
rge band of souldiers: & meeting the prince at Chesh-  
m, behaved themselves so valiantlie, that return-  
ing with victory, they greatly increased the favour  
of the king and prince towards them; and upon their  
returne into Ireland, they joined with Cormack  
Mac Dermot Mac Roie, and made a notable tour-  
ney against Donnill the Irish earle, that when Lacie  
was once dead, invaded & soe annoyed the kings  
subiects of Ulster. Donnill being vanquished, the  
lord justice forde pledges and tribute of Dneale to  
keep the kings peace, and diverse other exploits  
praise-worthy to be during the time of his govern-  
ment, as Flarabius hath gathered in his notes: for  
the lord Justice Fitzgerald earle of Kildare, in the  
yeare one thousand five hundred and fourtine.

Justice Fitzgerald succeeded in office of lord jus-  
tice, John Fitzgeffrie knight, and after him Alastir  
de la Zouch, who in the earle of Henrie Fitzmar-  
tine. And after de la Zouch, in the yeare one thousand  
two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fifti-  
eth of Henrie the third his reigne, was Stephen de  
long Espas sent to supplie that countie, who due  
Dneale with three hundred fiftie & two of his men in  
the forests of Dneale, and shortly after departed this  
life; then William Dene was made lord justice, and  
Grane castell was destroyed. Also Mac Carcie plaid  
the devil in Desmond.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and  
one, Sir William Dene lord justice of Ireland de-  
ceased, and Sir Richard Capell (or Capellan, some  
copies have) was sent to be lord justice after him;  
who greatly assisted the familie of the Geraldines, de-  
riving his government the lord John Fitzthomas  
and the lord Justice his son were slain: In the yeare  
one thousand two hundred fiftie and four, Walter  
de Burgh was made earle of Ulster, and Justice  
Fitzmarc took the lord justice of Ireland together  
with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diverse o-  
ther great lords at Trillick, and on that day

daie. And so was Ireland full of warres, betwixt the  
Burghs and Geraldines. In the yeare one thousand  
two hundred fiftie and six, there chanced an earth-  
quake in Ireland. In the yeare following, King Hen-  
rie took by the variance that was in Ireland be-  
twixt the parties, and discharging Dene, appointed  
David Barrie lord justice in his place, who tamed  
the insolent dealings of Justice Fitzmarc, couline  
germane to Fitzgerald.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and  
eight, Conhor Wren was slain by Dermot Mac  
Doner, and Justice Fitzgerald earle of Desmond  
was drowned in the sea, betwixt Wales & Ireland.  
And Robert Wiffort was sent over to remaine lord  
justice of Ireland, and Barrie was discharged, who  
continued till the yeare one thousand two hundred  
fiftie and nine, and then was Richard de Excester  
made lord justice. And in the yeare following, was  
the lord James Audleie made lord justice. Richard  
Wendon, and John Wendon were slain, and Fulke  
archbishop of Dublin deceased. Also the castles of  
Ablecke, Roscoman, & Scheligagh, were destroyed.  
The same yeare was a great dearth and mortalitie  
in Ireland. In the yeare one thousand two hundred  
senentie & two, the lord James Audleie was slain  
by a fall from his horse in Thomond, and then was  
Justice Fitzmarc made lord justice of Ireland, and  
the castell of Kandon was destroyed. In the yeare  
one thousand two hundred senentie and two, King  
Henrie the third departed this life, and the lord Wal-  
ter Genuill latelie returned home from his tour-  
nie into the holie land, was sent into Ireland, and  
made lord justice there. In the yeare one thousand  
two hundred senentie and five, the castell of Rosco-  
man was likewise repared and fortified.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred senentie  
and six, there was an overthow given at Glenbu-  
rie, where William Fitzroger, prior of the knights  
hospitallers, & manie other with him, were taken pri-  
soners, and a great number of other were slain. The  
same yeare, John de Wendon departed this world,  
and Thomas de Clare married the daughter of Jus-  
tice Fitzmarc. In the yeare following, Robert Wif-  
fort was appointed to supplie the place of Genuill,  
being called home, and so was this Wiffort the second  
time ordered lord justice of Ireland. He having ac-  
cession to passe into England, made his substitute  
Fulborne bishop of Waterford till his returne, and  
then resumed the government into his owne hands  
again. In the yeare one thousand two hundred sen-  
entie and seaven, Thomas de Glasse due Abbot of  
king of Athelthomond: and yet after this the Irish  
sloshed him up in Sleibant, together with Justice  
Fitzmaurice: so that they gave hostages to escape,  
and the castell of Roscoman was towne. In the pe-  
next insuing, was John de Werlington consecrated  
archbishop of Dublin: There was also a counsell  
holden at Grendon, and Mac Dermot due Castlur  
Doner, king of Connagh. In the yeare one thou-  
sand two hundred senentie and nine, Robert Wiffort  
upon occasion of business, came over into England,  
and left Sir Fulborne bishop of Waterford to sup-  
plie his countie, and Kate Richard and Abailan  
chaired Dneale in battell.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred and four  
score, Robert Wiffort came the third time to occupie  
the countie of lord justice in Ireland, returning  
that come into his hands again. In the yeare fol-  
lowing, the bishop of Waterford was established by  
the king of England lord justice of Ireland. Adam  
Cusacke the younger due William Barrie, and ma-  
nie other in Connagh. And in the next yeare, to wit,  
one thousand two hundred four score and two, Peter  
quett due Spurreragh, & his brother Art Mac Burgh  
at

1266

1267

David Bar-  
rie lord jus-  
tice.

1268

Robert Wif-  
fort.

Richard de  
Excester.

1270

1271

The lord  
Audleie.

Kandon.  
The decaie  
of king Hen-  
rie the third.

1272

Walter Genu-  
ill.

1275

1276  
An overthow  
at Glenbu-  
rie.

1277

1278

1279

1280

1281

1282

1283

1284

1285

1286

1287

1288

1289

Chesh church  
repared.

Donat bishop  
of Dublin.

Strangborne  
towne resto-  
red by Henrie  
Doner.

Captaine  
Randolfe.

John Ham-  
mond consecra-  
ted archbishop  
of Dublin.  
An overthow  
at Rathod.  
Howagh at  
Roscol burn  
1286

1288  
Stanford  
archbishop of  
Dublin lord  
justice.

1290

William Wif-  
fort lord justice.

1292

The earle  
Kildare.

1266

1267

David Bar-  
rie lord of  
Rice.

1268

Robert Mc-  
fozt.Richard de  
Ceciler.  
1270  
1271The lord  
Wulfe.Randon.  
The decess  
of king Hen-  
rie the third.  
1272  
Walter Gen-  
nill.  
12751276  
In ouerthrow  
at Glenbarre.

1277

1278

1280

1281  
The death  
of king Hen-  
rie the third.Chapel church  
repaid.Donat bishop  
of Dublin.Strangbow  
some resto-  
red by Henrie  
Sidneie.Capteine  
Randolfe.

1285

John Ham-  
ford consecra-  
ted archbishop  
of Dublin.  
In ouerthrow  
at Rathoo.  
Hawagh and  
Ardecoll burnt  
12861288  
Hamford  
archbishop of  
Dublin lord  
iustice.

1290

William Mes-  
sie lord iustice.

1292

The earle of  
Kildare.

at Athlon. Also the lord James de Birmingham, and Piers de Lute departed this life. Also the archbishop Derlington deceased. And about the same time, the citie of Dublin was defaced by fire, and the steeple of Christes church utterly destroyed. The citizens before they went about to repare their owne priuat buildings, agreed together to make a collecti- on for reparing the ruines of that ancient building first begun by the Danes, and continued by Cetrus prince of Dublin at the instance of Donat some- time bishop of that citie, and dedicated to the blessed trinitie.

At length Strangbow earle of Denbroke, Fitz- steffans, & Laurence, that for his vertue was called saint Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and his foure successors, John of Guelham, Henrie Scortchbill, and Lucas, and last of all John de faint Paule fi- nished it. This notable building, since the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath bene beautified in di- uerfe sorts by many zealous citizens. Strangbowes tyme defaced, by the fall of the rose of the church, fir Henrie Sidneie, when he was lord deputie, refrozed; & likewise did cost vpon the earle of Kildares chap- pell for an ornament to the quier, ouer the which he left also a monument of capteine Randolfe, late co- ronell of the English bands of footmen in Ulster that died there balliantlie, fighting in his princes ser- uice, as after shall appeare. In the yeare one thou- sand two hundred foure score and three, Formund chancelloz of Ireland, and Richard Lute departed this life, and siter Stephan Fulbozne was made lord iustice of Ireland.

In the yeare 1285, the lord Theobald Butler fled from Dublin, and died shortly after, and the lord Theobald Weldon lost his men and horses as he went towaros Offalie, & the next day Gerald Fitz- maurice was taken, and John Hamford was conse- crated archbishop of Dublin. Whereouer at Rathoo, the lord Cestreie Gennill fled, and sir Gerard Do- get, and Kase Petit were slaine; with a great num- ber of others. The Forwagh and Ardcolle with other townes and villages were burnt by Philip Stanton the fiftenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare 1286. Also Calwagh was taken at Kildare. In the yeare 1287, diuerse nobles in Ireland deceased, as Ri- chard Deceter, Gerald Fitzmaurice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Caffie, & Nicholas Teling knights. The yeare next insuing, deceased siter Fulbozne lord iustice of Ireland, and John Hamford archbi- shop of Dublin was aduanced to the roome of lord iustice. Also Richard Burgh earle of Ulster besieged Theobald Weldon in the castell of Athlon, and came with a great power vnto Trim, by the working of Walter Lacie.

In the yeare 1290, was the chase or discomfiture of Offalie, & diuerse Englishmen slaine. Also Pac Coghlán due Dmolagbelin king of Meth, and William Burgh was discomfited at Deluin by Pac Coghlán. The same yeare 1290, William Mes- sie was made lord iustice of Ireland, and entered in- to that office on S. Martins daie. Vnto this iustice, Edward Balliol king of Scotland did homage for an earledome which he held in Ireland, in like ma- ner as he did to king Edward for the crowne of Scotland. In the yeare 1292, a fiftenth was gran- ted to the king, of all the tempozall goods in Ireland, whylest Mesie was as yet lord iustice. This Mesie was a sterne man and full of courage, he called John earle of Kildare before him, charging him with foule riots and misdemeanors, for that he ranged abrood, and sought reuenge vpon priuat displeasures out of all order, and not for anie advancement of the pub- like wealth or seruice of his soueraigne.

The earle as impatient to heare himselfe touch- ed

as the iustice to suffer euill doing, answered thus. By your honor and mine (my lord) and by king Ed- wards hand (for that was accompted no small oth in those daies among the Irish) you would if you durst appeach me in plaine termes of treason or felonie: for where I haue the title, and you the force of Kil- dare, I wote well how great an eieclose I am in your sight, so that if I might be handsomlie trusted by for a fellow, then might my master your sonne be, come a gentleman. A gentleman quoth the iustice, thou proud earle: I tell thee, the Mesies were gentle- men before Kildare was an earledome: and before that Mesie bankrupt thy cousine fettered his nest in Leinster. But seeing thou darrest me, I will sur- lie breake thy heart. And therewith he called the earle a noxious theefe and a murderer. Then followed facing and bracing among the souldiers, with high words, and terrible swearing on both sides, untill ei- ther part appeased his owne.

The lord iustice shortly after, leaving his deputie William Haie, toke the sea, and hastened ouer to the king. The earle immediatlie followed, and as he noultie as the lord iustice accused him of felonie, Kildare no lesse appealed him of treason. For triall hereof, the earle asked the combat, and Mesie re- fused not: but yet when the lists were prouided, Mesie was slipt awaie into France, and so disherited of all his lands in the countie of Kildare, which were be- stowed vpon the earle and his heires for ever. The earle waxing losse of mind in such prosperous suc- cesse, squared with diuerse nobles, English and Irish of that land. The same yeare died John Hamford archbishop of Dublin, and John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, and John de la Mare toke prisoners, Ri- chard Burgh earle of Ulster, and William Burgh within the countie of Meth, and the castell of Kil- dare was taken, and all the countie wasted by the English on the one side, and the Irish on the other, and Calwagh burnt all the rolles and talies concer- ning the records & accompts of that countie. Great death and death reigned in Ireland this yeare, and the two yeeres next insuing. The earle of Kildare de- teined the earle of Ulster prisoner, untill by authori- tie of a parlement holden at Bilkennie, he was deli- uered out of the castell of Lere, for his two sonnes, and for the intiation which the earle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other his vnrulie and misgoyed parts, was disheried of the castell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connagh.

William Woddingfels, being this yeare made lord iustice of Ireland, after Mesie died, in the yeare next following, that is 1295, and the three and twen- tith of king Edward the first. After him succeeded in that roome the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice. In the yeare 1296, siter William de Bothum was conse- crated archbishop of Dublin. In the yeare 1298, and sir and twentieth of Edward the first, the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice departed this life, and an a- grément was made betwixt the earle of Ulster and the lord John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, by John Wogan that was ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. In the yeare 1299 William archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and Richard de Feringis was con- secrated archbishop in his place. The king went vnto John Wogan lord iustice, commanding him to giue summons vnto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare themselves with horse and armor to come in their best arraie for the warre, to serue him against the Scots: and withall wrote vnto the same nobles, as to Richard de Burgh earle of Ulster, Cestreie de Gennill, John Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Theobald lord Butler, Theobald lord Weldon, Piers lord Birmingham of Thetemoie, Cestace lord Powze, Hugh lord Partell, John de Cogan, John de

1294  
The death of  
the archbishop  
Hamford.  
The earle of  
Ulster taken  
prisoner.

Great death  
and death.

William Wo-  
dingfels lord  
iustice.  
1295  
Thomas  
Fitzmaurice  
lord iustice.  
1296  
1298  
Rec. Turris.

1299

de Barrie, William de Barrie, Walter de Laſſice, Richard de Erceſter, John Spurd, Walter Leſant, John of Drford, Adam de Stanton, Simon de Heibe, William Cadell, John de Wale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roch, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitzthomas de Kerto, commanding them to be with him at Withwelaun the firſt of March. Such a precept I remember I haue read, regiſtered in a cloſe roll among the records of the tower. But where Marlburrow ſaith, that the ſaid John Morgan lord iuſtice of Ireland, and the lord John Fitzthomas, with manie others, came to king Edward into Scotland, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yere 1299, which fell in the ſeuene & twentieth of the reigne of king Edward, & if my remembrance faile me not, the cloſe roll afozementioned beareth date of the ſoure and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne. All which notes may be true, for it is verie like, that in thoſe warres againſt the Scots, the king ſent diuerſe times to the Iriſh lords to come to ſerue him, as it behoued them to do by their tenures: and not onelie he ſent into Ireland to haue the ſeruices of men, but alſo for prouiſion of vittels, as in cloſe rolles I remember I haue alſo ſene recorded of the ſeuene and twentieth and thirtieth yeare of the ſaid king Edward the firſt his reigne. For this we find in a certeine abſtract of the Iriſh chronicles, which ſhould ſeeme to be collected out of Flatburie, whom Campion ſo much followed, that in the yeare 1301, the lord John Morgan lord iuſtice, John Fitzthomas, Peter Birmingham, & diuerſe others went into Scotland in aid of king Edward, in which yeare alſo a great part of the citie of Dublin, with the church of ſaint Werburgh was burnt in the night of the feaſt daie of ſaint Colme. Alſo the lord Genuill married the daughter of John de Pontfort, and the lord John Pontimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuill, alſo the lord Theobald de Werdon married the daughter of the lord Roger Pontimer. The ſame yeare in the winter ſeaſon, the Iriſh of Leinſter raiſed warre againſt the townes of Wicklow and Rathoon, doing much hurt by burning in the countrie all about: but they were chaſtiſed for their wickedneſſe, loſing the moſt part of their prouiſion and caſtell. And in the Lent ſeaſon the moze part of them had bene bitterlie deſtroied, if diſcord and variance had not riſen among the Engliſhmen, to the impeachment of their purpoſed enterpriſes.

In harueſt there were thre hundred theneſe ſlaine by the Heleanes. Alſo Walter le Power waſted a great part of Mounſter, burning manie farmes and places in that countrie. In the yeare 1302, pope Boniface demanded a tenth of all the ſpiritual liuings in England and Ireland, for the ſpace of thre yeares, to mainteine wars in deſenſe of the church of Rome, againſt the king of Arragon. In the yeare 1303, the earle of Ulſter, and Richard Burgh, and ſir Cuſſace le Power, with a puſſant armie entered Scotland. The earle made thre and thirtie knights at Dublin, before he ſet forthwards. The ſame yere Girald, ſonne and heire to the lord John Fitzthomas departed this life, and likewiſe the counteſſe of Ulſter. William de Welſſete, and ſir Robert de Perſuall were ſlaine the two and twentieth of October. In the yeare 1304, a great part of the citie of Dublin was burnt by caſuall fire. In the yeare next ſuſequent, Jordaine Comin with his complices ſue Harikagh Mconbur king of Deſſalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuerſe others within the court of Piers de Birmingham at Carricke in Carbrie. Alſo ſir Gilbert Sutton ſeward of Wexford was ſlaine by the Iriſhmen, nere to the ſarime

of Deimond de Grace, which Deimond bare him ſelfe right valiantlie in that fight, and in the end through his great manhood eſcaped.

In the yeare 1306 a great ſlaughter was made in Deſſalie nere to the caſtell of Geſchill, the thirtieth daie of Aprill vpon Mconbur and his friends by the Mdempſies, in the which place were ſlaine a great number of men. Alſo Mben king of Mmond was ſlaine. Moreover, Donald Mge Mar Arthie ſue Donald Ruſſe king of Deſſimond. And vpon the twelſe of Maie in the confines of Meſſy, agreat ouerthrow chanced to the ſide of the lord Piers Butler, and Balimoze in Leinſter was burnt by the Iriſh, where Henrie Celſe was ſlaine at that preſent time. Hereof folloiwed great wars betwixt the Engliſh and Iriſh in Leinſter, ſo that a great armie was called together forth of diuerſe parts of Ireland, to reſtreine the malice of the Iriſh in Leinſter, in which iournie ſir Thomas Spandeuill knight entered into a conſlict with the Iriſh nere to Glenfell, in the which he bare himſelfe right manfullie, till his horſe was ſlaine vnder him, and yet then to his great praife and high commendation he ſaued both himſelfe and manie of his companie. The lord chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Cancocke, was conſecrated biſhop of Imaleie within the Trinitie church at Dublin, and kept ſuch a feaſt as the like had not lightlie bene ſene nor heard of before that time in Ireland, firſt to the rich & after to the poze. Richard ſterlings archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſed on the euen of ſaint Luke the euangelist, to whom ſucceeded Richard de Hauerings, who after he had continued in that ſee about a ſiue yeares, reſigned it ouer by diſpenſaſſon obtained from Rome, and then his nepheue John Lech was admitted archbiſhop there.

In the yeare 1307 the firſt of Aprill, Murcod Ballagh was beheaded nere to Merton by ſir Dauid Caunton knight, and ſhortlie after was Adam Daune ſlaine. Alſo, a great diſcomfiture and ſlaughtere fell vpon the Engliſhmen in Connagh by the Mecheles the firſt daie of Maie, and the robbers that dwelt in the parties of Deſſalie raiſed the caſtell of Geſchill, and in the bigill of the tranſlation of Thomas Becket, being the firſt of Iulie, they burnt the towne of Leie and beſieged the caſtell: but they were conſtreined to depart from theſe ſhortlie after, by John Fitzthomas and Edmund Butler that came to remoue that ſiege. In the yeare 1308 king Edward the firſt departed this life the ſeuenty of Iulie.

## Edward the ſecond.

**R**ichard archbiſhop of Dublin, after that he had gouerned that ſee the ſpace of ſiue yeares, by reaſon of a viſion that he ſaw in his ſleepe, ſeeling himſelfe troubled in conſcience, with conſideration of that dreame, reſigned the next morrow all his title to the archbiſhops dignitie (as before ye haue heard) and contented himſelfe with other eccleſiaſticall benefices as ſeemed conuenient to his eſtate. This yeare by vertue of letters directed from the pope to the king of England, he cauſed all the Templers as well in England as Ireland to be apprehended, and committed to ſafe keeping. The profeſſion of theſe Templers began at Jeruſalem, by certeine gentlemen that remained in an hoſtell nere to the temple, who till the counsell of Trols in France were not increaſed aboue the number of nine, but from that time forth in little moze than ſiue yeares, by the zealous contribution of all chriſtian

Chr. Pembrig.

1301  
Iriſhmen in-  
uade Scot-  
land.

Walter  
Power.  
1302

1303  
The earle  
of Ulſter.

1304

1306  
A diſcom-  
fiture at Deſſalie.

Ballimoze  
burnt.

warres in  
Leinſter.

The lord chan-  
celloz conſe-  
crated biſhop  
of Imaleie.

The archbi-  
ſhop of Du-  
blin deceaſed.

1307

A diſcomfiture  
in Connagh.

1308

1300  
The order of  
the Templers  
ſuppreſſed.



Asian realmes, they had houses created euerie where, with livings bountifullie assigned to the same for their maintenance, in so much as they were augmented unto the number of three hundred, that were knights of that order, beside inferiour brethren innumerable: but now with wealth they so forgot themselves, that they nothing lesse regarded, than the purpose of their foundation: and withall being accused of horrible heresies (whether in all things iustlie or otherwise, the Lord knoweth) they were in the council at Lyons in France condemned, and their livings transposed to the knights Hospitallers, otherwise called the knights of the Rhodes, and now of Malta. The manner of their apprehension and committing was sudden, and so generall in all places upon one date, that they had no time to flie for themselves.

For first, the king sent forth a precept to euerie shiriffe within the realme of England, commanding them within each of their romes to cause a prescribed number of knights, or rather such men of credit, on whose fidelities he might assure himselfe to assemble at a certeine towne named in the same writ, the sundae next after the Epiphanie, & that each of the same shiriffes failed not to be there the same daie, to execute all that should be intained them by any other writ, then and there to be deliuered. The shiriffe of Dorset was commanded to giue summons to foure and twentie such knights, or other sufficient men to meet him at Dorset. The shiriffe of Dorset, folke and Suffolke, to summon twentie to meet him at Hertford. The other shiriffes were appointed to call to them some ten, some twelue, or some fourtene, to meet them at such townes as in their writs were named. The date of this writ was from Westminster the fifteenth of December, in the first yeare of this king Edward the secondes reigne. The other writ was sent by a chapleine authorized both to deliuer the same writ, and to take an oath of the shiriffe, that he should not disclose the contents, till he had put the same in execution, which was to attach by assistance of those aforementioned knights, or as manie of them as he thought expedient to vse, all the Temples within the precinct of his rone, and to seise all their lands, goods, and cattels into the kings hands, and to cause an inventarie of the same indented be made in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were knight of the order or any other, and in the presence of other honest men neighbours thereabouts, keeping the one counterpane with himselfe, sealed with his seale that made the seizure, and leaving the other in the hands of the said warden: and further to see the same goods and cattels to be put in safe keeping, and to provide that the quicke goods might be well kept and looked unto, and the grounds manured to the most profit, and to cause the bodie of the Templers attached, to be so deteined in all safetie, as that they be not yet committed to irons nor to streit prison, but to remaine in some convenient place other than their owne houses, and to be found of the goods so seized accordinglie as falleth for their estates, till he haue otherwise in commandment from the king: and what is done herein, to certifie into the archbisher the morrow after the purification. The date of this second writ was from Wilt the twentieth of December. There was likewise a writ directed to John Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, signifying unto him what should be done in England, touching the apprehension of the Templers, and seizure of their lands and goods, commanding him to proceed in semblable manner against them in Ireland: but the date and place when the shiriffes should there assemble, was left to the discretion of the said iustice and treasurer

of the archbisher there, but so as the same might be done before any rumour of this thing could be brought ouer out of England thither. Also a like commandment was sent unto John de Wiltaine earle of Richmond, lord warden of Scotland, and to Eustace Cotesbach chamberleine of Scotland, also to Walter de Pederton lord iustice of west Wales, to Hugh Aldighleigh alias Anderleie lord iustice of north Wales, and to Robert Holland lord iustice of Chester. Thus much for the Temples. But now to other doings in Ireland.

In the yeare 1308 the twelue of Aprill deceased Peter de Birmingham a noble warrior, and one that had bene no small scourge to the Irish. The cleunth of Maie the castell of Kennon was burnt, and diuers of them that had it in keeping were slaine by William Macbalthar, and other of the Irish, and likewise the towne of Courcoule was burnt by the same malefactors. And the first of June, John lord Wogan lord iustice was discomfited nere to Glindeloxie, where John de S. Hogelin, John Porton, John Hyeton, and manie other were slaine. The fifteenth of June, Dunlouan, Tobir, and manie other townes were burnt by the Irish rebels. About this season, John Decer maior of Dublin builded the high pipe there, & the bidge ouer the Riffe towards S. Wilsons, and a chappell of our ladie at the friers minors, where he was buried, repaired the church of the friers preachers, and euerie stridie tyled the friers at his owne costs.

John Wogan hauing occasion to passe into England, William Burgh did supplie his rone, unto whom king Edward recommended Piers de Gaueson, when (contrarie to the kings mind) he was banished by the lords of England, and about the nativite of our ladie he came ouer into Ireland, being sent thither by the king with manie iewels: and beside the letters which he brought of recommendation from the king, he had assigned to him the comodities of that realme, which bred some trouble and bickerings there, betwixt Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and the said Gaueson, who notwithstanding bought the good willes of the souldiers with his liberalitie, slue Dermot Demeplie, subdued Dber, edified sundrie castels, caufices, and bidges, but the next yeare he was reuoked home by the king, as in the historie of England it maie appeare.

In the vigill of Simon and Jude, the lord Roger Portimer landed in Ireland with his wife, right heire to the seigniorie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Genuill, that was sonne to the lord Gesteire Genuill: which Gesteire became a frier at Trim of the order of the preachers: by reason whereof, the lord Portimer and his wife entered into possession of the lands of Meth. In the yeare 1309, on Candlemas day, the lord John Bonneuill was slaine nere to the towne of Ardscoll, by the lord Arnold Powze and his complices, his bodie was buried at Athie in the church of the friers preachers. In the yere following, at a parlement holden at Wilsare, the lord Arnold Powze was acquit of that slaughter, for that it was proued it was done in his owne defense. In the yeare 1311, or (as some booke haue) the yeare 1309, Wogan lord iustice summoned a parlement at Kilkennie, where diuerse wholesome lawes were ordeined, but neuer executed. There fell the bishops in contention about their iurisdiccions, namelie the bishop of Dublin forbade the pimat of Armagh to raise his croiser within the prouince of Leinster.

Shortlie after, Rowland Joyce the pimat slea by night (in his pontificals) from Howth to the priozie of Grace Dieu, where the bishops seruants met him, & with force chased him out of the diocesse. This bishop was named John a Leekes, and was consecrated

This Macbalthar was after hanged at Dublin. The lord iustice was discomfited.

John Decer maior of Dublin.

Burgh.

Piers Gaueson sent into Ireland.

Lord Roger Portimer.

Lord John Bonneuill slaine.

A parliament at Kilkennie, Campion.

C.ij.

not

Sir Richard  
de Clare.

John Lacie  
saine.

1312  
Robert Werdon  
raiseth a  
riotous tas-  
mult.  
John wogan  
lord iustice.

1313  
Campion.

The earle of  
Ulster sonne  
and heire de-  
cea feth.  
1314

1315  
Edward  
Bruce inua-  
deth Ireland.

Captains of  
name with  
Bruce.

Dundalke ta-  
ken and burnt

Edmund  
Butler lord  
iustice.

not long before he kept this furre. Richard earle of  
Ulster with a great armie came to Bonrath in  
Thomond, whereas sir Robert or rather sir Richard  
de Clare discomfited his polver, toke sir William  
de Burgh prisoner, or (as some bookes haue) the earle  
himselfe. John Lacie the sonne of Walter Lacie,  
and diuerse others were slaine. The twelue of No-  
uember this yere, Richard de Clare slue sir hundred  
Calloglasses, and John Morigoghedan was slaine  
by Omolmoie. Also Donat Obzen was murdered  
by his owne men in Thomond.

The one and twentieth of Februarie began a riot  
in Argile by Robert Werdon, for the appeasing wher-  
of an armie was lead thither by John Wogan lord  
chiefe iustice in the beginning of Iulie, but the same  
was discomfited, and diuerse men of account slaine,  
as sir Nicholas Auenell, Patrike de Koch, & others.  
At length yet the said sir Robert Werdon, and many  
of his complices came and submitted themselves to  
prison within the castell of Dublin, abiding there the  
kings mercie. The lord Edmund Butler was made  
deputie iustice vnder the lord John Wogan, who in  
the Lent next insuing besieged the Obzens in Clin-  
delow, and compelled them to yeld themselves to the  
kings peace. Also in the yere abouesaid 1312,  
Maurence Fitzthomas married the ladie Katharine,  
daughter to the earle of Ulster at Grane castell, and  
Thomas Fitzjohn married an other of the said earles  
daughters in the same place, but not on the same  
daie: for the first of those two mariages was ce-  
lebrated the morrow after saint Dominikes daie,  
and this second marriage was kept the morrow af-  
ter the feast of the assumption of our ladie. Also  
Robert de Bruce ouerthrew the castell of Span, and  
toke the lord Donegan Mdotwill on saint Barna-  
bies daie.

In the yere 1313, John a Leakes archbishop  
of Dublin departed this life: after whose decease  
were elected in schisme and diuision of sides two suc-  
cessors, Walter Thorneburie lord chancelor, and A-  
lexander Bigno: treasurer of Ireland. The chancel-  
lor to strengthen his election, hadilie went to sea, and  
together with an hundred and fiftie and six persons  
perished by shipwracke. The other submitting his  
cause to the pprocess of law, taried at home and sped.  
Moreouer, the lord John de Burgh, sonne and heire  
to the earle of Ulster, deceased at Galbie on the feast  
daie of saint Marcell & Marcelline. Also the lord Ed-  
mund Butler created thirtie knights in the castle of  
Dublin on saint Michaels daie being fundaie. The  
knights hospitallers of saint Johns (as they were  
called) were inuested in the lands of the Templers  
in Ireland. The same yere was the lord Theobald  
Werdon sent lord iustice into Ireland.

In the ninth yere of king Edwards reigne,  
Edward Bruce, brother to Robert Bruce king of  
Scots, entered the north part of Ireland with six  
thousand men. There were with him diuerse cap-  
tains of high renoume among the Scottish nation,  
of whome the chiefe were these: the earles of Marrie  
and Mentith, the lord John Steward, the lord John  
Campbell, the lord Thomas Kandolse, Fergus de  
Ardeslan, John Wood, and John Bisset. They lan-  
ded nere to Cragfergus in Ulster the five & twen-  
tith of Maie, and joining with the Irish, conquered  
the earldome of Ulster, and gaue the English there  
diuerse gre at ouerthrowes, toke the towne of Dun-  
dalke, spoiled & burnt it, with a great part of Uexile:  
they burnt churches & abbeies, with the people whom  
they found in the same, sparing neither man, woman  
nor child. When was the lord Edmund Butler chosert  
lord iustice, who made the earle of Ulster and the  
Gralbines friends, and reconciled himselfe with sir  
John Spandeuill, thus seeking to preserve the residue

of the realme which Edward Bruce meant wholie to  
conquer, hauing caused himselfe to be crowned king  
of Ireland. The lord iustice assembled a great polver  
out of Mounster, and Leinster, and other parts ther-  
abouts, and the earle of Ulster with another armie  
came vnto him nere vnto Dundalke, where they  
consulted together how to deale in defending the  
countre against the enimies: but hearing the Scots  
were withdrawne backe, the earle of Ulster folowed  
them, and fighting with them at Coimers, he lost  
the field.

There were manie slaine on both parts, and  
William de Burgh the earls brother, sir John Span-  
deuill, and sir Alane Fitzalane were taken pris-  
oners. Here with the Irish of Connagh and Metch be-  
gan forthwith to rebell against the Englishmen, and  
burnt the castell of Athlon and Kandon. And the  
Bruce comming forward burnt Kenlis in Metch,  
and Granard, also Finnagh, and Pelwcastell, and  
kept his Christmas at Loghslodie. From thence he  
went through the countre vnto Kaskimagan and  
Kildare, and to the parties about Triseldermot and  
Athie, then to Kaban Skettler and nere to Ardskoll  
in Leinster: where the lord iustice Butler, the lord  
John Fitzthomas, the lord Arnold Duboze, and o-  
ther the lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Moun-  
ster came to encounter the Bruce: but through dis-  
cord that rose among them, they left the field vnto  
the enimies, sir William Penbergast knight, and  
Heimond le Grace a right vallant esquier were  
slaine there. And on the Scottish side sir Fergus An-  
drellan and sir Walter Spurrete, with diuerse other  
that were buried in the church of the friers prea-  
chers at Athie.

After this the Bruce in his returne towards Metch  
burnt the castell of Leie, and so passed forth till he  
came to Kenlis in Metch. In which meane time Ro-  
ger lord Mortimer, trussing to win himselfe fame if  
he might ouerthrow the enimies, called forth fiftene  
thousand men, and vnderstanding that the Scots  
were come to Kenlis, made thitherwards, and there  
incountering with them, was put to the worse, his  
men (as was supposed) wilfullie shrinking from him,  
as those that bare him hollow hearts. With the  
newes of this ouerthrow, vpstart the Irish of Moun-  
ster, the Mories, Obzens, Mores, and with fire  
and sword walked all from Arclow to Leir. With  
them coped the lord iustice, and made of them a great  
slaughter, fourescore of their heads were sent to the  
castell of Dublin.

In tyme of these troubles and warres in Ireland  
by the inuasion thus of the Scots, certeine Irish  
lords, faithfull men and true subiects to the king of  
England, did not onelie promise to continue in their  
loall obseance towards him, being their soveraigne  
prince; but also for more assurance deliuered holla-  
ges to be kept within the castell of Dublin. The  
names of which lords that were so contented to al-  
sure their allegiance were these, John Fitzthomas  
lord of Mskalie, Richard de Clare, Maurice Fitztho-  
mas, Thomas Fitzjohn le Polwer baron of Do-  
noille, Arnold le Polwer, Maurice de Rochford, Da-  
uid de la Koch, and Miles de la Koch. These and  
diuerse other resisted with all their might and maine  
the iniurions attempts of the Scots, although the  
Scots had drawne to their side the most part of the  
wild Irish, and no small number also of the English  
Irish, as well lords, as others of meaner calling: so  
that the countre was miserable afflicted, what by  
the Scots on the one part, and the Irish rebels on  
the other, which rebels notwithstanding were ouer-  
throwne in diuerse particular combats. What yet to  
the further scattering of the English forces in Ire-  
land, there rose foure princes of Connagh, but the  
Burghes

A great ouer-  
throw.

The king of  
Connagh  
saine.

Obelle slaine.

The lord  
Mortimer  
discomfited  
by the Scots

Sir Thomas  
Spandeuill  
saine.

Assurance giv-  
en by the  
lords of Ire-  
land for their  
loalltie.

A great over-  
throw.

The king of  
Connagh  
dame.

Burghes and Birminghamis discomfited them, and  
sue eleven thousand of them beside Asherrie. A-  
mongst other were slaine in this battell Fedelmi-  
cus, Moncur king of Connagh, Dkellie, and di-  
uerse other great lords and capteins of Connagh  
and Metch. The lord Richard Birmingham had an  
esquier that belonged to him called John Hulleie,  
who by the commandement of his maister went  
forth to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring  
him word whether Dkellie his mortall fo were  
slaine among the residue. Hulleie comming into  
the field with one man to turne vp and surueie the  
dead carcases, was streight espied by Dkellie, that  
laie lurking in a brake bush thereby, who hauing  
had good proue of Hulleie his balliance before that  
time, longed sore to traine him from his capteine,  
and presuming now upon his good oportunitie, dis-  
couered himselfe, not doubting, but either to win  
him with courteous persuasions, or by force to  
worke his will of him, and so comming to him said:  
Hulleie, thou seest that I am at all points armed, &  
haue manie esquire here likewise furnished with ar-  
mour & weapon readie at mine elbow; thou art na-  
ked with thy page, a yongling, & not to be accounted  
of: so that if I loued thee not, and meant to spare  
thee for thine owne sake, I might now do with thee  
what I would, and slea thee for thy maisters sake.  
But come & serue me vpon this request here made  
to thee, and I promise thee by saint Patrikes flasse  
to make thee a lord in Connagh, of more possessions  
than thy maister hath in Ireland. When these words  
might nothing weie him, his owne man (a great  
foul lubber) began to reprove him of follie, for not  
consenting to so large an offer, which was assured  
with an oth, whereupon he durst gage his soule for  
performance.

Dkellie slaine.

The lord  
Mortimer  
discomfited  
by the Scots.

Now had Hulleie thre enemies, and first therefore  
turning to his knane, he dispatched him. Next he  
raught vnto Dkellies esquier such a knoeke vnder  
the pit of the eare, that doونه he came to the ground  
and there he laie. Thirde, he laid so about him, that  
per ante helpe could be looked for, he had also slaine  
Dkellie, and perceiving the esquire to be but asso-  
nied he recovered him, and holpe him vp againe,  
and after he was somewhat come to himselfe, he for-  
ced him vpon a tranchion, to beare his lords head in-  
to the high towne before him, who did so; and Hus-  
leie presented it to Birmingham, who after the cir-  
cumstances declared, he dubbed Hulleie knight,  
aduancing him to manie preferments. The succes-  
sors of that familie afterwards were barons of Cal-  
trim. Sir Thomas Pandewill and others in this  
meane while made oftentimes enterprises against  
the Scots, and sue diuerse of them in sundrie com-  
fites. But whosoever it chanced, we find recorded  
by Henrie Marleburgh, that either the said sir Tho-  
mas Pandewill (that thus valiantlie behaved him-  
selfe against the Scots) or some other bearing the  
same name, and his brother also called John Pan-  
dewill were both slaine shortly after at Downe, vpon  
their comming south of England, by the Scots  
that were readie there to assaile them.

Sir Thomas  
Pandewill  
slaine.

Astrance gle-  
en by the  
ords of Ire-  
land for their  
nallie.

Thus may we see, that those lords and knights,  
which had giuen pledges for their loialtie to the king  
of England, fought by all waies and meanes how  
to beat backe the enemies: which they might haue  
done with more ease, if the Irish had not assisted  
the Scots, and presuming of their aid, rebelled in sun-  
drie parts of the countrie; who neuertheless were  
oftentimes well chastised for their disoiall dealings,  
as partlie we haue touched; although we omit di-  
uerse small overthowes and other particular mat-  
ters, with otherwise we should increase this booke  
further than our first purposed intent would permit.

Whilist the Scots were thus holder vp in Ireland,  
that they could not in all things worke their wills,  
Robert le Buse king of Scots came ouer him-  
selfe, landed at Cragfergus to the aid of his brother,  
whose souldiours most wickedlie entred into churches,  
spoiling and defacing the same of all such tomes,  
monuments, plate, copes, & other ornaments which  
they found, and might laie hands vpon.

Campion,  
1316  
The king of  
Scots in  
Ireland.

The castell of Cragfergus, after it had bene  
strictlie besieged a long time, was surrendered to the  
Scots, by them that had kept it, till they for want  
of other vittels were driuen to eate leather, and right  
Scots (as some write) which they had taken priu-  
ners. The lord Thomas, sonne to the earle of Ul-  
ster departed this life. And on the sundaie next af-  
ter the natiuitie of our ladie, the lord John Fitztho-  
mas deceased at Laragh Bine nere to Malinthe, and was  
buried at Kildare, in the church of the fri-  
ers preachers. This John Fitzthomas, a little be-  
fore his death, was created earle of Kildare; after  
whome succeeded his sonne Thomas Fitzthomas a  
right wise and prudent personage. The fourteenth  
of September, Conhor Mac Iele, & sue hundred Ir-  
ishmen were slaine by the lord William de Burgh,  
and lord Richard Birmingham in Connagh. Also  
on the mondaie after the feast of All saints, John  
Loggan and sir Hugh Bisset sue a great number  
of Scots, among the which were one hundred with  
double armors, and two hundred with single ar-  
mors: so that of their men of armes there died thre  
hundred beside footemen.

Cragfergus  
deliuered vp  
to the Scots.  
Mencaten.

John Fitz-  
thomas the  
first earle of  
Kildare de-  
ceased.

Scots ouer-  
throwne.

The fifteenth of Nouember chanced a great tem-  
pest of wind and raine, which threw downe manie  
houses, with the steeple of the Trinitie church in  
Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and  
water. On the sixt of December, sir Alane Ste-  
ward that had bene taken prisoner in Ulster by  
John Loggan, and sir John Sandale, was brought  
to the castell of Dublin. After Canlemas, the La-  
cies came to Dublin, & procured an inquest to be im-  
panelled to inquire of their demeanour, for that they  
were accused to haue procured the Scots to come  
into Ireland: but by that inquest they were dischar-  
ged, and therewith took an oth to keepe the kings  
peace, and to destroe the Scots to the uttermost of  
their power. In the beginning of Lent, the Scots  
came in secret wise vnto Slane, with twentie thou-  
sand armed men: and with them came the armie of  
Ulster, destroing all the countrie before them.  
Whereouer, on mondaie before the feast of S. Ma-  
thias the apostle, the earle of Ulster lieng in the ab-  
beie of S. Marie nere to Dublin, Robert Potting-  
ham maior of that citie, with the communalte of  
the same went thither, toke the earle, and put him  
in prison within the castell of Dublin, sue leuener of  
his men, and spoiled the abbeie.

A great tem-  
pest.

1317

The earle of  
Ulster appe-  
hended.

The same weeke, Edward Buse marched to-  
wards Dublin, but herewith, turning to the castell  
of Inoke, he entred the same, and toke Hugh Tir-  
rell the lord thereof, together with his wife, and ran-  
somed them for a summe of monie. The citizens of  
Dublin burnt all their suburbs for feare of a siege,  
and made the best puruiance they could to defend  
their citie, if the Buse had come to haue besieged  
them: but he turning another waie, went vnto the  
towne of Maas, and was guided thither by the La-  
cies, contrarie to their oth. From thence he passed  
vnto Trilfeldermot, and so to Ballynam, and to  
Callan, at length he came to Limerike, and there  
remained till after Easter. They of Ulster sent to  
the lord iustice lamentable informations of such cru-  
eltie as the enemies practised in those parts, besee-  
ching him to take some order for their reliefe in that  
their so miserable estate. The lord iustice deliuered to

Hugh Tir-  
rell taken by  
the Scots.

The kings  
standard de-  
livered to  
thier of Ul-  
ster.

to them the kings power with his standard, where-  
with under pretense to expell the Scots, they got by  
in armor, and ranging through the countrie, did  
more vice and molest the subiects, than did the straw-  
gers. The Scots proceeded and spoiled Cathels,  
& wheresoeuer they lighted upon the Butlers lands,  
they burnt and spoiled them inmercifullie.

Roger Mo-  
rtimer iustice  
of Ireland.

In this meane while had the lord iustice and Tho-  
mas fitzjohn earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare,  
and Arnold le Poivre baron of Donnoill leuied an  
armie of thirtie thousand men, readie to go against  
the enemies, and to giue them battell, but no good  
was done. For about the same time the lord Roger  
Mortimer was sent into Ireland as lord iustice, and  
landing at Poghall, wrote his letters vnto the lord  
Butler, & to the other capteins, willing them not to  
fight till he came with such power as he had brought  
ouer with him. Whereof the Butle being warned,  
retired first towards Kildare. But yet after this he  
came within foure miles of Trim, where he laie in a  
wood, and lost manie of his men through famine, and  
so at length about the beginning of Maie he retur-  
ned into Ulster.

Slaughter of  
Irishmen.

1317  
The earle of  
Ulster deliue-  
red out of pri-  
son.

The lord Edmund Butler made great slaughter  
of the Irish nere to Trillickdermot, and likewise at  
Balithan he had a good hand of Omoich, and slue  
manie of his men. The lord Mortimer pacified the  
displeasure and variance betwixt Richard earle of  
Ulster, and the nobles that had put the said earle un-  
der safe keeping within the castell of Dublin, accu-  
sing him of certeine riots committed to the prejudice  
and losse of the kings subiects, whereby the Scots in-  
creased in strength and courage, whose spoiling of  
the countrie caused such horrible scarfitie in Ulster,  
that the soldiors which the yeare before abused the  
kings authoritie, to pursue themselves of ouer fine  
diet, surfatted with flesh and *Aquavita* all the Lent  
long, polled and pilled insatiablie wheresoeuer they  
came without need, and without regard of the poore  
people, whose onelie prouision they deuoured. These  
people now lying in slaverye vnder the Butle, star-  
ued for hunger, hauing first experienced manie la-  
mentable thiffs, euen to the eating of dead carcasses.

The earle of  
Ulster deliue-  
red.

Great dearth.

The earle of Ulster was deliuered by maine-  
prise and vpon his oth, by the which he undertooke ne-  
uer to seeke reuenge of his apprehension otherwise  
than by order of law, and so had daie giuen him vnto  
the feast of the natiuitie of saint John baptist: but he  
kept not his daie, whether for that he mistrusted to  
stand in trial of his cause, or through some other rea-  
sonable let, I cannot tell. A great dearth this yeere  
afflicted the Irish people: for a measure of wheat  
called a chzonecke was sold at foure and twentie  
hillings, & a chzonecke of otes at sixtene hillings,  
and all other vittels likewise were sold according to  
the same rate; for all the whole countrie was soe wa-  
sted by the Scots and them of Ulster, insomuch that  
no small number of people perished through famine.

Sir Hugh  
Crofts slaine.

The Lacies  
reuint to the  
Scots.

About the feast of Pentecost the lord iustice Mo-  
rtimer toke his iornie towards Drogheda, and sent  
to the Lacies, commanding them to come vnto him,  
but they refused so to do. Whereupon he sent sir Hugh  
Crofts vnto them, to talke with them about some a-  
greement of peace: but they slue the messenger, for  
whome great lamentation was made, for that he  
was reputed & knowne to be a right worthie knight.  
The lord iustice soe offended herewith, gathereth an  
armie, & goeth against the Lacies, whome he chased  
out of Connagh, so that Hugh Lacie withdrew to  
Ulster, & there ioined himselfe with Edward Butle.  
Whereupon on the thursdaie next before the feast of  
saint Margaret, the said Hugh Lacie and also Wal-  
ter Lacie were proclaimed traitors. This yeare pas-

sed verie troublesome vnto the whole realme of Ire-  
land, as well through slaughter betwixt the parties  
enimies one to another, as by dearth and other mis-  
fortunes. Hugh Canon the kings iustice of his  
bench was slaine by Andrew Birmingham betwixt  
the towne of Paas and castell Marten. Also in the  
feast of the purification, the popes bulles were publi-  
shed, whereby Alexander Bignoz was consecrated  
archbishop of Dublin. About the same time was  
great slaughter made of Irishmen, through a quar-  
rell betwixt two great lords in Connagh: so that  
there died in fight to the number of foure thousand  
men on both parties.

After Easter Walter Molep treasurer of Ireland  
was sent ouer into that realme, who brought let-  
ters to the lord Mortimer, commanding him to re-  
turne into England vnto the king: which he did, and  
departing forth of Ireland, remained indebted to  
the citizens of Dublin for his prouision of vittels in  
the summe of a thousand pounds, wherof he paid not  
one farthing, so that manie a bitter curse he carried  
with him to the sea, leauing William archbishop of  
Cathell lord chancelor gouernor of the land in his  
place: and so by this meane was the said archbishop  
both chancelor and iustice, and so continued till the  
feast of saint Michael. At what time Alexander Big-  
noz archbishop of Dublin arrived at Poghall, being  
constituted lord iustice, and came to Dublin on saint  
Denise daie, being the seauenth of October. But  
here is to be remembred, that a little before the de-  
parture of the lord Mortimer forth of Ireland, to  
wit, the fist of Maie, the lord Richard de Clare with  
four knights, sir Henrie Capell, sir Thomas de  
Paas, sir James Cauntton, and sir John Cauntton;  
also Adam Apilgard and others (to the number of  
foure score persons) were slaine by Owen and Mac  
Archie. It was said that the enemies in despise cau-  
sed the lord Richards bodie to be cut in peces, so to  
satisfie their malicious stomachs; but the same pec-  
es were yet afterwards buried in the church of the  
friers minors at Limerike. Also before the lord Mo-  
rtimer returne into England, John Lacie was had  
forth of the castell of Dublin, and carried to Trim,  
where he was arreigned and adiudged to be pressed  
to death, and so he died in prison.

But now to returne vnto the doings in time of  
Bignozs gouernment. Immediatlie vpon his ar-  
riual, the lord John Birmingham being generall of  
the field, and hauing with him diuerse capteins of  
worthie fame, namelie sir Richard Tute, sir Miles  
Weldon, sir Hugh Crispington, sir Herbert Sutton,  
sir John Cusacke, sir Edmund Birmingham, sir  
William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the  
primat of Armagh, sir Walter de la Poule, and  
John Paupas led forth the kings power, to the num-  
ber of one thousand thre hundred foure and twentie  
able men against Edward Butle, who being accom-  
panied with the lord Philip Spowbrake, the lord Wal-  
ter de Soules, the lord Alaine Steward, with his  
thre brethren, sir Walter, and sir Hugh, sir Robert,  
and sir Aimerie Lacies, and others, was incamped  
not past two miles from Dundalke with thre thou-  
sand men, there abiding the Englishmen, to fight  
with them if they came forward: which they did with  
all conuenient speed, being as de Trous to giue bat-  
tell as the Scots were to receiue it.

The primat of Armagh personallie accompani-  
eng the English power, & blessing their enterprize,  
gaue them such comfortable exhortation, as he  
thought serued the time per they began to incoun-  
ter. And herewith buckling together, at length the  
Scots fullie and whole were banquished, and two  
thousand of them slaine, together with their capteine  
Edward Butle. Paupas that pressed into the  
throng

1318

Bignoz com-  
secrated arch-  
bishop of Dub-  
lin.

Walter Molep  
treasurer of  
Ireland.

The lord Ri-  
chard de  
Clare slaine.

The lord  
Birmingham  
and other  
capteins a-  
gainst the  
Scots.

The primat  
of Armagh.

The battell of  
Armagh.  
The Scots  
banquished.  
Edward  
Butle slaine.

Birmingham  
made earle of  
South.

Sir Richard  
de Clare  
slaine.

1320  
The earle of  
Kildare lord  
iustice.

Inmercifullie  
created a  
Dublin.

1321

Rec. Turri.

1322

1322  
John de  
lord iustice

The table of  
lice kenne ac-  
cused of force-  
rie.

throng to encounter with Wylse hand to hand,  
was found in the searck dead aloft upon the flaine  
bodie of Wylse. The victorie thus obtained upon  
saint Calistus daie, made an end of the Scotish  
kingdome in Ireland, & lord Birmingham sending  
the head of Wylse into England, as Marlborrow  
hath, being the messenger himselfe, presented it to  
king Edward, who in recompense gaue to him and  
his heires males the earledome of Louth, and the  
baronie of Ardich and Athenrie to him and his heires  
generall for ever. Shortly after sir Richard de Clare  
with foure other knights of name, and manie other  
men of warre were slaine in Thomond. The lord Ro-  
ger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne  
as lord iustice there, now the second time, and the  
townes of Athell and Plebs were burned by the  
lord Fitzthomas brother to the lord Maurice Fitz-  
thomas. And about this season the bidge of Kilco-  
lin was builded by Maurice Jakis.

Birmingham  
made earle of  
Louth.

Sir Richard  
de Clare  
slaine.

1319

1320  
The earle of  
Kildare lord  
iustice.

An vniuersi-  
tie created at  
Dublin.

1320

In the yeare following, to wit, one thousand  
thre hundred and twentie, which was the fourteenth  
yeare of king Edwards reigne, Thomas Fitzjohn  
earle of Kildare was made lord iustice of Ireland.  
Here is to be remembred, that about this time also  
Alexander Bignoz archbishop of Dublin sent to pope  
John the two and twentieth, for a priuilege to insti-  
tute an vniuersitie within the citie of Dublin, and  
his sute took effect: and the first thre doctoz of diui-  
nitie did the said archbishop himselfe creat, William  
Hardie a frier preacher, Henrie Cogie a frier mi-  
nor, and frier Edmund Bernerden: and beside these  
one docto of canonlaw, to wit, Richard archdeacon  
of saint Patrikes that was chancelloz of the same  
vniuersitie, who kept their terms and commens-  
ments solemnlie: neither was this vniuersitie at a  
nie time since disfranchised, but onlie through change  
of times discontinued, and now since the dissoluing  
of monasteries bitterlie decayed.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted)  
in a parlement holden there, whilst sir Henrie Sid-  
neie was the quenes lieutenant, to haue it againe  
erected, by waie of contributions to be laid together:  
the said sir Henrie offering twentie pounds lands,  
and an hundred pounds in monie. Other there were  
also, that according to their abilities and deuotions  
followed with their offers. The name was deuised;  
A worthie plantation of Plantagenet & Bullogne.  
But while they disputed of a conuenient place for it,  
and of other circumstances, they let fall the prin-  
cipall.

In the yeare one thousand thre hundred twentie  
and one, there was a great slaughter made of the  
Oconbars at Balibagan, by the English of Leins-  
ter and Opeh. And John Birmingham earle of  
Louth was lord iustice of Ireland. Unto this man,  
whilst he was lord iustice, the king wrote, comman-  
ding him to be with him at Carleill in the octaues of  
the Trinitie, in the sixtenth yeare of his reigne, with  
thre hundred men of armes, one thousand hobellars,  
and six thousand footmen, ech of them armed with an  
sheton, a sallet, and gloues of mail, which number  
was to be leuied in that land: besides thre hundred  
men of armes which the earle of Ulster was appoin-  
ted to serue within that iournie, which the king at  
that time intended to make against the Scots. The  
date of the letter was the third of Aprill. In the  
yeare one thousand thre hundred twentie and two,  
diuerse nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the  
lord Richard Birmingham, the lord Edmund But-  
ler, and the lord Thomas Persinall. Moreover, the  
lord Andreto Birmingham, and sir Richard de la  
Lond were slaine by Donlan. In the eighteenth yeare  
of king Edward the second his reigne, the lord John  
Parcie came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and the

1321

Rec. Turris.

1322

1323

John Parcie  
lord iustice.

kings lieutenant there. In these daies liued in the  
diocesse of Ossioe the ladie Alice Kettle, whome the  
bishop ascited to purge hir selfe of the same of in-  
chantment and witchcraft imposed vnto hir, and to  
one Petronill and Basill hir complices. She was  
charged to haue nightlie conference with a spirit cal-  
led Robin Artison, to whome she sacrificed in the  
high waie nine red cocks, and nine peacocks eies.  
Also that she swept the streets of Kilkennie betwene  
compleine and twilght, raking all the filth towards  
the doores of hir sonne William Outlaw, murmur-  
ing & muttering secretlie with hir selfe these words:

To the house of William my sonne,

Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie towne.

At the first consultation they abjured & did penance, but  
shortly after they were found in relapse, & then was  
Petronill burnt at Kilkennie, the other twaine  
might not be heard of. She at the houre of hir death  
accused the said William as priuie to their forceries,  
whome the bishop held in durance nine weeks, for-  
bidding his keepers to eat or to drinke with him, or  
to speake to him more than once in the daie. But at  
length, thorough the sute and instance of Arnold le  
Potwze then seneschall of Kilkennie, he was deliue-  
red, and after corrupted with bribes the seneschall  
to persecute the bishop: so that he thrust him into prison  
for thre moneths. In ridding the closet of the ladie,  
they found a wafer of sacramentall bread, hauing  
the diuels name stamped thereon in steed of Iesus  
Christ, and a pipe of ointment, wherewith the grea-  
sed a staffe, upon the which she ambled and galloped  
thorough thicke and thin, when and in what maner  
she list. This businesse about these witches trou-  
bled all the state of Ireland, the more; for that the  
ladie was supported by certeine of the nobilitie, and  
lastlie conueied ouer into England, since which time  
it could neuer be understood what became of hir. In  
the yeare one thousand thre hundred twentie and six,  
& last of king Edwards the seconds reigne, Richard  
Burgh earle of Ulster departed this life.

### Edward the third.

Worthie was the businesse a-  
bout the witches at an end,  
when it was signified, that a  
gentleman of the familie of  
the Stollies in Leinster, na-  
med Adam Duffe, possessed by  
some wicked spirit of error,  
denied obstinately the incar-  
nation of our sauloz, the trinitie of persons in the v-  
nitie of the Godhead, & the resurrection of the flesh;  
as for the holie scripture, he said it was but a fable:  
the virgin Marie he affirmed to be a woman of dis-  
solute life, and the apostolike see erroneous. For such  
assertions he was burnt in hogging greene beside  
Dublin. About the same time, Fitzarke Macmorch,  
and sir Henrie Traherne were taken prisoners. In  
the yeare following, the lord Thomas Fitzjohn erle  
of Kildare, and the lord Arnold Potwze & William  
earle of Ulster were sent ouer into Ireland, & Ro-  
ger Outlaw prior of saint Johns of Jerusalem in  
Ireland, commonlie called the prior of Kilmainin,  
was made lord iustice. This man by reason of vari-  
ance that chanced to rise betwixt the Giraldins, the  
Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one side; and the  
Potwzes & Burghs on the other, for terming the earle  
of Kildare a rimer, to pacifie the parties called a par-  
lement, wherein he himselfe was saine to make his  
purgation of a slander imposed to him, as suspected  
of heresie.

The bishop of Ossioe had giuen an information  
against Arnold le Potwze, conuicted & conuicted in  
his

1326

1327

Adam Duffe  
an heretike.

The prior of  
Kilmainin  
lord iustice.

Arnold  
Potwze accus-  
ted of heresie,

1318

Bignoz com-  
erated arch-  
shop of Dne  
lin.

alter ship  
eslure of  
reland.

he lord Rk-  
ard de  
lare slaine,

he lord  
irmingham  
d other  
prius as-  
tist the  
cots.

he priuat  
Frangh.

he battell of  
magh.  
he Scots  
quithed.  
ward  
slaine.



his confessor of certeine hereticall opinions, but because the beginning of Dowys accusation concerned the iustices kinman, and the bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person of the man rather than the fault: a daie was limited for the iusticing of the bill, the partie being apprehended and respited thereunto. This dealing the bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkennie to prosecute his accusation) was reputed parcial: and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in suspence, he insamed the said prioz as an abbettoz and fauourer of Arnolds heresie. The prioz submitted himselfe to the trial, and thereupon were seuerall proclamations made in court, that it should be lawfull to anie man to come into the court, and to inferre, accuse, and declare what euidence he could, against the lord iustice: but none came. Then passed a decre by the counsell, commanding all bishops, abbats, priors, and the maiors of Dublin, Cozke, Limerike, Waterford, and Droghebagh, the shirifs, knights, & seneeschals of euerie shire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongst all these, they appointed six inquisitors, which examining the bishops and other persons as foresaid singularlie one by one, found that with an vniuersall consent they depozed for the prioz, affirming that (to their iudgements) he was a zelous and a faithfull chile of the catholike church. In the meane time, Arnold le Dowze the prisoner deceased in the castell, & because he stood unpurged, long he late buried.

1329  
The earle of Louth slaine.

The lord Butler slaine.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine, John de Bermingham earle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that surname, and Richard Calbot of Galahide were slaine on Whitson euen at Balibagan by men of the countrie. Also the lord Thomas Butler, and diuerse other noblemen were slaine by Mac Cogoghdan & other Irishmen nere to Spolinger. For the Irish as well in Leinster as in Meth made insurrections in that season, and so likewise did they in Mounster vnder the leading of Obyen, whom William earle of Ulster and James earle of Desmond banquished. So outrageous were the Leinster Irish, that in one church they burnt foure score innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their priest then at masse, whome they notwithstanding stiked with their saue-lins, spurned the host, and wasted all with fire: neither forced they of the popes interdiction, nor anie ecclesiasticall censures denounced against them (matters of no small consideration among them namely in those daies) but maliciouslie perseuered in the course of their furious rage, till the citizens of Wexford somewhat tamed them, and slue foure hundred of them in one skirmish, the rest fleeing were all drenched in the water of Slane. In the yeare one thousand three hundred and thirtie, the earle of Ulster with a great armie made a iourneie against Obyen, and the prioz of Kilmalman lord iustice put Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond in prison in the marshalleie, out of the which he scallie escaped, and the lord Hugh Lucie returned into Ireland, and obtained the kings peace and fauour.

1330  
The prioz of Kilmalman lord iustice.

1331

Anthony Lucie lord iustice.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, the earle of Ulster passed ouer into England, and great slaughter was made vpon the Irish in Owenduffe. Also the castell of Arco was taken by the Irishmen, and great slaughter made of the English in the Cowlagh by Othell and others. Also the lord Anthony Lucie was sent ouer lord iustice into Ireland, and great slaughter was made of the Irish at Thurlis by the knights of the countrie, & at Finnath in Meth, there were manie of them slaine by the English, but yet was the castell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Irish. On the feast daie of the as-

umption of our ladie, which falleth on the fifteenth of August, Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond was apprehended at Limerike by the lord iustice, and sent vnto the castell of Dublin. Moreover, the lord iustice toke sir William Bermingham at Clomell by a wife, whilst he was sicke in his bed, & sent him (together with his sonne Walter Bermingham) vnto the castell of Dublin, the thirtieth of April. In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two the said sir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reason he was with in orders.

The earle of Desmond executed.

1332  
William Bermingham executed.

Campion.

Campion following such notes as he hath scene, writeth that the death of this William Bermingham chanced in time of the gouernement of William Outlaw prioz of Kilmalman, being lieutenant vnto John lord Darcie, that was made lord iustice (as the said Campion hath noted) in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. Although Marlburrow affirmeth that he came thither to beare that office, in the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, after the lord Lucie was discharged, as hereafter shall be recited. But whensoever, or vnder whome soeuer Bermingham was executed, he was accounted an old knight, and such a one as for his baliance, his match was not lightlie to be anie where found. The castell of Clonmore was taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, and the castell of Bonrath was destroyed by the Irish of Thomond. Also Henrie de Mandeuill was taken and sent prisoner to be safely kept in Dublin. Likewise Walter Burgh with two of his bretheren were taken in Connagh by the earle of Ulster, and sent to the castell of Rosburgh.

1336

1337  
Sir John Charleton iustice.

1338  
The bishop of Hereford lord iustice.

1340  
John Darcie lord iustice during life.

Calling in of liberties.

This yeare the lord Antonio Lucie was discharged of his come by the king, and so returned with his wife & children into England, and the lord John Darcie was sent ouer lord iustice in Lucies place, and great slaughter was made vpon Owen Obyen, and Mac Arthie in Mounster, by the English of that countrie. This John Darcie (as should appeare by gifts bestowed vpon him by the king) was in singular fauour with him. Amongst other things which he had of the kings gift, we find that he had the manors of Louth, and Balliogartie, and other lands in Ireland which belonged to the earle of Ew. And for that the said earle was a Frenchman, and toke part with Philip de Valois the kings enemy, they were seized into the kings hand. The earle of Desmond vpon suerties was set at libertie, and by the parliament holden at Dublin in this yeare 1333, was sent ouer into England vnto the king, and William erls of Ulster a young gentleman of twentie yeares of age, in going towards Knockfergus the feawenth of June, was slaine nere to the fords in Ulster, by his owne people, but his wife and daughter escaped into England: and the daughter was after married vnto the lord Lionel the kings sonne. She deceased afterwards at Dublin, and left a daughter behind her that was his heire, married to Roger Mortimer earle of March, and lord of Trin.

The lord Darcie iustice

The earle of Ew.

1333  
A parliament.

Articles of questions.

This murder was procured by Robert Fitzmartine Mandeuill, who was the first that presumed to giue to the earle anie wound. To reuenge the death of this earle of Ulster (slaine as ye haue heard beside Knockfergus) the lord iustice Darcie with a great power went into Ulster, to pursue those that through Mandeuills seditious tumults had so traitorously murdered their lord. At his setting forward, the said iustice Darcie appointed sir Thomas Burgh treasurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his absence. When the lord iustice had punished the traitors in Ulster, he passed ouer into Scotland, there to make warre against the Scots that were enemies at

The earle of Ulster slaine.

Sir Thomas Burgh.

The lord iustice inuadeth Scotland.

The count of Ulster.

The carle of  
Desmond ap-  
rehended.

1332  
William Bir-  
ingham ex-  
ecutor.

ampion.

1336

1337  
Sir John  
Charleton  
justice.

1338  
The bishop of  
Hereford lord  
justice.

1340  
John Darcie  
lord justice  
during life.

Calling in of  
liberties.

## the lord arcie justice

he earls  
Ew.

1333  
parlement.

Articles of  
questions.

the castle of  
her flame.

Thomas  
rah.

cloze (as  
in uadeth)  
orland.

23

7233

1343

The con-

at that present to the king of England, and on the feast daie of saint Margaret, great slaughter was made of the Scots by the Irishmen: and so that by the king in one part, and the lord iustice of Ireland in another, Scotland was in manner whole conquered, and Edward Baliol was established king of Scotland. The lord iustice might haue possessed the Isles if they had bene worthy the keeping: into the which Isles, except the said Darcie and the earle of Sufler late lieutenant of Ireland, no gouernor at anie time yet aduentured. At Darcies comming backe into Ireland, and exercising the office of lord iustice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the castell of Dublin.

In the peare 1336, and tenth of Edward the thirde reigne, on S. Laurence daie, the Irish of Connagh were discomfited and put to flight by the Englishmen of the countrie there, with the losse of one Englishman, and ten thousand of the enimies. The lord John Charleton baron came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and with him his brother Thomas bishop of Hereford lord chancellor, and John Rice lord treasurer, and two hundred Welshmen souldiours. The bishop was ordeined afterward lord iustice, in whose time all the Irish of Ireland were at defiance with the English, and shortly brought againe into quiet by the earles of Bialdare and Desmond. The lord John Darcie by the kings letters patents was (during life) ordeined lord iustice of Ireland, in the fourteenth peare of king Edward the thirde reigne, which king abused by evil counsell and sinister informers, called in vnder his signet roiall, the franchises, liberties and grants, whatsoeuer had bene denied, made and ratified to the realme of Ireland, and to euerie each person thereof. His revoking of liberties was displeasantiie taken. The English of birth and the English of blood falling at wordes, were divided into factions about it, for which contention the Irish still waited so as the realme was enuen upon the point to giue over all, and to rebel: For redresse whereof, the lord iustice called a parlement at Dublin: to the which the nobles refused to come, and in quiet wise assembled themselves together at Bilkennie, where they with the commons agreed vpon certaine questions to be demanded of the king by waie of supplication, signifieng in the same partie their græfes. Which questions were in effect as followeth.

How a realme of warre might be gouerned  
by one both vnskillfull and vnable in all warlike ser-  
uice.

27 How an officer vnder the king, that entered  
berie poore, might in one yeare grow to more excel-  
lēt wealth, than men of great patrimonie and liue-  
lihood in manie yeares?

How it chanced, that sith they were all called  
to be of their owne, that the soueraigne lord of them  
all, was not a pencke the richer for them?

The sheefe of them that thus seemed to repine  
to the present government, was Thomas Fitz-  
maurice earle of Desmond, through whose mainlie  
manages bearing out of the matter, the countrie  
thus in great trouble; so as it had not lightlie cha-  
sened, that such contrarieitie in milnes and dissension  
had appeared amongst those of the English race, in  
that realme at anye time before. Therewith Ma-  
lcolme was sent vnder lord iustice, this beinge the  
beginninge of the countie of Ulster arrived abo-  
the thirtieth of Iulie. This man was verie rig-  
orous, and through perswasion (as was said) of his  
lord, he was more extreme and courteous than a  
lawfulle yei should have bene; and therfore not to be  
forgotten. For if his labie had bene as ready  
in hisse hitte as he was in hisse helpe, hee mighte gent

and mild in his gouernement, as the was bent to pücke him forward vnto sharpe dealings and rigorous proceedings, the had borne now aswell reposed of, as the is infamed by their pens that haue registered the doings of those times. But to the purpose. This Most lord iustice, in paine of forfeiture of all his lands, commanded the earle of Desmond to make his personall appearance at a parlement, which he called to be holden at Dublin, there to begin the seventh of June. And because the earle refused to come according to the summons, he raised the kings standard, and with an armie marched into spounser, and there seized the earles possessions into the kings hands, letting them forth to farme for an annuall rent vnto other persons.

And whilste he yet remained in Pounder, he de-  
uised waies how to haue the earle of Desmond ap-  
prehended: which being brought to passe, he after-  
ward deliuered him vpon mainpysse of these suerties:  
whose names insue. William de Burgh earle of  
Ulster, James Butler earle of Dymond, Richard  
Lute, Nicholas Weldon, Posice Rochford, Custace  
le Potwre, Gerald de Rochford, John Fitzrobert  
Potwre, Robert Barrie, Maurice Fitzgiralde, John  
Welleleie, Walter le Fant, Richard Welleleie,  
Henrie Traberne, Roger Potwre, John Lenfama  
Roger Potwre, Matthew Fitzhenrie, Richard  
Walleis, Edmund Burgh sonne to the earle of Ul-  
ster, knights: David Barrie, William Fitzgiralde,  
Foulke de Fracinus, Robert Fitzmaurice, Henrie  
Fitzberkleie, John Fitzgeorge de Roch, Thomas  
de Las de Burgh. These (as we haue heard) were  
bound for the earle. And bicause he made default, the  
lord iustice berelis toke the advantage of the bond  
gainst the mainpynours, foute of them onelie e-  
scaped the fine earles and two knights.

The lord iustice is charged with strict dealing by  
writters in this behalfe, for that the same persons had  
assisted him in his warres against Desmond. But  
truite if we shall consider the matter with indiffe-  
rence, he did no more than law and reason requi-  
red. For if suerte suerte vpon forfeiture of his bond  
should be forborne, that otherwise doth his duetie,  
that care would men haue either to procure suerties  
as to become suerties themselves: But such is the  
affection of writters, speciallie when they haue con-  
cerned anie mistaking towards those of whome they  
take occasion to speake, so as manie a toothing man  
hath bene defamed, and with slander greatlie defa-  
ced in things wherein he rather hath deserved singu-  
lar commendation. But howsoever this matter was  
haubled touching the earle of Desmond, vpon the  
death of the lord iustice, which insued the next yeare,  
honours were made, and great joy shewed through  
all the relike of Ireland. His lady berelie (as should  
appeare) was but a miserable woman, plotting  
him to extortion and byberie: much he abused the  
prerogatives of the church, and was so hated, that  
even in the sight of the countie he was robbed  
without rescue by Mac Cartie, notwithstanding he  
was neither a robber nor a disseised of the writter.

The earic of  
Desmond.

**Quarties for  
the earle of  
Desmond.**

Differt ent  
spoken at

2 Joie concea  
ned for the  
death of the  
lord justice  
diffort.

1346  
 Robert Ware  
 chief justice  
 John Fitz-  
 mozice justice.  
 W. Birming-  
 ham justice.

**Calis,**

Calis, a towne thought impregnable, & returned after the winning thereof in great pompe and iollitie.

1347  
Record. Tur.

1348  
The prior of  
Kilmannan.  
Baron Ca-  
rew iustice.  
Sir Tho-  
mas Koke-  
bie iustice.  
Record. Tur.

1349

John de S.  
Dacre arch-  
bishop of  
Dublin.  
1350  
Kemwiche  
Shereman.

Sir Robert  
Sauage.

We find that Thomas Berkeley, and Reinold lord Cobham, and sir Thomas Berkeley became mainpernours for the said earle of Desmond, that he should come into England, and abide such triall as the law would award. John Archer prior of Kilmannan was substituted lieutenant to the lord iustice. To whom succeeded Baron Carew, and after Carew followed sir Thomas Kokebie knight, unto whom was assigned about his ordinarie retinue of twenty men of armes, a supplie of ten men of armes, and twenty archers on horsebacke, so long as it should be thought needfull. Great mortalitie chanced this yeare, as in other parts of the world, so especiallie in places about the seacoasts of England and Ireland. In the yeare following departed this life Alexander Bignio archbishop of Dublin. And the same yeare was John de saint Paule consecrated archbishop of that see. This prelate deceased with the shermen sometime maior of Dublin, a great benefactor to euerie church and religious house within the twenty miles round about the citie. His legacies to the poore and others, beside his liberalitie shewep in his life time, amounted to three thousand marks.

In this season dwelled in Ulster a worthy knight one sir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preserve his stone, began to wall and fortifie his manor houses with castels and piles against the Irish enemies, exhorting his hertie Henrie Sauage to applie that worke so beneficiall for himselfe & his posteritie. Father (quoth young Sauage) I remember the prouerbe Better a castell of bones than of stones. Where strength & courage of valiant men are prest to helpe vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) cumber my selfe with dead walles. My fort shall be where soeuer young blouds be stirring, & where I find comie to fight. The father in a fume let lie the building, and swore to go anie further forward in it. But yet the want thereof and such like hath binde the decays as well of the Sauages, as of all the English gentlemen in Ulster: as the lacke also of walled townes is one of the principall occasions of the rude wildnesse in other parts of Ireland.

This Sauage, hauing prepared an armie against the Irish, allowed for euerie soldier before they should buckle with the enemies, a nightlie draught of Aquavinta, wine, and ale, and killed in provision for their returne, beefe, venison, and fowles: great plentie which doings binde of his captains misliked, because they considered the successe of warre to be uncertaine, and therefore esteemed it better policie to poison the cates, or to doe them aduantage, than to heape the same; and happlie so did a sort of rogues with such princelie food; if ought should happen to themselves in this aduantage of so few against so many. Herat chafed the gentleman and said, Truly ye haue too full of cates: this world is but an inn, to the which ye haue no speciall interest; but are onlie tenants at will of the Lord. If it please him to com-  
meane us from it, we were frowne lodging, and to seek other good fellows in our comies, where first shall it be for us to leave them some meat for their supper. Let them hardlie win it, where it. If they enter our dwellings, god manet would no life but in the waste them with such face as the doggerie breedeth, and with all my heart much god may it doo them. Notwithstanding I presume to say upon your noble courages, that verelie my mind, which shall returne at night, & banke our schins with our owne flore. And so bid, hauing slain 3000 Irishmen.

In the yeare 1351 deceased Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond lord iustice of Ireland, who had the office of the kings grant for tenure of life.

After him succeeded in that same Thomas de Kokebie, a knight, sincere and upright of conscience, who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be served in traene cups, answered: Those homilie cups & dishes paie trulie for that they contene: I had rather drinke out of traene cups & paie gold and silver, than drinke out of gold & make wooden payment. This yeare began great variance betwixt Richard Kase priuat of Armagh, & foure orders of begging friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the said Richard Kase, and Richard Kilminton, in the yeare 1360: Kase deceased in the popes court, and Kilminton in England. Almerike de S. Amard, John de (as other haue) James Butler earle of Desmond, and Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, were appointed lord iustices of Ireland by turnes. In Desmonds time, and in the thre and twentieth yeare of king Edward the thirs reign, order was taken that the Irish lords should remaine and dwell in their houses on the marches, to defend the subiects from inuasions of enemies. And further, proclamation went forth, that no mere Irish bozne should be made maior, bailiffe, postier, officer, or minister in anie towne or place within the English dominions: nor that anie archbishop, abbat, prior, or anie other being of the kings allegiance, upon forfeiture of all that he might forseeit, should aduance anie that was mere Irish bozne to the come of a canon, or to haue anie other ecclesiasticall benefice that late among the English subiects.

To Maurice Thomas earle of Kildare, when he was ordeined lord iustice, the kings letters assigned in yearelike fee for his office 500 pounds, with condition, that the said gouernour should find twenty great hogges to serue in the field, he himselfe to be the twentieth man in going against the enemies: which allowance and conditions in those daies (so farre as I can gesse) should seme to be ordinarie to the office. Lionel duke of Clarence sonne to king Edward the thirs, came ouer into Ireland to be lord iustice there, and was in right of his thirde earle of Ulster. He published an inhibition to all of the Irish birth not once to approach his armie, nor to be in anie wise imployed in seruice of the wars. He banquished the Irish; but yet suddenlie (no man understanding how) an hundred of his soldiers were wanting as they late in garrison, the losse of whom was thought to be occasioned by that displeasing decree afore rehearsed. Whereupon he took better aduise, and receiued the Irish into like fauour, as other lieutenants had them in before that present, shewing a tender loue towards them all, and so euer after prospered in his affaires. He created diuerse knights, as Preston, unknowne by the name of the familie of Comanston, Holiewood, Talbot, Cusac, de la Hyde, Patrike, Robert and John de Frarins: all these being gentlemen of worthie fame in England. The erchebisher he removed to Catherlagh, & bestowed in summing that towne five hundred pounds.

In the yeare 1362 John de saint Paule archbishop of Dublin departed this life the first daies of September. And in the yeare following was Thomas de Kokebie consecrated archbishop of that place. Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond was appointed lord iustice, untill the coming of the lord Wilsford, the first lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the yeare 1363. This Wilsford called a parliament at Kilkennie, in the which was granted to the king a subside of three thousand pounds to be leuied of the people, subiects to the king in that land. And in another parliament holden by him at Baldoff they granted three thousand pounds to be likewise leuied. Which said subsidies were granted of the mere and free good will of the nobles and commonaltee of the land.

lord iustice deceased.  
Thomas de Kokebie lord iustice his saung.

1357  
Dissent betwixt the priuat of Armagh, & the four orders of friers.  
Record. Tur.

1373  
The earle of Kildare lord iustice.

1375

1381  
The earle of Kildare the kings lieutenant.

1385

Lionel duke of Clarence.

Mortalitie people.  
1370

Comhar.

1373  
The earle of Kildare lord iustice.  
1373  
Slaughter.

1381  
The earle of Kildare the kings lieutenant.

1385

1390

1394  
King Ricke goeth ouer to Ireland

1394  
Roger de tiner lord lieutenant Thom. W.  
139

1399  
The earle of Kildare

1355  
The earle of Desmond

1369  
Record, Turin  
31 parlement.  
31 subsidie.

Die hundert  
Truhnen  
Ame.

திரு திருநெல்வேலி  
தருமபுரம்.

poore people, in somuch that the lade his wife hearing of such exclamations, would in no wise continue with him there, except he would receiue a solemne oath on the bible, that twittinglie he should wrong no chistian creature in that land, but dutie and trulle he should see paiement made for all expenses: and hereof (the said) she had made a vow to Christ so determinatlie, that unless it were on his part firmelie promised, she could not without perill of soule go with him. Her husband assented and accomplished his request effectualle, recovered a good opinion for his upright dealing, reformed his caters & purueors, enriched the countrie, maintained a plentiful house, remission of great offenses, remedies for persons indangered to the prince, pardons of lands and lues he granted so charitable and so discretelie, that his name was neuer recited among them without manie blessings and prayers, and so cherefullie they were readie to serue him against the Irish vpon all necessarie occasions. The lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived the same yeare at Dublin, vpon saint Bices daie.

The Irish overthrown by the maior of Dublin.

The maior of Dublin John Drake, with a band of his citizens nere to five, due foure thousand of the Irish outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Christs church) but Marlburrow speaketh onelie of 493, and these being all men of warre. The vertie same daie that this victorie was achieved, to wit, the eleuenth day of Julie, the church of the friers prechers of Dublin was dedicated by the archbishop of that citie. The same yeare in September, a parliament was holden at Dublin, during the which in Argile sir Bartholomew Weldon knight, James White, Stephan Gernon, and other their complices, due the stricke of Louth John Dowdall. In the yere 1403, in spate, sir Walter Betterleie steward of Ulster, a right valiant knight was slaine, and to the number of thirtie other with him. The same yeare about the feast of saint Martin, the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne returned into England leaving the lord Stephan Scrope his deputie there: who also in the beginning of Lent sailed ouer into England, and then the lords of the land chose the earle of Dymond to be lord iustice.

1403

Stephan Scrope. The earle of Dymond lord iustice.

1404 The archbishop of Armagh deceased.

1405

In the fift yere of Henrie the fourth, John Colton archbishop of Armagh the seven & twentieth of Aprill departed this life, unto whom Nicholas Stoning succeeded. The same yeare on the daie of saint Vitale the martyr, the parliament of Dublin began before the earle of Dymond then lord iustice of Ireland, where the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were confirmed, and likewise the charter of Ireland. In the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the moneth of spate, three Scotish barks were taken, two at Green castell, and one at Alkeie, with capteine Macgolagh. The same yeare the merchants of Bzodagh entered Scotland, and toke pretes and pledges. Also on the euen of the feast day of the seven brethren, Dghgard was burnt by the Irish. And in June sir Stephan Scrope that was come againe into Ireland, returned effsones into England, leaving the earle of Dymond lord iustice of Ireland. About the same time they of Dublin entered Scotland at saint Ninian, and valiantlie behaued themselves against the enemies, and after crossing the seas, directed their course into Wales, and did much hurt to the Welshmen, bringing from thence the shire of saint Carbins, & placed it in the church of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler earle of Dymond died at Ballygarn, whilst he was lord iustice, unto whom succeeded Gerald earle of Kildare.

The citizens of Dublin invaded Scotland. They invaded Wales.

The earle of Dymond deceased.

In the seventh yeare of king Henrie on Corpus Christi day, the citizens of Dublin with the countrie

people about them, manfullie banquished the Irish enemies, and due diuerse of them, and toke two ensignes of standards, bringing with them to Dublin the heads of those whom they had slaine. The same yeare the prior of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfullie with the Irish, & banquished two hundred that were well armed, slaying part of them, and chasing the residue out of the field, and the prior had not with him past the number of twentie Englishmen: but God (as saith mine author) assisted those that put their trust in him. The same yeare after Michaelmas, Stephan Scrope deputie iustice to the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Ireland. And in the feast of saint Illarie was a parliament holden at Dublin, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Heiler de Birmingham due Cathole Donohur about the end of Februarie. In the yere 1407, a certeine false and heathenish wretch an Irishman, named Mac Adam Mac Wilmore, that had caused fortye churches to be destroyed, as he that was neuer chistened, and therefore called Corbi, chanced to take prisoner one Patrike Savage, and receiued for his ransome two thousand markes, though afterwards he due him, together with his brother Richard.

Hen. Marb.

A parliament at Dublin.

1407

Corbi was a signifier.

The same yeare in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse, Stephan Scrope deputie to the lord Thomas of Lancaster, with the earles of Dymond and Desmond, and the prior of Kilmassan, and diuerse other captains and men of warre of Speth, set from Dublin, and invaded the land of Mac Purch, where the Irish came into the field and skirmished with them, so as in the former part of the daie they put the English power to the worse; but at length the Irish were banquished and chased, so that Molan with his son and diuerse others were taken prisoners. But the English captains aduertised here, that the Burkens and Oheroll in the countie of Kilkennie, had for the space of two daies together done much mischief, they rode with all speed vnto the towne of Callan, and there encountering with the aduersaries, manfullie put them to flight, due Oheroll, and eight hundred others. There went a tale, and beleued of manie, that the sunne stood still for a space that daie, till the Englishmen had ridden six miles: so much was it thought that God fauoured the English part in this enterprise, if we shall beleue it.

Oheroll slaine.

The same yeare the lord Stephan Scrope passed once againe ouer into England, and James Butler earle of Dymond was elected by the countrie lord iustice of Ireland. In the daies of this Henrie the fourth, the inhabitants of Corke being sore afflicted with perpetuall oppressions of their Irish neighbors, complained themselves in a general writing directed to the lord Rutland and Corke, the kings deputie there, and to the counsell of the realme then assembled at Dublin: which letter because it openeth a window to behold the state of those parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in those daies, we haue thought good to set downe here, as it hath bene entered by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard esquire, one of the quenes maiesties priuie counsell in Ireland.

#### A letter from Corke out of an old record that beareth no date.

It may please your wisdomes to haue pittie on vs the kings poore subjects within the countie of Corke, or else we are cast auaite for ever. For where there are in this countie these lords by name, beside knights,

I thinke rather Greene castell.

The citie of Corke.



knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, to a great number that might dispend yearelie eight hundred pounds, five hundred pounds, four hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, one hundred pounds, an hundred markes, twentie markes, twentie pounds, ten pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great numbers, besides these lordes. First the lord marques Caro, his yearelie reuenue was beside Dorese hauen and other crakes, two thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barneale of 10 Wexham, his yearelie reuenue was beside Dorese hauen and other crakes, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The lord Wogan of the great castle, his yearelie reuenue beside his hauens and crakes, thirtene thousand pounds. The lord Bartram of Enfozt, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crakes, one thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The lord Curcie of Kelzington, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crakes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Spandewile of Warentellie, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crakes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Arundell of the Strand, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crakes, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barod of the garb, his yearelie reuenues beside hauens & crakes one thousand one hundred pounds sterling. The lord Steineie of Walthmore, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crakes, eight hundred pounds sterling. The lord Roch of Wole castle, his yearelie reuenues besides hauens and crakes, ten thousand pounds sterling. The kings maiestie hath the lands of the late yong Barrie by foiseiture, the yearelie reuenue thereof, besides two rivers and crakes, and all other casualties, is one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling.

And that at the end of this parlement, your lordship, with the kings most noble counsell may come to Cozke, & call before you all these lordes, and other Irishmen, and bind them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that neuer one of them do make waite upon an other, without licence or commandement of you my lord deputie, and the kings counsell; for the better destruction of these parts is that onelie cause. And once all the Irishmen, and the kings enemies were driven into a great ballie called Clane onight, betwixt two great mounteines called Spacort, or the leprous Island: and there they liued long and manie yeares with their white meat, till at the last these English lordes fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part toke certaine Irishmen to take their part, and so vanquished their enemies. And thus fell the English lordes at warre among themselves, till the Irishmen were stronger than they, and dyaue them awaie, and now haue the countrie whole vnder them; but that the lord Roch, the lord Barrie, and the lord Curcie onelie remaine with the least part of their ancestors possessions: and yong Barrie is there vpon the kings portion, paieng his grace neuer a pennie rent. Therefore we the kings poze subiects of the citie of Cozke, Walsale, and Poghall, desire your lordship to send hither two good iustices to see this matter ordered, and some English captains with twentie Englishmen that may be captains ouer vs all: and we will rise with them to redresse these enormities all at our owne costs. And if you will not come nor send, we will send ouer to our liege lord the king, and complaine on you all. Thus far that letter.

And (as saith Campion) at this date the citie of Cozke is so incumbered with vniquiet neighbors of great power, that they are forced to gard their gates continually, & to keepe them shut at seruice times,

at meales, and from sun setting to sun rising, not suffering any stranger to enter the towne with his weapen, but to leaue the same at a lodge appointed. They dare vnneth at any time walke abroad far from the towne for their recreation, except at seasons; and then with strength of men furnished with armor and weapen for their safegard. They match in wedlocke among themselves, so that welnere the whole citie is alied and ioined together in consanguinitie. But now to retorne vnto the doings of the earle of Dymond that was placed lord iustice in Scropes roome. We do find that in the yeare 1408 he called a parlement at Dublin, in which the statutes of Bilkennie and Dublin were cosses reuened, and certeine ordinances established vnder the great seale of England against pueretors. The same yeare, the moztow after Lammes daie, the lord Thomas of Lancaster sonne to king Henrie the fourth, lord lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Carrlingford, and in the weeke following he came into Dublin, and put the earle of Bilsbare vnder arrest, comming to him with three of his familie. He lost all his goods, being spoiled & rifled by the lord lieutenant his seruants, & himselfe kept still in prison in the castle of Dublin, till he had paid 300 marks fine.

On the date of saint Marcell the martyr, deceased the lord Stephan Scrope at Triffelbermot. The same yeare also was the lord Thomas of Lancaster at Bilmann wounded (I know not how) and vnneth escaped with life, and after caused summons to be given by proclamation, that all such as ought by their tenures to serue the king, should assemble at Koffe. And after the feast of saint Hilarie, he held a parlement at Bilkennie for a tallage to be granted. And after the thirtieth of March, he returned into England, leaving the prior of Bilmann for his deputie in Ireland. This yeare also Hugh Macgillmore was slaine in Cragfergus within the church of the friers minors, which church he had before destroyed, and broken downe the glasse windowes to haue the iron bars, thorough which his enemies the Sauages entred vpon him. This yeare being in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in June, Janico de Artots with the Englishmen slue foure scoze of the Irish in Ulster. This yeare king Henrie gaue the sword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was first gouerned (as appeareth by the ancient seale called *Signum prepositura*) by a prouost: and in the thirtieth of Henrie the third by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes, by charter granted by Edward the first, 1547.

This maioralitie, both for state and charge of office, and for bountifull hospitalitie, exceedeth any citie in England, London excepted. In the yeare following, the one and twentieth daie of Aprill, a parlement began at Dublin, which lasted three weekes, the prior of Bilmann sitting as lord iustice. The same yeare, the two and twentieth of June, the same iustice toke the castles of Athracilde, Dferon, and de la Spere. Ireland this yeare was sore afflicted for want of corne. The lord iustice entred into the land of Dhyen with 15000 Bernes, of which number eight hundred renoltd to the Irish, so that if the power of Dublin had not bene there, it had gon euill with the lord iustice: and yet he escaped not without losse, for John Derpatrike was slaine there. In the yeare 1411, marriages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Ireland. William Dersson married the daughter of Edward Paris, and John Wogan matched with the eldest daughter of Christopher Dersson; and Walter de la Hyde with the second daughter of the same Christopher. In the yeare 1412, about the feast of Tibertius and Valerianus, which falleth on the tenth of Aprill, Dconthir did much mischief.

1408  
A parlement  
at Dublin.

The lord  
Thomas of  
Lancaster  
commeth ouer  
into Ireland.

The lord  
Scrope des  
castell.

The lord  
Thomas re-  
turneth into  
England.

1409  
James de  
Artots.  
The sword  
given to the  
citie of Dub-  
lin.  
Bailiffes  
changed into  
shiriffes.

1410

A tourne  
made by the  
lord iustice.

1411  
Marriages.

1412  
Dconthir.

Hen. Marib.

A parlement  
at Dublin.

1407

Cozbi what it  
signifieth.

Dheroll  
slaine.

The citie of  
Cozke.

The bishop of  
Meth deces-  
sed.  
The death of  
king Henrie  
the fourth.

chiefe in Meth, and toke 160 Englishmen. The same yeare Wholes a knight, and Thomas Fitzmorice fought together, and either slue other. The foure & twentieth of Maie, Robert Mountaine bishop of Meth departed this life, to whome succeeded Edward de Audieie sometime archdeacon of Conwall. This yeare on saint Cathberts daie king Henrie the fourth departed this life.

### Henrie the fift.

1413  
John Stans-  
lawe the kings  
lieutenant in  
Ireland.

Thomas  
Crawleie  
archbishop of  
Dublin.

A parliament.

1414

Englishmen  
slaine.

John lord  
Talbot of  
Sherfield.

1415  
Robert Tal-  
bot deceased.

1416  
The archb-  
shop of Ar-  
magh deces-  
sed.

The parles-  
ment reman-  
ued to Trim.

A subsidie.  
1417

**I**n the first yeare of this king, the five and twentieth of September, landed in Ireland at Clawcarke, John Stanslawe the kings lieutenant of that land. He departed this life the 18 of Januarie next ensuing at Athird, in Latine called *Atrium Dei*. After his decesse, Thomas Crawleie archbishop of Dublin was chosen lord justice of Ireland. Janico de Artois led forth a power against Maginors, a great lord of Ireland, but nere to a place called Inomanie Englishmen were slaine. The morrow after saint Patrickes daie, a parlement began againe at Dublin, which continued for the space of fiftene daies, in which meane time the Irish did much hurt by inuasions made into the English pale, and burning up all the houses afoze them that stood in their waie, as their vsuall custome was in times of other parlements: whereupon a tallage was demanded, but not granted. In the yeare 1414, the Englishmen fought with the Irish nere to Kilka, and slue an hundred of the enemies, whilste the archbishop being lord justice in Triffeldermot, went in procession with his cleargie; praizing for the good speed of his men and other of the countrie that were gone forth to fight with the aduersaries. In the feast of saint Corbrian and Epimachus, to wit the tenth of Maie, were the English of Meth discomfited by Dronstir and his Irish, where they slue Thomas Paurenar baron of Serin; and there were taken prisoners Christopher Fleming, John Dardis, and diuerse others, beside manie that were slaine.

On saint Martins euen sir John Talbot of Holmshire, lord Furnivall landed at Dalkete, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, a man of great honor. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and fiftene in Nouember, Robert Talbot, a right noble man that walled the suburbs of Kilkennie, departed this life. Also Patrike Baret bishop of Fernis deceased, and was buried among the canons at Kenlis. This yeare on the feast daie of Gervasius and Prothasius which falleth on the nineteenth of June, the lord lieutenants wife the ladie Furnivall was brought to bed at Finglasse of a sonne named Thomas. About the same time also Stephan Fleming archbishop of Armagh departed this life, after whome succeeded John Suarig. On the daie of saint Laurence the lord Furnivalls sonne Thomas Talbot that was borne at Finglasse in Nouember last past, departed this life, and was buried in the quere of the friers preachers church in Dublin. About the same time the Irish fell upon the Englishmen, and slue manie of them, among other Thomas Ballymore of Ballyuelan was one. The parlement which the last yeare had bene called and holden at Dublin, was this yeare removed to Trim, & there began the eleventh of Maie, where it continued for the space of eleuen daies, in the which was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie.

In the yeare following, the archbishop of Du-

blin passed ouer into England, and deceased at Farlington; but his bodie was buried in the new college at Oxford. This man is greatlie praised for his liberaltie, he was a good almesman, a great clerke, a doctor of diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great builder, beautifull, tall of stature, and sanguine of complexion. He was foure score and ten yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the church of Dublin in good quiet by the space of twentie yerres. This yeare shortly after Easter, the lord deputie spoiled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Beshat. Also at Dlane on the feast daie of saint John and saint Paule, the erle of Biddare, sir Christopher Preston, and sir John Bedlowe were arrested and committed to ward within the castell of Trim, because they sought to commune with the prior of Kilmalman.

The nine and twentieth of June Patrickus Huseie bardon of Galtrim deceased, & was buried at the friers preachers of Trim. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred & nineteene a roiall counsell was holden at Paas, where was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie. The same yeare upon Genethurdaie Othoell toke foure hundred kine that belonged unto Ballymore, so breaking the peace contrarie to his oath. The fourth ides of Maie, Mac Spurch chefe capteine of his nation, and of all the Irish in Leinster was taken prisoner, and the same daie was sir Hugh Cokeseie made knight. The last of Maie the lord lieutenant, and the archbishop of Dublin with the mayo: rased the castell of Kilkennie. The morrow after the feast daie of Proculus and Spartianus, that is the twentieth of June, the lord William de Burgh and other Englishmen slue foure hundred Irishmen, & toke Dkellie. On the feast daie of Marie Magdalen the lord lieutenant Talbot returned into England, leauing his deputie there the archbishop of Dublin. This yeare about saint Laurence daie, diuerse went forth of Ireland to serue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was prior of Kilmalman, and manie others. John Fitzhenrie succeeded the said Butler in gouernment of the priorie of Kilmalman. The archbishop of Dublin that remained as lord deputie slue thirtie Irishmen nere unto Rodifon. Also the thirtenth of Februarie John Fitzhenrie prior of Kilmalman departed this life, and William Fitzthomas was chosen to succeed in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after saint Valentines daie.

James Butler earle of Ormond appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland, in place of John lord Talbot and Furnivall, landed at Waterford about the fourth ides of April; and shortly after his comming ouer, he caused a combat to be fought betwixt two of his cousins, of whom the one was slaine in that place, and the other carried auaie foure wounded. On saint Georges daie, he held a counsell in Dublin, & summoned a parlement to begin there the seventh of June. In the meane while he seth great booties out of the countries of the Irish lords, Dalkie, Mac Mahon, and Maginors. But first per we go further to shew what Marlburrow hath noted of the doings, whilste this earle of Ormond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Ireland, we haue thought good to set downe what Campion also writteth thereof, as thus.

In the red more of Athie (the sunne almost lodged in the west, and miraculoussie standing still in his epicycle by the space of thre houres, till the feat was accomplished, and no hole nor quakemire in all that bog annoyens either horse or man of his part) he vanquished Ormond and his terrible armie with a few of his owne meinie, and with the like number he

The archb-  
shop of Du-  
blin deceased.  
His praise.

1418

1419  
A counsell of  
parlement  
holden.

Mac Spurch  
taken pri-  
ner.

1420  
The parles-  
ment began.

Dkellie ta-  
ken.

The prior of  
Kilmalman  
went to serue  
the king in  
France.

The castell of  
Colmolin.  
The earle of  
Ormonds son  
and heire  
borne.

1420  
James But-  
ler earle of Or-  
mond lord  
lieutenant.

A parlement  
summoned.

1421  
A parlement.

The bishop of  
Cashill ac-  
cused.

James Yong  
an autho: ac-  
teaged by  
Campion.  
The sunne  
saeth his  
course.

he overcame Arthur Spac Spozogh, at whose might & puissance all Leinster trembled. So the instruction of this mans worthinesse, the compiler of certeine precepts touching the rule of a common-wealth erected his lord the said earle in diuerse places of that worke incidentlie, effrons putting him in mind that the Irish are false by kind, that it were expedient, and a worke of charitie to execute vpon them wilfull and malicious transgressors the kings lawes somewhat sharplie, that Odmepste being winked at a while, abused that small time of sufferance to the insurie of the earle of Bilsdare, intruding vnlawfully vpon the castell of Leis, from whence the said deputie had instlie expelled him, and put the earle in possession thereof, that notwithstanding their oths and pledges, they are yet no longer true than they feele themselves the weaker. This deputie tamed the Bzens, the Burghs, Spac Banons, Oghaghucaght, Spozis Spac Spahun, all the capteins of Thomond: & all this he did in three months; the clergie twise euerie worke in solemne procession praeseng for his good success against those disordered persons, which now in euery part of Ireland degenerated from the English ciuilitie, to their old trade of life vsed in that countrie, repined at the English maner of government. So far Campion.]

Diuerse parlements vpon prorogations were holden in tyme that this earle of Oymond was gouernour. The first began at Dublin the seauenth of June in this yeare one thousand foure hundred and twentie, which continued about firtene daies. At this parlement was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie of seauen hundred marks. At the firtene daies end this parlement was adioyned till the mondate after saint Andzews daie. In the same parlement the debts of the lord John Talbot, which were due to certeine persons for vittells and other things, taken by whilist he was lord lieutenant there, were reckoned vp; which lord Talbot verelie, for that he saw not the creditors satisfied before his comming awaie, was partlie enill spoken of in the countrie. The morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, the castell of Colmolin was taken by Thomas Fitzgiralde. And on saint Katharins euen, the sonne and heire of the earle of Oymond lord lieutenant was bozne, for the which there was great reioicing. In the parlement begun againe at Dublin the mondate after saint Andzews daie, another subsidie of three hundred marks was granted vnto the lord lieutenant. And after they had sat thirtene daies, it was effrons adioyned vntill the mondate after saint Ambrose daie. Then rumors were spread abroad, that Thomas Fitzgiralde earle of Desmond was departed this life at Paris vpon saint Laurence daie, after whose succeded his vncle James Fitzgiralde, whom he had three seuerall times renounced, as one that was a wasser of his patrimonie both in England and Ireland, and not like to come to anie good profe.

In the yeare one thousand foure hundred twentie and one, the parlement began againe vpon the last prorogation, the mondate after saint Ambrose daie: in which parlement it was ordeined that certeine persons should be sent to the king, to sue that a reformation might be had in matters touching the state of the land. The chiefe of those that were thus sent, were the archbishop of Armagh, and sir Christopher Bresson knight. Spozoner Richard Obedian bishop of Cashill was accused by John Osele bishop of Lismore and Waterford, who laid thirtie articles vnto his charge. Amongst other, one was for that he loured none of the English nation, and that he bestowed not one benefice vpon anie Englishman, and councelled other bishops that they should not bestow anie within their diocesse vpon anie Englishman. Spozoner, another article was for counter-

setting the kings seale. And another, for that he went about to make himselfe king of Spounster, and had taken a ring from the image of saint Patrike (which the earle of Desmond had offered) and given it to his lemmann. Spanie other crimes were laid to him by the said bishop of Lismore and Waterford, which he exhibited in writing. Also in the same parlement there rose contention betwixt Adam Spaine bishop of Clone, and another prelat, whose church he would haue annexed vnto his see. At length, after the parlement had continued for the space of eightene daies, it brake vp. Herewith came newes of the slaughter of the lord Thomas of Lancaster duke of Clarence, that had bene lord lieutenant of Ireland. And vpon the seuenth of Maie certeine of the erle of Oymonds men were overthrowen by the Irish, nere to the abbete of Leis, and senen and twentie Englishmen were slaine there: of whom the chiefe were two gentlemen, the one named Durcell, & the other Grant. Also ten were taken prisoners, and two hundred escaped to the foresaid abbete, so sauing themselves. About the same time Spac Spahun an Irish lord did much hurt within the countrie of Argile, by burning & waisting all afore him. Also vpon the morrow after Midsummer daie, the earle of Oymond lord lieutenant entred into the countrie about Leis vpon Omozis, and for the space of foure daies together did much hurt, in slateng and spoiling the people, till the Irish were glad to sue for peace.

## Henrie the sixt.

**L**ieutenants to Henrie the first over the reime of Ireland were these, Edmund earle of March, and James earle of Oymond his deputie; John Sutton lord Dupleie, and sir Thomas Strange knight his deputie; sir Thomas Stanleie, and sir Christopher Blunet his deputie. This sir Thomas Stanleie on Michaelmasse daie, in the twelue yeare of king Henrie the first, with all the knights of Oyth & Irell, fought against the Irish, slue a great number, & tooke Peill Odoneil prisoner.]

Alon lord Wels, and the earle of Oymond his deputie. James earle of Oymond by himselfe, John earle of Shrewesburie, and the archbishop of Dublin lord iustice in his absence. Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king Edward the fourth & earle of Ulster, had the office of lieutenant by the kings letters patents during the terme of tenne yeares, who appointed to rule vnder him as his deputies at sundrie times the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzmaurice knight, James earle of Oymond, and Thomas Fitzmaurice earle of Bilsdare. To this Richard duke of Yorke and Ulster then resident in Dublin, was bozne within the castell there his second sonne the lord George that was after duke of Clarence. His godfathers at the fontstone were the earles of Oymond and Desmond. Whether the commotion of Jacke Cade an Irishman bozne, naming himselfe Spoztiner, and so pretending couinage to diuerse noble houses in this land, proceeded from some intelligence with the dukes friends here in Ireland, it is vncertaine: but surelie the duke was vehementlie suspected, and immediatlie after began the troubles, which through him were raised. Which troubles being couched for a time, the duke held himselfe in Ireland, being latelie by parlement ordeined protectoz of the realme of England: he left his agent in the court, his brother the earle of Salisbury, lord chancelor, to whom he declared the truth of the trou-

bles.

The duke of Clarence slaine in France.

Spac Spahun

Here endeth Marlburrow, and all that followeth is taken out of Campion.

Campion out of the records of Christs church. George duke of Clarence bozne at Dublin. Jacke Cade.

The archbishop of Dublin deceased, this praile.

1418

1419 A council of parliament holden.

Spac Spahun taken prisoner.

1420 The parliament began.

Shelleie taken.

The prior of Kilmalmain went to seege the king in France.

The castell of Colmolin. The earle of Oymonds son and heire bozne.

1420 James Butler earle of Oymond lord lieutenant.

A parliament summoned.

1421 A parliament.

The bishop of Cashill accused.

James Yong an author also leaged by Campion. The same slateth his a course.

bles then toward in Ireland : which letter exemplified by sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, a great searcher and preseruer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by him set downe we haue thought good likewise to present it here to your view.

To the right worshipfull, and with all  
mine heart entierlie beloued brother,  
the earle of Salisburie.

The copie of  
a letter.

**R**ight worshipfull, & with all my hart  
entierlie beloued brother, I recommend  
me vnto you as heartlie as I can. And  
like it you to wit, sith I wrote last vnto  
the king our soueraigne lord his highnesse, the Irish  
enimie, that is to saie Magoghigam, and with him  
thre or foure Irish capteins, associat with a great  
fellowship of English rebels, notwithstanding that  
they were within the king our soueraigne lord his  
peace, of great malice, and against all truth haue ma-  
ligned against their legiance, and vengeable haue  
bzent a great tostone of mine inheritance in Metch,  
called Kamoze, and other villages thereabouts, and  
murthered and bzent both men, women, and children,  
withouten mercie : the which enemies be yet assem-  
bled in woods and forts, awaiting to do the hurt  
and greivance to the kings subiects, that they can  
thinke or imagine. For which cause I write at this  
time vnto the kings highnesse, and beseech his good  
grace for to hasten my payment for this land, accord-  
ing vnto his letters of warrant now late directed  
vnto the tresurore of England, to the intent I may  
waage men in sufficient number for to resist the ma-  
lice of the same enemies, & punish them in such wise,  
that other which would do the same for lacke of resis-  
tance, in time maie take example. For doubtlesse,  
but if my payment be had in all hast, for to haue men  
of warre in defense and safegard of this land; my  
power can not stretch to keepe it in the kings obeis-  
sance: and verie necessitie will compell me to come  
into England to liue there vpon my poore liuelihod.  
For I had leauer be dead than anie inconuenience  
should fall ther vnto by my default: for it shall neuer  
be chronicled nor remaine in scripture (by the grace  
of God) that Ireland was lost by my negligence.  
And therefore I beseech you right worshipfull bro-  
ther, that you will hold to your hands instantlie,  
that my payment maie be had at this time in esche-  
wing all inconueniences. For I haue example in o-  
ther places (more pittie it is) for to dread shame, and  
for to acquit my troth vnto the kings highnesse, as  
my dutie is. And this I praye and exhort you good bro-  
ther, to shew vnto his good grace, and that you will  
be so good, that this language maie be inacted at this  
present parliament for mine excuse in time to come,  
and that you will be good to my seruant Roger Ro-  
the bearer of these, and to my other seruants, in such  
things as they shall pursue vnto the kings highnesse,  
and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of  
the said Roger, touching the said matters. Right  
worshipfull, and with all my heart entierlie beloued  
brother, our blessed Lord God preserue and keepe you  
in all honour, prosperous estate, and felicitie, & grant  
you right good life and long. Written at Dublin the  
fiftenth daie of June.

Your faithfull true brother  
Richard Yorke.

Magoghigam his  
power.

Of such power was Magoghigam in those daies,  
who as he wan and kept it by the sword, so now his  
successors in that state liue but as meane capteins,  
yielding their winnings to the stronger. This is the  
miserie of latollesse people, resembling the rudenesse  
of the rude world, wherein euerie man was richer

and poorer than other, as he was in might and blo-  
lence more or lesse enabled. Here began factions of  
the nobilitie in Ireland, fauouring diuerse sides that  
strone for the crowne of England. For the duke of  
Borke, in those ten yeares of his gouernement, ex-  
ceedinglie wan the hearts of the noblemen and gen-  
tlemen of that land, of the which diuerse were slaine  
with him at Wakefeld; as the contrarie part was  
the next yeare by his sonne Edward earle of March  
at Mortimers crosse in Wales. In which meane time  
the Irish grew hardie, & blurped the English coun-  
tries in sufficientlie defended, as they had done by  
like oportunitie in the latter end of Richard the se-  
cond. These two seasons set them so adre, that  
henceforward they could neuer be cast out from their  
forzible possessions, holding by plaine wrong all Ul-  
ster, and by certeine Irish tenures no small portions  
of Downe and Connagh, least in Metch and Lein-  
ster, where the ciuill subiects of the English blood  
did euer most pzeuaile.

### Edward the fourth and Edward the fift.



**T**homas Fitzmorice earle  
of Bilsbare, lord iustice till the  
third yeare of Edward the  
fourth, after which time the  
duke of Clarence, brother to  
the king, had the office of  
lieutenant while he liued, &  
made his deputies by sundry  
turnes, Thomas earle of Desmond, John Tiptoft  
earle of Worcester the kings cousin, Thomas earle  
of Bilsbare, and Henrie lord Greie of Rutshin. Great  
was the credit of the Geraldins euer when the house  
of Borke prospered, and likewise the Butlers thz-  
uch vnder the blood of the Lancasters: for which  
cause the earle of Desmond remained manie yeres  
deputie to George duke of Clarence his godbro-  
ther: but when he had spoken certeine disdainfull  
words against the late marriage of king Edward  
with the ladie Elizabeth Greie, the said ladie being  
now queene, caused his trade of life after the Irish  
maner, contrarie to sundrie old statutes inacted in  
that behalfe, to be sifted and examined by John erle  
of Worcester his successor; so that he was atteinted  
of treason, condemned, and for the same beheaded at  
Droghedagh.

James the father of this Thomas earle of Des-  
mond, being suffered and not controlled, during the  
gouernment of Richard duke of Borke his godepater,  
and of Thomas earle of Bilsbare his kinsman, put  
vpon the kings subiects within the countries of  
Waterford, Corke, Kerrie, and Limerike, the Ir-  
ish impositions of quintio and liuerie, cartings,  
carriages, lodgings, cocherings, bonnaght, and such  
like, which customes are the verie bzaders, mainfel-  
ners, and vpholders of all Irish enormities, wzog-  
ing from the poore tenants euerlasting selse, allow-  
ance of meat and monie, whereby their bodies and  
goods were brought in seruice and thzalome, so that  
the men of warre, hoilles, and their Galloglaes lie  
still vpon the farmers, eat them out, begger the coun-  
trie, foster a sort of idle vagabonds, ready to rebell  
if their lord command them, euer nuzled in stealth  
and robberies.

These euill presidents giuen by the father, the son  
did exercise, being lord deputie, to whome the refor-  
mation of that disorder speciallie belonged. Not-  
withstanding the same fault being winked at in o-  
ther, and with such rigo: auenged in him, was ma-  
nifestlie taken for a quarrell fought and pzocured.  
Two yeares after, the said earle of Worcester  
lost

Richard the  
third.  
1470  
Flatsburie.

Richard the  
third.

Lieutenants  
and deputies  
in king Ed-  
ward the  
fourth his  
daies.

The But-  
lers.

The earle of  
Worcester.  
1467

Campion out  
of Bentiger.  
in his collec-  
tions.

Irish imposi-  
tions.

The lord  
Donell.  
Sir Thon  
Broughton

lost his head, whilſt Henrie the ſir taken out of the tower was ſet vp againe, and king Edward proclaimed ſuſurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewiſe atteinted, they thought alſo to haue rid, and thoſe both the earles of Kildare & Deſmond were reſtoꝛed to their blond by parlement. Sir Rowland Cuſtace, ſometime treaſuroꝛ and lord chancelloꝛ, was laſtie alſo lord deputie of Ireſland. He founded ſaint Francis abbey beſide Kilcollen brydge. King Edward a yeaꝛe befoꝛe his death honoꝛed his yong-  
er ſonne (Richard duke of Poꝛke) with the title of lieutenant ouer this land, which he inioied till his vn- naturall vncke bereft both him and his brother king Edward the ſixt of their naturall liues.

## Richard the third.

**W**hen this monſter of na- ture & cruell tyrant Richard the third had killed his two yong nephues, and taken vpon him the crowne & gouerne- ment of England, he prefer- red his owne ſonne Edward to the dignitie of lord lieute- nant of Ireſland, whoſe deputie was Girald earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of king Richard, and a while in Henrie the ſeuenth his daies.

## Henrie the ſeuenth.

**I**n which earle came the wi- lie prieſt ſir Richard Simon, bzinging with him a lad that was his ſcholer, named Lam- bert, whom he ſeined to be the ſonne of George earle of Cla- rence, latelie eſcaped ſozth of the towꝛ of London. And the boie could reckon by his pedegꝛe ſo readilie, & had learned of the prieſt ſuch pꝛincelie behauiour, that he lightlie moued the ſaid earle, and manie others the nobles of Ireſland (tendering as well the linage col- all of Richard Plantagenet duke of Poꝛke, and his ſonne George their countrieman boꝛne, as alſo ma- ligning the aduancement of the houſe of Lancaſter in Henrie the ſeuenth) either to thinke oꝛ to ſaine, that the woꝛld might beleeue they thought berelie this child to be Edward earle of Marwiſke, the duke of Clarence his lawfull ſonne.

And although king Henrie moꝛe than halfe mar- red their ſpoꝛt, in ſhewing the right earle thꝛough all the ſtreets of London, yet the ladie Margaret duches of Burgongne, ſiſter to Edward the fourth, his ne- phue John de la Pole, the lord Louell, ſir Thomas Broughton knight, and diuers other capteins of this conſpiracie, deuiled to abuſe the colour of this yong earles name, ſoꝛ preferring their purpoſe: which if it came to god, they agreed to depoſe Lambert, and to erect the verie earle indeed, now pꝛiſoner in the tow- er, ſoꝛ whoſe quarrell had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likelie he ſhould haue bene made atate. Wherefoꝛe it was blazed in Ireſland, that the king to mocke his ſubiects, had ſcholed a boie to take vpon him the earle of Marwiſkes name, and had ſhewed him about London, to blind the eies of the ſimple folke, and to defeat the lawfull inheritour of

the good duke of Clarence their countꝛyman and pro- tectoꝛ during his life, vnto whoſe linage they alſo deriued title in right to the crowne.

In all haſt they aſſembled at Dablin, and there Lambert in Chriſts church they crowned this idoll, honoꝛing him with titles imperfall, feading and triumphing, raiſing mightie ſhouts and cries, carrieng him from thence to the caſtell vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that he might be ſene and noted, as he was ſure an ho- noꝛable child to loke vpon. Here with aſſembli-  
10 their ſozces togethꝛ, they provided themſelues of ſhips, and imbarcking therein, they toke the ſea, and landing in Lancathire, paſſed forwards, till they came to ſetwarke vpon Trent. There vpon inſued the battell of Stoke, commonlie called Martin Swarts field, wherein Lambert and his maiſter were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed. The erle of Lincolne, the lord Louell, Mar-  
20 tin Swart, the Almaine capteine, and Maurice Fitzthomas capteine of the Iriſh, were ſlaine, and alſo their power diſcomfited, as in the Engliſh hiſto- rie it may further appeare. Jaſper duke of Bedford, and earle of Denbroke lieutenant, and Walter arch- biſhop of Dublin his deputie.

In this time beſell another like Iriſh illuſion, pꝛocured by the duchelle aforeſaid, and cerſeine no- bles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull king of England, and vndoubted earle of Wiſſer, the counterſeit Richard duke of Poꝛke, preferred from king Richards crueltie (as the adherents faced the matter downe) and wiſh this matgame lord, named  
30 indeed Peter (in ſcoꝛne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themſelues manie yeaꝛes after. Then was ſir Edward Poynings knight ſent ouer lord depu- tie, wiſh commiſſion to apprehend Warbeckes pꝛinci- pall parteners in Ireſland: amongſt whom was na- med Girald Fitzgiralde, whoſe purgation the king (notwithſtanding diuerſe ſurmizing and atouching  
40 the contrarie) did accept. After much adoe, Perkin be- ing taken, confeſſed by his owne witting the courſe of his whole life, and all his proceedings in this can- terpiſe, whereof in the Engliſh hiſtoꝛie, as we haue boꝛowed the ſame ſoꝛth of Halles chronicles, we may read moꝛe, and therefore here we haue omitted to ſpeake further of that matter.

In the yeaꝛe 1501, king Henrie made lieutenant of Ireſland his ſecond ſonne Henrie, as then duke of Poꝛke, who after reigned by the name of Henrie the eighth. To him was appointed deputie the aforeſaid  
50 Girald erle of Kildare, who accompanied with John Blake maioꝛ of Dublin, warred vpon William le Burgh, Obzen, and Mac Demarre, Macroull, and fought with the greateſt power of Iriſhmen that had bene togethꝛ ſince the conqueſt, vnder the hill of Knocktoꝛ, in Engliſh the hill of the ares, ſix miles from Calotwaie, and two miles from Bel-  
60 lclare Burghes manour towne. Mac William and his complices were there taken, his ſouldiers that eſcaped the ſwoꝛd were purſued fleeing, ſoꝛ the ſpace of ſixe miles: great ſlaughter was made of them, and manie capteins caught, without the loſſe of one Engliſhman. The earle of Kildare at his returne was made knight of the noble order of the garter, and liued in woꝛthie eſtimatiſon all his life long, as well ſoꝛ this ſeruiſe, as diuerſe other his famous ex- ploits.

*Thus farre the Iriſh Chronicles continued and ended  
at Henrie the ſeuenth.*

Reſtitution to  
blond.  
1470  
Flasburie.

Richard the  
third.

Lieutenants  
and deputies  
in king Ed-  
ward the  
fourth his  
daies.

The War-  
ers.

The earle of  
poꝛceſter.  
1467

Champion out  
of Sentleger.  
in his collec-  
tions.

Iriſh impoſi-  
tions.

Henrie the ſe-  
uenth.  
Sir Richard  
Simon  
prieſt.  
Lambert  
counterſeit to  
be the earle of  
Warwiſke.

The lord  
Louell.  
Sir Thomas  
Broughton.

1460  
Jaſper duke  
of Bedford  
lieutenant.

Perkin war-  
becke.

1494  
Sir Edward  
Poynings  
lord deputie.

Perkin war-  
becke taken.

1501  
Henrie duke  
of poꝛke, after  
king Henrie  
the eighth, lord  
lieutenant.

The field of  
Knocktoꝛ.

The earle of  
Kildare,  
knight of the  
garter.





# TO THE RIGHT HO- norable sir Henrie Sidneie

knight, lord deputie of Ireland, lord president  
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the  
garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie  
councell within hir realme of  
England.



Ow cumberfome ( right honorable )  
and dangerous a taske it is, to ingrosse & divulge  
the doings of others, especiallie when the parties  
registred or their issue are liuing: both common  
reason sufficientlie acknowledgeth, and dailie ex-  
perience infallible proueth . For man by course  
of nature is so parcialle affected to himselfe and  
his blood, as he will be more agreeued with the  
chronicler for recording a peeuishe trespasse, than  
he will be offended with his friend for committing  
an heinous treason . Ouer this, if the historian be

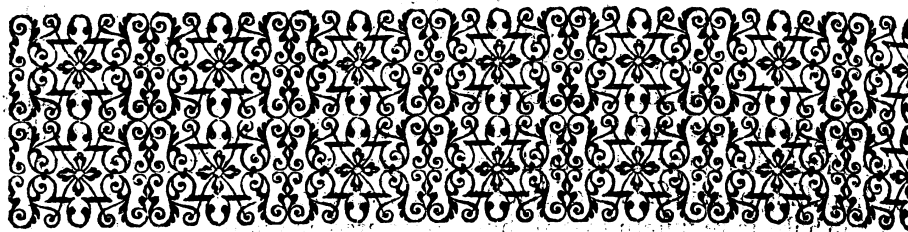
long, he is accompted a trifler: if he be short, he is taken for a summitter: if he com-  
mend, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reprocue, he is holden for a carper: if he  
be pleasant, he is noted for a iester: if he be graue, he is reckoned for a drooper:  
if he misdate, he is named a falsifier: if he once but trip, he is tearmed a stumbler: so  
that let him beare himselfe in his chronicle as vprightlie and as conscionable as he  
may possible, yet he shall be sure to find them that will be more prest to blab soorth  
his pelfish faults, than they will be readie to blaze out his good deserts . Others  
there be, that although they are not able to reprocue what is written, yet they will  
be sure to cast in his dish what is forgotten. Heere, saie they, this exploit is omit-  
ted: there that policie is not detected: heere this saieng would haue beene inter-  
laced: there that trecherie should haue beene displaied. These & the like discom-  
modities, with which historiographers are vsuallie cloid, haue borne backe diuers  
and sundrie willing minds, who taking the waie to be thornie, the credit slipperie,  
the carpers to be manie, would in no case be medlers, choosung rather to sit by  
their owne fire obscurelie at home, than to be baited with enuious toongs openlie  
abroad.

Others on the contrarie side, being resolute fellows, and trampling vnder  
foot these curious faultfinders, would not sticke to put themselues soorth in presse,  
and maugre all their hearts, to buskle forward, and rush through the pikes of their  
quipping nips, and biting frumps. But I taking the meane betweene both these ex-  
tremities, held it for better, not to be so faint and peeuishe a meacocke, as to shrinke  
and couch mine head for euerie mizeling shoure, nor yet to beare my selfe so high  
in

in heart, as to pranse and iet like a proud gennet through the street, not weighing the barking of currish bandogs. And therefore, if I shall be found in mine historie sometime too tedious, sometime too spare, sometime too fawning in commendeing the liuing, sometime too flat in reproouing the dead: I take God to witnesse, that mine offense therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of set wilfulnesse. But as for the passing ouer in silence, of diuerse euent (albeit the law or rather the libertie of an historie requireth that all should be related, and nothing whusted) yet I must confesse, that as I was not able, vpon so little leasure, to know all that was said or doone; so I was not willing for sundrie respects, to write euerie trim tram that I knew to be said or doone. And if anie be ouerthwartlie waiwarded, as he will sooner long for that I haue omitted, than he will be contented with that I haue chronicled; I cannot deuise in my iudgement a better waie to satisfie his appetite, than with one Dolie, a peintor of Oxford, his answer: who being appointed to tricke out the ten commandements, omitted one, and pourtraied but nine. Which fault espied by his maister that hired him, Dolie answered, that in verie deed he peinted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderstood that his master had well obserued and kept the nine commandements that alreadie were drawne, he gaue his word at better leisure throughlie to finish the tenth. And truelie so must I saie: I haue laid downe heere to the reader his view, a breefe discourse, wherof I trust he shall take no great surfet. And when I am aduertised, that he will digest the thin fare that heere is disht before him: it may be (God willing) heereafter, that he shall find my booke with store of more licorous deinties farsed and furnished; leauing to his choise, either nicelie to pickle, or greedilie to swallow, as much as to his contentation shall best befeeme him. Wherefore my good lord, sith I may not denie, but that the worke is painfull; and I doo forecast that the misconstruction may be perilous: the toilesomnesse of the paine I refer to my priuat knowledge, the abandoning of the perill, I commit to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby to be sheelded against the sinister glosing of malicious interpretors. Thus betaking your lordship to God, I craue your attentiuenes, in perusing a cantell or parcell of the Irish historie that heere insueth.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.





# A continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, comprising the reigne of king Henrie the eight.



1514

The occasion  
of the dissen-  
tion betweene  
Bilbare and  
Dymond.

**D**ymond Fitz-  
gerald earle of  
Bilbare, son to  
Thomas Fitz-  
gerald, of who  
mention hath  
bene made in  
the latter end  
of the former  
 storie, a mightie  
man of stature,  
full of honour  
& courage,  
who had bene  
deputie & lord iustice of Ireland first & last 33 yeres,  
deceased at Bilbare the third of September, & lieth  
intombed in the queere of Christes church at Dublin,  
in a chappell by him founded. Betwene him & James  
Butler earle of Dymond (their owne gelousies fed  
with cruell & ambition, kindled with certeine lew  
facious abettors of either side) as generalitie to all  
noblemen, so respectallie to both these houses vertie  
incident, ever since the ninth yere of Henrie the  
seventh, bred some trouble in Ireland. The plot of  
which mutuall grudge was grounded vpon the fac-  
tious dissention, that was raised in England be-  
tweene the houses of Yorke & Lancaster, Bilbare  
cleauing to Yorke, and Dymond relising to Lancaster.  
To the upholding of which discord, both these no-  
ble men laboured with tooth and nail to ouerthrow  
and consequentie to ouerthrow one the other. And  
for so much as they were in honour yeres, they  
brought by booke and by crooke to be in authoritie  
superiours. The gouernement therfore in the reigne  
of Henrie the seventh, being cast on the house of Bil-  
bare, James earle of Dymond a deepe and a sarre  
reaching man, giuing backe like a butting ram to  
strike the harder push, deuised to inueigle his aduer-  
sarie by submission & courtesie, being not then able  
to ouermatch him with stoutnesse or prebeminence.  
Wherevpon Dymond addressed his letters to the  
deputie, specifying a slander raised on him and his,  
that he purposed to deface his gouernement, and to  
withstand his authoritie. And for the clearing of him-  
selfe and of his adherents, so it stood with the deputie  
his pleasure, he would make his speedie repaire to  
Dublin, & there in an open audience would purge  
himselfe of all such odious crimes, of which he was  
longfullie suspected.

Dymond  
marcheth to  
Dublin.

To this reasonable request had the lord deputie  
no sooner condescended, than Dymond with a puis-  
sant armie marched towards Dublin, incamping  
in an abbey in the suburbs of the citie, named Saint  
Thomas court. The approaching of so great an armie  
of the citizens suspected, and also of Bilbares coun-

celors greatlie disliked, lastlie the extortion that the  
latwole soldiers used in the pale by severall com-  
plaints detected: these three points, with diuerse o-  
ther suspicious circumstances laid and put together,  
did minister occasion rather of further discord, than  
of anie present agreement. Dymond persisting still  
in his humble sute, sent his messenger to the lord de-  
putie, declaring that he was yuell and ready to ac-  
complish the tenour of his letters, and there did at-  
tend (as became him) his lordship his pleasure. And  
as for the companie, he brought with him from  
Spounster, albeit suspicious byaines did rather of a  
malicious craftinesse furnishe the worst, than of cha-  
ritable wisedome did iudge the best; yet notwithstanding,  
vpon conference had with his lordship, he  
woulde not doubt to satisfie him at full in all points,  
wherevith he could be with anie colour charged, and  
so to stop vp the spring, from whence all the enuious  
suspicious gushes, Bilbare with this mild message  
intreated, appointed the meeting to be at saint Pa-  
trike his church: where they were ripping vp one  
to another, their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting  
the damages they sustained, than acknowledging  
the iniuries they offered: the citizens and Dymond  
his armie fell at some far, for the oppression and ex-  
action with which the soldiers surcharged them.  
With whom as part of the citizens bickered, so a  
round knot of archers rushed into the church, mean-  
ing to haue murdered Dymond, as the capteine  
and bellwedder of all these latwole rabble. The earle  
of Dymond suspecting that he had bene betrayed,  
fled to the chapter house, put to the doze, sparring it  
with might and maine. The citizens in their rage,  
imagining that euerie post in the church had bene  
one of the soldiers, shot hab or nab at random vp to  
the roodloft and to the chancell, leauing some of their  
arrows sticking in the images.

Bilbare pursuing Dymond to the chapter house  
doze, undertooke on his honoz that he should receiue  
no villanie. Wherevpon the recluse craving his lord-  
ships hand to assure him his life, there was a clift in  
the chapter house doze, peared at a trile, to the end  
both the earles should haue shaken hands and be re-  
conciled. But Dymond surmising that this drift  
was intended for some further treacherie, that if he  
would stretch out his hand, it had bene percase chopt  
off, refused that proffer; untill Bilbare stretcht in his  
hand to him, and so the doze was opened, they both  
embraced the stozme appeased, and all their quarrels  
for that present rather discontinued than ended. In  
this garboile, one of the citizens, surnamed Blandy  
field was slaine. This latter quarrell being like a  
greene wound, rather hungerlie botcht than soundlie  
cured, in that Bilbare suspected that so great an ar-  
mie (which the other alledged to be brought for the  
gard

The cities  
reconciled.

Blandy field  
slaine.

The descrip-  
tion of Dy-  
mond.  
The descrip-  
tion of Bil-  
bare.

Bilbare.

Bilbare repa-  
reth his  
house.

Bilbare's poli-  
cy in the warre.

The descrip-  
tion of Dia-  
mond.  
The descrip-  
tion of Illu-  
min.

**2012**

The title to  
an obit.

**The earliest  
reconciled.**

Blanchfield  
Dain.

Strongly refuse  
not to  
behave.

Indonesian police  
in the square.

10

**The Dublin  
gangs accused.**

**A legat sent  
from Rome.**

Walter Fitzsimons.

**Penance imposed on the citizens of Dublin.**

The earle of  
Aildare lord  
Deputie.

A parliament  
holden at  
Dublin.

**Hiers Butler  
and Marga-  
ret Fitzgerald  
espoused.**

manifold were the miseries the ladie Margaret suffered, hir husband Piers Butler being so egerlie pursued by the usurper, as he durst not beare up hed, but was forced to houer and lurke in woods and forests. The noble woman being great with child, and upon necessitie constrained to vse a spare diet (for hir onelie sustenance was milke) she longed sore for wine, and calling hir lord, and a trustie seruant of his, James White vnto hir, she requested them both to helpe hir to some wine, for she was not able anye longer to indure so strid a life. Trulie Margaret, quoth the earle of Ossorie, thou shalt haue store of wine within this foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me.

James white

The barbard  
Butler slaine.Kildare sent  
for into Eng-  
land.Maurence  
Fitzthomas  
lord of  
Surrey  
lieutenant of  
Ireland.1521  
A parliament  
holden at  
Dublin.The Howes  
in rebellion.John Fitz-  
simons.Patrike  
Fitzsimons.

The next day following, Piers hauing intelligence that his enimie the base Butler would haue travelled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with sixe horsemen: yet Piers hauing none but his lackie, did foreshall him in the waie, and with a couragious charge goied the barbard through with his speare. This prosperous calme succeding the former boisterous storme, the ladie Margaret began to take heart, hir naturall stoutnesse floted, as well by the remembrance of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match. Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithstanding the pulses giuen against him by secret heauers that enuied his fortune, and sought to nourish the old grudge, was at length by their pteuie packing fetched vp to the court of England by commission, and caused him to be examined vpon diuerse interrogatories touching the affaires of Ire-land.

He lost in his ronne Maurence Fitzthomas of Lachragh lord of iustice: and shortly after came ouer lord lieutenant Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, who was after duke of Norfolk, grandfather to the last duke, accompanied with two hundred yeomen of the crowne: before whome, shortly after his repaire thither, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, in which there passed an act, that all willfull burning of corne, as well in rekes in the fields, as also in villages and towne, should be high treason. Item, an act against lading of wolles & flor, vpon paine of forfeiture of the double value of the same, the one halfe to the king, and the other halfe to him that will sue therefore. Item, that anye person seized of lands, rents, or tenements in possession or in vse, vnto the yearelie value of ten markes above the charges, in fee simple, fee taile, or for terme of life, copie hold, or ancient demeane, shall passe in euerie attaint. While the lord lieutenant sat at dinner in the castell, of Dublin, he heard newes that the Howes with a maine armie were euen at the entrie of the borders, readie to invade the English pale. Immediatlie men were leuied by John Fitzsimons then maior of Dublin, and the next morrow joining them vnto his band, the lieutenant marched towards the frontiers of Leir.

The Howes vpon the lieutenant his approach, leuied themselves into sundrie companies, and vnderstanding that the cariage was dragging after the armie, and slenderlie manned, certeine of them charged the lieutenant his seruants, and such of the citizens as were appointed to gard the cariage. Patrike Fitzsimons, a strong sturdie punker, kept the enimies such tache, as he chased part of them awaie, rescued the cariage, slue two of the rebels, and brought the heads with him to maister maior his tent. The next morning, two of the lieutenant his men, that slinke awaie from Fitzsimons, thinking that the cariage had bene lost, aduertised their lord that Fitzsimons fled awaie, and the Howes were so manie in companie, as it had bene but folie for two to bicker

with so great a number. The lieutenant possed in a rage to the maior his paullion, telling him that his man Fitzsimons was a cowardlie traitor: in running awaie, when he should haue defended the cariage.

What am I, my lord (quoth Patrike Fitzsimons) skipping in his shirt out of the tent, with both the heads in his hande. My lord, I am no coward, I stood to my tacklings when your men gaue me the slip, I rescued the cariage, and haue here sufficient tokens of my manhood, tumbling downe both the heads. Shall thou so Fitzsimons, quoth the lieutenant: I crie thee mercie, and by this George, I would to God it had bene my good hap to haue bene in thy companie in that skirmish. So drinking to Fitzsimons in a boll of wine, and honourable rewarding him for his good seruice, he returned to his paullion, where hauing knowledge of howe his recule, he pursued him with a trope of horsemen. The lieutenant thus passing forwards, was espied a gunner of Ossorie, who lodged close in a wood side, and watching his time, he discharged his peece at the verie face of the lieutenant, strake the visor off his helmet, and pearced no further, as God would.

This did he (recklesse in maner what became of himselfe, so he might amaze the armie for a time) and surelie hereby he bzake the swiftnesse of their following, & advantaged the flight of his captaine, which thing he wan with the price of his owne blood. For the souldiours would no further, till they had ransacked all the nookes of this wood, verelie suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in seuerall knots ferretted out this gunner, whome Fitzwilliams and Bedlow of the Roch were faine to mangle and to helo in peeces, because the wretch would neuer yeld. In the meane while, defiance was proclaimed with France and Scotland both at once, which moued the king to call home Surreie out of Ireland, that he might impleie him in those wars. His prowellie, integrity, good nature, and courie of gouernment, the countrie much commended. Piers Butler earle of Ossorie was appointed lord depute. In the meane time, Kildare attending the king his pleasure for his dispatch, recovered fauour through the instance of the marques Dorset, whose daughter dame Elizabeth Greie he espoused, and so departed home. How was partaker of all the deputies counsell one Robert Talbot of Belgard, whome the Geraldines deadlie hated: him they procured to keepe a balendar of all their doings, who incited brother against brother. In which rage, James Fitz Gerald meeting the said gentleman beside Ballimore, slue him euen then vpon his iourneie toward the depute to keepe his Christmas with him.

With this despitesfull murder both sides bzake out into open enmitie, and expectatlie the countesse of Ossorie, Kildare his sifter, a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a realme, had not hir so much ouerruled hir knowledge. Here began informations of new treasons, passing to and fro, with complaints and replies. But the marques Dorset had wrought so for his soune in law, that he was suffered to rest at home, and onelie commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the root of their griefes: wherein if they found Kildare anye thing at all purged, their instructions were to depose the plaintiffe, and to sweate the other lord depute. Commissioners were these, Sir Rafe Egerton, a knight of Cheshire, Anthony Fitzherbert, second iustice of the common pless, and James Denton, deane of Aitchfield: who hauing examined these accusations, suddenly took the sword from the earle of Ossorie, swore Kildare lord depute, and soe whome Con O'neate bare the sword that day.

Fitzwilliams  
Bedlow.1522  
Surreie sent  
for home.Piers Butler  
earle of  
Ossorie lord  
depute.1524  
Robert Tal-  
bot of Bel-  
gard.Margaret  
countesse of  
Ossorie.Commis-  
sioners  
sent into  
Ireland.Kildare  
sworne lord  
depute.

Con

Cardinal  
wolfe eni-  
mie to the  
Geraldines.Barbon gran-  
ter.Kildare acce-  
pted.  
The articles.The earle of  
Surreie in  
danger to  
haue bene  
slaine.Fitzgerald  
lord iustice.The earle of  
Ossorie cho-  
sen lord de-  
putie.The Com-  
mittee of O-  
ssorie.Kildare con-  
uicted before  
the counsell.



Cardinal  
Wolfe sent  
me to the  
Giraldines.

Pardon granted.  
100.

Kildare accus-  
ed.  
The articles.

**Fitzgerald**  
**lord justice.**

The earle of  
Dorset cho-  
sen lord depu-  
tie.

The Countesse  
telle of Dis-  
son.

Edgare con-  
sented before  
the council.

Concerning the murdrer whom they might haue  
hanged, they brought him prisoner into England,  
presented him to the cardinall Wolscie, who was  
said to hate Willdare his blood: and the cardinall in-  
tending to haue put him to execution, with moze re-  
proch and dishono: to the name, caused him to be led  
about the streets of London haltered, and hauing a  
taper in his hand: which asked so long time, that the  
deane of Litchfield stepped to the king, and begged  
his pardon. The cardinall was soze inflamed here-  
with, & the mallice not hitherto so ranke, was throughe  
ly ripened, & therfore hensefo: ward M<sup>orice</sup> brought  
fo:th diuerse p:ofes of his deputie his blodsh:er, soz  
that (as he alledged) the deputie should wink at  
the earle of Desmond, whome by vertue of the king  
his letters he ought to haue attached. Also, that he  
sought for acquaintance and affinitie with mere I-  
rish enmities, that he had armed them against him,  
then being the king his deputie: & be hanged and  
headed good subiects, whome he mistrusted to leane  
to the Buiers friendship. Willdare was therfore pre-  
sentlie commanded to appeare, which he did, leauing  
in his roome his brother Fitzg:rald of E:rlip, whom  
the M<sup>orice</sup> depozed, and chose the baron of Del-  
uin, whome M<sup>conoz</sup> took prisoner, & then the earle of  
M<sup>orice</sup> (to shew his abilitie of seruice) brought to  
Dublin an armie of Irishmen, hauing captains ou-  
er them M<sup>conoz</sup>, M<sup>more</sup>, & M<sup>carroll</sup>, & at S. Pa-  
rie abbey was chosen deputie by the kings counsell.

In which office, being himselfe (saue opelie in  
seats of armes) a simple gentleman, he bare out his  
honor, and the charge of gouernement verie worthily;  
lie, through the singular wisdome of his counsell,  
a ladie of such a port, that all estates of the realme  
crouched vnto hir; so politike, that nothing was  
thought substantiallie debated without hir aduise;  
manlike and tall of stature, verie liberall and bound-  
tiful; a sure friend, a bitter enimie, hardlye disliking  
where she fancied, not easilie fancies where she dis-  
liked: the onelie meane at those daies whereby his  
husband his countrie was reclaimed from brutish-  
nesse and slovenrie, to cleane bedding and ciuilitie.  
But to these vertues was linked such a selfe liking  
such an ouerthrowning, and such a maiestie about the  
tenure of a subiect, that for assurance thereof, they  
sticked not to abuse hir husbands honor against his  
brothers follie. Notwithstanding, I learne not that  
they practised his vndowing (which ensued, and was to  
hir vndoubtedly great heavinesse, as vpon whom  
both the blenish thereof, and the substance of the  
greater part of that familie depended after) but that  
she by indirect means lifted hir brother out of credit  
to aduance hir husband, the common voice, and the  
thing it selfe speaketh. All this while abode the earl  
of Hilbare at the court, and with much adoe found  
himself to be called before the lords to answer sudden-  
lie. They sat vpon him diuerslie affected, and namelie  
the cardinall lord chancelor; mistaking the earls  
cause, comforted his accusers, and inforced the  
articles objected, in these words.

The cardinall lord chancellor chargeth Kildare.

**T**woot well (my lord) that I am not the meekest  
at this boord to charge you with these treasons,  
because it hath pleased some of your puffelows  
to report that I am a professed enemy to all nobilitie,  
and namelie to the Stralboines: but seeing euery  
curst boy can say as much when he is controlled, and  
seeing these points are so weightie, that they should  
not be dissembled of vs; and so apparant, that they  
can not be denied of you; I must haue leaue (not  
withstanding your scale slander) to be the mouth of  
these honorable at this present, and to trumpe your  
treasons in your waie, howsoeuer you take me.

First you remember, how the lewd earle of Des-  
mond your kinsman (who passeth not whome he ser-  
ueth, might be change his master) sent his con-  
derats with letters of credence vnto Francis the  
French king: and bawing but cold comfort there,  
went to Charles the emperor, proffering the helpe of  
Spounser and Connagh towards the conquest of  
Ireland, if either of them would helpe to win it from  
our king. How manie letters, what precepts, what  
messages, what threats haue bin sent you to appre-  
hend him, and yet not done? Why so? Forsooth I  
could not catch him. Nay nay earle, forsooth I  
would not watch him. If he be iustlie suspected, why  
are you partiall in so great a charge? If not, why  
are you fearefull to haue him tried? Yea, for it will  
be swoyne and deposed to your face, that so: feare of  
meeting him, you haue winked wilfullie, shunned  
his sight, altered your course, warned his friends,  
stopped both eares and eyes against his detectors, and  
when sooner you toke vpon you to hunt him out,  
then was he sure afore hand to be out of your walke.

Sorelle, this iugling and false plate little became either an honest man called to such honoz, or a noble man put in so great trust. Had you lost but a cow or a horse of your owne, two hundred of your retainers would haue come at your whistle to rescue the prey from the bittermost euge of Ulster: all the Irish in Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But in pursuing so needfull a matter as this was, mercifull God, how nice, how dangerous, how wasteward haue you bene: One while he is from home, another while he keepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the borders, where you dare not venture. Irish my lord, there be shetwed bugs in the borders for the earle of Bilsdare to feare: the earle nax the king of Bilsdare; for when you are disposed, you reigne more like than rule in the land: where you are malicious, the truest subiects stand for Irish enemies: where you are pleased, the Irish foe stand for a full subiect: hearts & hands liues & lands are all at your courtesie: who faunness not thereon cannot rest within your smell, and your smell is so ranke that you frake them out at pleasure. ¶ Whilest the cardinall was speaking, the earle chafed and changed colour, and at last brake out, and interrupted him thus.

My lord chancellor, I beseech you pardon me, I  
 am short titted, and you I perceiue intend a long  
 tale: if you proceed in this order, halfe my purga-  
 tion will be lost for lacke of carriage. I haue no  
 schoole trickes, no art of memorie: except you heare  
 me while I remember your wordes, your second  
 proesse will hammer out the former. The lords as-  
 sociat, who for the most part tenderlie loued him,  
 and knew the cardinal his manner of talents to  
 lothsome, as therewith they were inured manie  
 yeares ago, humble besought his grace to charge  
 him dreadle with particulars, and to dwell in some  
 one matter, whill it were examined throughlie.

That granted, it is good reason (quoth the earle) that  
 your grace beare the mouth of this boyd : but my  
 lord, those monthes that put these things into your  
 mouth, are verie wide monthes; such in deed as haue  
 gaped long for my wrajcke; and now at length, for  
 want of better stufte, are faine to fill their monthes  
 with smoke. What my cousin Desmond hath com-  
 passed, as I know not, so I bestow his naked heart  
 out so long. If he can be taken by mine a-  
 gentes that presentlie wait for him, then haue mine  
 aduerfaries betrayed their malice; and this heape  
 of heinous wrongs shall resemble a scarecrow, or a  
 man of straw that seemeth at a blush to carrie some  
 proposition, but when it is felt and peised, discouereth  
 a banittie, serving onlie to feare clothes : and I

**It is a rare inter-**  
**rupteth the**  
**cardinals**  
**tail.**

“The lords  
tender his  
bare.

He answereth  
the cardinals  
obedience.

The earle of  
Surreie in  
danger to  
haue bene  
slaine.

Fitzwilliam's  
Bedlow.

**I 5 2 3**  
**Surrendered**  
**for home.**

Piers Butler earle of  
Downe lord  
Deputie.

I 524  
Robert Tala  
bot of Bel-  
gard.

Margaret  
countesse of  
Dorset.

Committees  
ners sent to  
Ireland.

Richard  
Sworne 1020  
Deputie.

"verelie trust, your honours shall see the proofe by the  
 "thing it selfe, within these few daies. But go to:  
 "suppose he neuer be had: What is Kildare to blame  
 "for it, more than my good brother of Ossorie, who  
 "notwithstanding his high promises, hauing also the  
 "kings power, is yet content to bring him in at lea-  
 "sure: Can not the erle of Desmond thist but I must  
 "be of counsell: Cannot he hide him except I winke:  
 "If he be close am I his mate? If he be frended am  
 "I a traitor? This is a doubtie kind of accusation,  
 "which they hyge against me, wherein they are stabled  
 "and mired at my first deniall. You would not see him  
 "saie they.) Who made them so familiar with mine  
 "eiesight? When was the erle within my view? Who  
 "who stood by when I let him slip? Where are the  
 "tokens of my willfull budwinke? But you sent him  
 "word to beware of you. Who was the messenger?  
 "Where are the letters? Conuince my negatives,  
 "see how lose this idle geate hangeth together. Des-  
 "mond is not taken. Well, you are in fault. Why?  
 "Because you are. Who proueth it? No bodie. What  
 "consequences? So it seemeth. To whom? To your  
 "enemies. Who told it them? They will sweare it.  
 "What other ground? None. Will they sweare it  
 "my lord? Why then of like they know it, either they  
 "haue mine hand to thew, or can bring forth the mes-  
 "senger, or were present at a conference, or partie to  
 "Desmond, or some bodie betrayed it to them, or they  
 "themselves were my carriers or vicegerents there-  
 "in: which of these parts will they chuse, for I know  
 "them too well. To reckon my selfe constant by their  
 "bare words or headlesse sayings, or frantike othes,  
 "were but mere mockerie. My letter were sone read,  
 "were any such writing extant, my seruants & friends  
 "are ready to be sifted: of my couline of Desmond  
 "they may lie lowly, since no man here can well con-  
 "trarie them. Touching my selfe, I neuer noted in  
 "them much wit, or so fast faith, that I would haue ga-  
 "ged on their silence the life of a good hound, much lesse  
 "mine owne. I doubt not, may it like your honours to  
 "apprise them, how they came to the knowlege of those  
 "matters, which they are so ready to depose: but you  
 "shall find their tongues chained to another man his  
 "trencher, and as it were knights of the post, suborned  
 "to saie, sweare and stare the vttermost they can, as  
 "those that passe not what they saie, nor with what face  
 "they saie it, so they saie no truth. But of another  
 "side it grieueth me that your good grace whom I take  
 "to be wise and sharpe, and who of your blessed disposi-  
 "tion wiseth me well, should be so farre gone in cre-  
 "diting these corrupt informers that abuse the igno-  
 "rance of your state and countrie to my peril. A little  
 "know you (my lord) how necessarie it is, not onely  
 "for the gouernor, but also for euery noble man in  
 "Ireland to hamper his vnwill neighbors at discre-  
 "tion, wherein if they waited for proccesse of law, and  
 "had not those liues and lands you speake of within  
 "their reach, they might hap to lose their owne liues  
 "and lands without law. You heare of a case as it  
 "were in a dreame, and seele not the smart that bereth  
 "vs. In England there is not a meane subiect that  
 "dare extend his hand to fillip a peere of the realme.  
 "In Ireland except the lord haue cunning to his  
 "strength, and strength to saue his crowne, and suffi-  
 "cient authoritie to take thence & barlets when they  
 "str, he shall find them swarme so fast, that it will be  
 "too late to call for iustice. If you will haue our seruice  
 "take effect, you must not tie vs alwaies to these  
 "iudiciall proceedings, wherewith your realme (than-  
 "ked be God) is inured. Touching my kingdom, I  
 "know not what your lordship should meane thereby.  
 "If your grace imagine that a kingdom consisteth  
 "in seruing God, in obeying the prince, in gouerning  
 "with loue the common-wealth, in shouldering sub-

In what case  
 stand the no-  
 ble men of  
 Ireland with  
 rebels.

"sects, in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in  
 "brideling blind affections, I would be willing to be  
 "inuested with so vertuous and roiall a name. But if  
 "therefore you terme me a king, in that you are per-  
 "suaded that I repine at the gouernment of my soue-  
 "reigne, or winke at malefactors, or oppresse ciuill li-  
 "uers, I vtterlie disclaime in that obious terme, mar-  
 "ueling greatly that one of your grace his profound  
 "wisedomme, would seeme to appropriate so sacred a  
 "name to so wicked a thing. But howsoeuer it be  
 "(my lord) I would you and I had changed kingdoms  
 "but for one moneth, I would trust to gather vp more  
 "crummes in that space, than those the reuenues of  
 "my poore earldome: but you are well and warme,  
 "and so hold you, and vpbraid not me with such an ob-  
 "ious terme. I slumber in an hard cabin, when you  
 "sleepe in a soft bed of downe: I serue vnder the king  
 "his cope of heaven, when you are serued vnder a ca-  
 "nopic: I drinke water out of my skull, when you  
 "drinke wine out of golden cups: my courser is tra-  
 "ned to the field, when your genet is taught to amble:  
 "when you are begreaced and belozed, & crouched and  
 "kneled vnto, then find I small grace with our Irish  
 "boycrers, except I cut them off by the knees.

At these words the counsell would haue smiled, if  
 "they durst: but each man bit his lip, & held his counte-  
 "nance, for howsoeuer some of them leaned to the erle  
 "of Ossorie, they all hated the cardinall, who percei-  
 "uing that Kildare was no babe, rose in a fume from  
 "the counsell table, committed the erle, & deferred the  
 "matter till moze direct probations came out of Ire-  
 "land. The duke of Norfolk, who was late lieutenant  
 "in Ireland, perceiuing the cardinall to be soze bent  
 "against the nobleman, rather for the deablie hatred  
 "he bare his house, than for any great matter he had  
 "therewith to charge his person, slept to the king, and  
 "craued Kildare to be his prisoner, offering to be  
 "bound for his forth comming, ouer and aboue all his  
 "lands, bodie for bodie. Whereupon, to the cardinall  
 "his great grieve, the prisoner was bailed, and hono-  
 "rably by the duke interteined. During his abode  
 "in the duke his house, Dneale and Dconoz, and all  
 "their friends and allies, watching their time to an-  
 "noie the pale, made open insurrection against the  
 "earle of Ossorie then lord deputie of Ireland, inso-  
 "much that the noble man mistrusting the sicklenesse  
 "of Desmond on the one side, & the force of these new  
 "start vp rebels on the other side, stood halfe amazed, as  
 "it were betwene fire & water. For remedie where-  
 "of, letters thicke and threfold were addressed to the  
 "counsell of England, purporting that all these late  
 "hurle burlies were of purpose raised by the meanes  
 "of Kildare, to the blemishing and staining of his bo-  
 "ther Ossorie his gouernment. And to put the mat-  
 "ter out of doubt, it was further added, that Kildare  
 "commanded his daughter Elice Fitzgiral, wife to  
 "the baron of Slane, to excite in his name the afoze-  
 "said traitors to this open rebellion.

The cardinall hereupon caused Kildare to be  
 "examined befoze the counsell, where he pressed him so  
 "deepe with this late dissolaltie, that the presumpti-  
 "on being (as the cardinall did force it) belement, the  
 "treason obious, the king suspicious, the enemie eger,  
 "the friends faint (which were sufficient grounds to o-  
 "uerthrow an innocent person) the earle was repri-  
 "ued to the tower. The nobleman betooke himselfe to  
 "God & the king, he was hartlie beloued of the lieut-  
 "enant, pitied in all the court, and standing in so hard  
 "a case, altered little of his accustomed hue, comfort-  
 "ed other noble men prisoners with him, dissembling  
 "his owne sorrow. On a night when the lieutenant  
 "and he for their disport were plaing at sledgegroote or  
 "shobbeard, suddenlie commeth from the cardinall a  
 "mandatum

The cardinall  
 not be-  
 lioved.

The duke of  
 Norfolk  
 bound for Kildare.

The Irish in  
 rebellion.

Kildare  
 freshly impris-  
 oned.

The earle of  
 Kildare sone  
 committed.

A mandatum  
 to execute  
 Kildare.

The cardinall  
 his presump-  
 tuousness di-  
 uided of the  
 king.

Sir willm  
 Shelvington  
 deputie of  
 Ireland.

Edward  
 Staples b  
 shop of Wy.

Thomas  
 Fitzsimon.

Shelvington  
 his answer.

The glasse  
 at the card  
 nall who  
 taken to  
 butcher hi  
 sonne.

Kildare  
 na-eth t  
 Colley.

Sheth hi  
 question.

John  
 Fitzsimon  
 loyally  
 Sheth.

mandatum to execute Hilbare on the morrow. The  
earle marking the lieutenants deepe sigh : By saint  
Wride lieutenant (quoth he) there is some mad gaine  
in that scoll ; but fall how it will, this throw is for  
an huddle. **Wh** in the world was told him : Now I  
prate the (quoth he) ow no more but learne assured  
lie from the king his owne mouth, whether his high-  
nesse be witting thereto or not : Soze doubted the  
lieutenant to displease the cardinal : yet of verie  
pure love to his frend, he posseth to the king at mid-  
night, and deliuered his errand : for at all houres of  
the night the lieutenant hath access to the prince  
upon occasions. The king controlling the saucinesse  
of the priest (for those were his termes) deliuered to  
the lieutenant his signet in token of countermand,  
which when the cardinal had sene , he began to  
breathe out unseasoned language, which the lieutenant  
was loth to heare, & so left him patting & chanting  
the blisful his *Pater noster* : Thus brake vp the stomie  
for that time, & the next ycare Wolfeite was cast out  
of fauour, and within few yeaeres sir William Skef-  
fington was sent ouer lord deputie, and brought with  
him the erle marchion and rid from all his troubles.

When it was bated, that Skeffington, the earle of Bilsdare, and Edward Staples bishop of Metch landed nere Dublin, the maiors and citizens met him with a solemne procession on saint Patric abbeys greene, where maister Thomas Fitzsimons recorder of Dublin made a pithie oration to congratulate the gouernor and the earle his prosperous arrivall, to whome Skeffington shapd an answer in this wise : Passier maiors and maister recorder, you haue at length this noble man here present, for whom you sore longed, whilst he was absent. And after manie stormes by him sustained, he hath now to the comfort of his frendes, to the confusion of his foes, subdued violence with patience, injuries with sufferance, and malice with obedience : and such butchers as of hatred thirsted after his blood, are now taken for outcast mastiues, littered in curthly blood. How well my master the king hath bene of his gracious inclination affected to the earle of Bilsdare his backe frend, being by his iust desert from his maiestie wedded) the credit wherein this noble man at this present abideth, manifestlie declareth. Wherefore it resteth, that you thanke God and the king for his safe arrivall. As for his welcome, maister recorder his courteous discourse, your great assemblies, your cheerefull countenances, your willing meetings, your solemne processions doe so far shew it, as you minister me occasion on his lordship his behalfe, rather to thanke you for your courtesie, than to exhort you to a nie further cere monie.

Where criden his oration, they rode all into the  
 cite, where hostile after the earle of Morte surren-  
 dred the sword to sir William Sheffington. Du-  
 ring the time that Wilsare was in England, the sepr  
 of the Toles making his absence their baruck, ceas-  
 ed not to molest and spoile his tenants, and therefore  
 the erle meaning not to wasp by so lightlie their ma-  
 nifold iniuries, was determined presentlie vpon his  
 arrivall to erie them quittance : to the speedinesse of  
 which service he requested the aid of the citizens of  
 Dublin : expecting in Christs church their answer  
 touching this motion, the mayor & his brethren promi-  
 sed to assist him with two hundred archers. The late  
 come bishop of Weth being then present, moved  
 question, whether the citizens were pardoned for  
 crowning Lambert contrarie to their dutie of alle-  
 giance ; and if they were not pardoned, he thought  
 they might advantage the king thereby. Whereat  
 one of their sagest and expertest aldermen, named  
 John Fitzsimons, stepped forth and said : My lord of  
 Weth, may I be so bold as to craue what countrie

man you are : Parle sir (quoth the bishop) I would  
you should know it, I am a gentleman and an En-  
glishman . My lord (quoth Fitzsimons) my mean-  
ing is to learne, in what tytre of Englando you were  
borne : In Lincolnthire godd sir (quoth Staples.)  
Whie then my lord ( quoth Fitzsimons) were no  
traitors, because it was the earle of Lincoln and  
the lord Howell that crowned him : and therefore if  
you be a gentleman of Lincolnthire, see that you be  
pardoned, for God and our king be thanked we haue  
need of none . At this answer Speeth was set, and such  
as were present were forced to smile, to see what a  
round fall he caught in his owne turne.

In the second yeare of Skerkington his gouernement, it happened that one Henrie White, seruant to Venet a merchant of Dublin, was pitching of a cart of hate in the high street; and hauing offered boies plate to passengers that walked to and fro, he let a bottle of his hate fall on a souldioys bonet, as he passed by his cart. The souldio: taking this knaauish knacke in dudgeon, hurled his dagger at him, and hauing narrowlie mist the pyncocks, he sliced it in a poile not farre off. White leapt downe from the cart, and thrust the souldio: through the shoulder with his pike. Whereupon there was a great vprore in the citie betwene the souldioys and the apprentices, insomuch as Thomas Barbie being the maior, hauing the king his sword byawone, was hardlie able to appease the frate, in which diuerse were wounded, and none slaine. The lord deputie issued out of the castell, and came as farre as the pillorie, to whome the maior posted thorough the preefe with the sword naked vnder his arme, & presented White that was the bwyer of all this garboile to his lordship, whome the gouernour pardoned, as well for his courage in bierking as for his retchlesse simplicitie and pleasantnelle in telling the whole discourse. Whereby a man may see how manie bloudie quarels a bialling swastibuckler may picke out of a bottle of hate, namelie when his braines are forebitten with a bottle of mappie ale.

About this time there was a great sturre raised  
 in England, about the king his divorce, who thin-  
 king it erepient in so sicke a world to haue a sure  
 poss in Ireland, made Kildare lord deputie, Cromer  
 the pimat of Armagh lord chancelor, and sir James  
 Butler lord treasurer. Skeffington, supposing that  
 he was put beside the custin by the secret canua-  
 ling of Kildare his friends, conceived therof a great  
 gelousie, being therein the deeper drenched, be-  
 cause that Kildare hauing receiued the sword, would per-  
 mit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now  
 like a meane priuat person, to danle attendance a-  
 mong other suters in his house at Dublin, named  
 the Carbiz. Skeffington plaieng thus on the bit,  
 shortly after sailed into England, vpon whose de-  
 parture the lord deputie summoned a parliament at  
 Dublin, where there pass an act against leasers of  
 corne: also for the uniting and appropiazation of the  
 parsonage of Galtrim to the priorie of saint Peters  
 by Trim. In the parlement time, Mneale on a sud-  
 den invaded the countre of Triell, rising and spoil-  
 ing the king his subiects, at whi time also was the  
 earle of Mhorie greatlie bered by the Geraldins, by  
 reason of the old quarrels of either side astrict reui-  
 ued.

The next yeare, the lord deputie going against  
 Marroill, was pitifullie hurt in the side with a gun,  
 at the castell of Birre; so that he neuer after inioined  
 his lims, nor deliuered his woies in good plight,  
 otherwise like enough to haue beene longer forborne  
 in consideration of his manie noble qualitties, great  
 good seruices, and the state of those times. Straight  
 waies complaints were addrest to the king of the  
 In, enomittes,

The cardinal  
his presump-  
tuousness bla-  
med of the  
king.

1529  
Sir William  
Bessington  
Deputie of  
Ireland.

Edward  
Staples bi-  
shop of Aethi-

Thomas  
Fitzsimons.

Shelington  
his answere.

He glanſeth  
at the cardi-  
nall who wa  
taken to be a  
butcher his  
ſonne.

\*

Buildareins  
nath the  
Twigs.

With his  
gun, on.

John Fitz  
Gunnings and  
secretly  
Neth.

Henric white  
raised an bpa  
roze in Du-  
blin.

Thomas  
Barbier  
107.

white paper  
id.

Kildare. Lord  
 Deputie.  
 Cromer.  
 Butler.  
 Sheffington  
 offended Lord  
 Kildare.

to England.

1532  
A parliament  
summoned at  
Dublin.  
Crisell in-  
duced by Dr  
neale.

Et kildare þur

Kildare accus-  
ed.

He is sent for  
to England.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald.

enormities, and that in most heinous manner that could be devised, boulding out his doings as it were to the last brake of sinister furnises, turning euerie priuat iniurie to be the king his quarrell, & making euerie puddings pische as huge in shew as Sam-  
son his piller. Whereupon Kildare was commanded by sharpe letters to repaire into England, leaving such a person for the furniture of that realme, and the gouernance of the land in his absence, for whose doings he would answer. Being upon the sight of this letter prepared to passe into England, he sat in coun-  
cell at Dublin, and hauing sent for his sonne & helpe the lord Thomas Fitzgerald (a yong strapping of one and twentie yeares of age, bozne in England, sonne to the lord Zouch his daughter, the earle of Kildare his first wife) in the hearing of the whole bozd thus he spake.

The earle of Kildare his exhortation to  
his sonne the lord Thomas.

**S**onne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my soueraigne lord the king hath sent for me into England, and what shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But howsoever it falleth, both you and I know that I am well stept in yeares: and as I maie shortly die, for that I am mortall, so I must in hast decrease, because I am old. Wherefore in so much as my winter is welnare ended, and the spring of your age now budbeth, my will is that you beaue your selfe so wisely in these your greene yeares, as that to the comfort of your friends you maie inioice the pleasure of summer, gleane and reape the fruits of your haruest, that with honour you maie grow to the catching of that hoarie winter, on which you see me your father fast pricking. And whereas it pleaseth the king his maiestie, that upon my departure here hence, I should substitute in my roome such one, for whose gouernement I would answer: albeit I know, that your yeares are tender, your wit not settled, your iudgement not fallie rectified, and therefore I might be with god cause reclaimed from putting a naked sword in a yong mans hand: yet notwithstanding, for so much as I am your father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to beare that stroke with you in steering your ship, as that upon anie information I maie command you as your father, and correct you as my sonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

There be here that sit at this bozd, far more sufficient personages for so great charge than you are. But what then? If I should cast this burthen on their shoulders, it might be that hereafter they would be so farre with enuie carried, as they would percase hazard the losse of one of their owne eyes, to be assured that I should be deprived of both mine eyes. But for so much as the case toucheth your skin as nere as mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, because (as I said before) I rest in the winter, and you in the spring of your yeares, and now I am resolu'd daie by daie to learne rather how to die in the feare of God, than to liue in the pompe of the world, I thinke you will not be so byaineslike, as to stab your selfe thorough the bodie, onely to scarifie my skin with the point of your blade. Wherefore (my sonne) consider, that it is easie to raze, and hard to build, and in all your affaires be scholed by this bozd, that for wisdom is able, and for the entier affection it beareth your house, will be found willing, to lesson you with sound and sage aduise. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counsell they must rule you. My sonne, you know that my late maiestie listeth my talke: otherwise I would haue grated longer

on this matter. For a good tale maie be swife to lo, and a sound aduise (cistones iterated) take the danger impression in the attentive hearer his mind. But although my fatherlie affection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust your good inclination asketh it to be shorter; and upon that assurance, here in the presence of this honourable assemble, I deliver you this sword. Thus he spake for his last farewell with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he stood, imbarbed the counsell, committed them to God, and immediatly after he was imbarbed.

But although with his graue exhortation the frozen hearts of his aduerfaries for a short spirit thawed, yet notwithstanding they turned some after all this gate *Gloria patri* unto a further fetch; saying that this was nothing else but to dazzell their eyes with some sugling knaue, to the end they should aduertise the king of his loiall speeches: adding further, that he was too to euill that could not speake well. And to force the perpended treasons they laied to his charge, with further furnises they certified the counsell of England, that the earle before his departure furnished his owne piles and forts with the king his artillerie and munition taken forth of the castell of Dublin. The earle being examined upon that article before the counsell, although he answered that the few potguns and chambers he took from thence, were placed in his castell to strengthen the bozders against the inrodes of the Irish enimie; and that if he intended anie treason, he was not so foolish, as to fortifie walles and stones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands: yet notwithstanding he delivered his speeches by reason of his palseie, in such staggering and making wisse, that such of the counsell as were not his friends, persuading the rest that he had sunke in his owne tale, by imputing his lisping and dragging answer rather to the gilt of conscience, than to the infirmite of his late maiestie, had him committed, untill the king his pleasure were further knowne.

But before we wade anie further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it would be noted, that the earle of Kildare, among diuerse hidden aduerfaries, had in these his later troubles foure principall enimies that were the chiefe means & causes of his ouerthrow, as in those daies it was commonlie bruted. The first was John Alen archbishop of Dublin, a gentleman of a good house, chap-  
leine to cardinall Wolseie, & after by the cardinall his means constituted archbishop of Dublin, a learned prelat, a good housholder, of the people indifferently beloued, and more would haue bene, had he not overbush'd himselfe in supplanting the house of Kildare. And although it were knowne, that his first grudge towards the Giraldins proceeded from the great affection he bare his lord and master the cardinall, in so much as he would not sticke, were he able, for the pleasuring of the one to wound the other; yet such occasions of greater hatred after ensued (namely for that he was displaced from being lord chancellor, & Cromer the pimat of Armagh by Kildare his diests settled in the office) as notwithstanding the cardinall his combe was cut in England, yet did he persist in pursuing his wonted malice toward that sex.

The second that was linked to this confederacie, was sir John Alen knight, first secretaire to this archbishop, after became master of the rolles, lastly lord chancellor. And although sir John Alen were not of kin to the archbishop, but onely of the name; yet notwithstanding the archbishop made so great reckoning of him, as well for his foresight in matters of weight, as for his faithfulness in affaires of trust, as what soeuer exploit were executed by the one, was

Kildare set-  
teth into  
England.

This opinion  
misconstrued.

He is accus'd  
for taking the  
king his ar-  
tillerie.

Kildare com-  
mitted.

Kildare his  
chiefe enu-  
mies.  
John Alen  
archbishop of  
Dublin.

Sir John  
Alen knight.

The lord  
Thomas tre-  
sundereth the  
Alens against  
him.

The proper-  
tie of the  
marmoset.

The arch-  
bishop has tam-

The entente  
conspire the  
ouerthrow c  
the Giraldin

Thomas  
Canon.  
Robert Cow-  
nc.

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Sir John  
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The lord  
Thomas in  
himself the  
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The proper  
tie of the  
marmoset.

The archb  
shop has taunt

The enemies  
conspire the  
overthrow of  
the Geraldines

for which deemed to have bene devised by the other. The third of this crew was Thomas Canon, secreta  
rie to Skeffington, who thinking to be revenged on  
Kildare for putting his lord and master beside the  
cushin, as he surmised, was verie willing to have an  
ore in that bote. The fourth that was suspected to  
make the muster, was Robert Cobolie, first bailiffe  
in Dublin, after servant to the ladie Margaret Fitz  
gerald, countesse of Desmond and Msozie, lastlie ma  
ster of the rolles in Ireland, and finally he deceased  
at London.

This gentleman for his wisdom and policie was  
well esteemed of the ladie Margaret countesse of  
Msozie, as one by whose advise she was in all hir af  
faires directed. Whereupon some suspicious persons  
were perswaded and brought in mind, that he was  
the sower of all the discord that rested betwene the  
two brethren Kildare and Msozie: as though he  
could not be rooted in the favour of the one, but that  
he must have professed open hatred vnto the other.  
These foute, as birds of one feather, were supposed  
to be open enemies to the house of Kildare, bearing  
that swaie in the commonwealth, as they were not  
occasioned (as they thought) either to craue friend  
ship of the Geraldines, or greatlie to feare their ha  
tred and enimitie. There were beside them diuerse o  
ther secret underminers, who wrought so cunning  
lie vnder the thumbe, by holding with the hare, and  
running with the hound, as if Kildare had prospe  
red, they were assured, their malice would not have  
bene in manner suspected: but if he had bene in his  
affaires stabled, then their fine deuises for their fur  
ther credit should have bene apparented. Therefore  
the heauing of his backe friends not onelie surmi  
sed, but also manifested by Kildare, the lord Tho  
mas being iustice or vicedeputie in his fathers ab  
sence, setcht both the Alens so roundlie ouer the hips,  
as well by secret drifts as open taunts, as they were  
the more egerlie spured to compasse his confusion.  
For the lord iustice and the counsell, with diuerse of  
the nobilitie, at a solemne banquet discourting of the  
anciencie of houses, and of their armes, sir John A  
len spake to the lord iustice these words.

My lord, your house giueth the marmoset, whose  
propertie is to eat his owne taile. Meaning thereby  
(as the lord Thomas supposed) that Kildare did vse to  
pill and poll his friends, tenants & retainers. These  
words were no sooner spoken, than the lord Thomas  
striking the ball to Alen againe, answered, as one  
that was somewhat slipper tongued, in this wise. You  
saie truly sir, indeed I heard some saie, that the mar  
moset eateth his owne taile. But although you haue  
bene sed by your taile, yet I would aduise you to be  
ware, that your taile eat not you. Shortly after this  
quipping game gall, the lord iustice and the counsell  
rode to Drogheda, where hauing for the space of  
thre or foure daies sojourned, it happened that the  
counsellors awaited in the counsell chamber the go  
uernour his comming, untill it was hard vpon the  
stroke of twelue. The archbishop of Dublin calvlie  
digressing the vicedeputie his long absence, said: My  
lords, is it not a prettie matter, that all we shall staie  
thus long for a boie? As he vitered these speeches, the  
lord iustice vnluckilie was comming vp the staires,  
and at his entrie taking the words hot from the bi  
shop his mouth, and iterating them verie coldlie, he  
said: My lords, I am heartilie sozie, that you staied  
thus long for a boie. Whereat the prelat was appa  
led, to see how vnhappy he was gald with his owne  
caltrop. These & the like cutting speeches inkindled  
such coles in both their stomachs, as the flame could  
not anie longer be smouldered, but at one clift or o  
welningh kneaded the dough that should haue bene

baked for the Geraldines bane, deuised that secret  
rumors should sprinkle to and fro, that the earle of  
Kildare his execution was intended in England;  
and that vpon his death the Lord Thomas and all his  
bloud should haue bene apprehended in Ireland. As  
this false muttering drew abroad, it was holpen for  
ward by Thomas Canon, and others of Skeffing  
ton his seruants, who sticked not to write to certaine  
of their friends, as it were, verie secret letters, how  
that the earle of Kildare their master his secret eni  
mie (so they toke him, because he got the gouerne  
ment ouer his head) was already cut thorter, as his  
issue presentlie should be: and now they trusted to see  
their master in his gouernment, after which they  
soze longed, as for a preferment that would in short  
space aduantage them. Such a letter came vnto the  
hands of a simple priest, no perfect Englishman, who  
for hast hurled it amongst other papers in the chini  
nies end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it bet  
ter at moze leisure. The same verie night, a gentle  
man reteining to the lord Thomas, the lord iustice or  
vicedeputie, as is before specified, toke vp his lodg  
ing with the priest, and sought in the morning when  
he rose for some paper, to drave on his strait stock  
ings; and as the diuell would, he hit vpon the letter,  
bare it awaie in the beele of his stocke, no earthly  
thing misdeeming. At night againe he found the pa  
per vnstretted, and musing thereat he began to poze  
on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and  
the apprehension of the lord Thomas. To hisse go  
eth he in all hast, brought the letter to James de la  
Hyde, who was principall counsellor to the lord Tho  
mas in all his dwings. De la Hyde hauing scantlie  
ouerread the letter, making moze hast than god  
speed, posted to the lord Thomas, imparted him that  
letter, and withall putting fire to flax, before he diued  
to the bottome of this trecherie, he was contented to  
swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by so  
thing by the tenor of the letter, as by inciting the  
lord Thomas to open rebellion, cloking the odious  
name of treason with the zealous reuengement of  
his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie  
defence of his owne person.

The lord Thomas being youtfull, rash, and head  
long, and assuring himselfe that the knot of all the  
force of Ireland was twisted vnder his girdle, was  
by de la Hyde his counsell so far caried, as he was  
resolved to cast all on sir and seauen. Wherefore ha  
uing confedered with Dneale, Dronoz, and other  
Irish potentats, he rode on saint Barnabies daie,  
accompanied with seauen score horsemen in their  
shirts of maile, through the citie of Dublin, to the  
Dam his gate, cross ouer the water to saint Marie  
abbete, where the counsell according to appointment  
waited his comming, not being priuie to his in  
tent: onelie Cromer the lord chancellour excepted,  
who was secretlie aduertised of his reuolt, and there  
fore was verie well provided for him, as hereafter  
shall be declared. This Cromer was a graue  
prelat, and a learned, well spoken, mild of nature, no  
thing wedded to factions, yet a wellwiller of the  
Geraldines, as those by whose means he was aduan  
ced to dignitie. When the lord Thomas was set in  
counsell, his horsemen and seruants rusht into the  
counsell chamber armed and weaponed, turning  
their secret conference to an open parle. The coun  
cell hereat amazed, and silence with securitie com  
manded, the lord Thomas in this wise spake.

Thomas Fitzgerald his rebellious oration.



Disseuer inuirtuouslie we be hand  
led, and forced to defend our selues in  
armes, when neither our seruice nor our  
god meaning towards our prince his  
J. H. crowns

The occasion  
of Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
his rebellion.

James  
de la Hyde

Cromer  
lord chan  
celor.



crostone auallie: yet saie not hereafter, but in this open hostilitie which here we prolesse and proclame, we haue shewed our selues no villaines no: churles, but warriours and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine; I receiued it with an oath, and haue used it to your benefit. I should haue mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoiance. Now haue I need of mine owne sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge, already bathed in the Stra'dines blood, and now is ready whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore saue your selues from vs, as from open enemies, I am none of Henrie his deputie, I am his fo, I haue more mind to conquer than to gouerne, to meet him in the field than to serue him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cause thereto, would ioine in this quarrell (as I hope they will) then should he loine abie (as I trust he shall) for his crueltie and tyrannie, for which the age to come may lawfullie scode him vp among the ancient tyrants of most abhominable and hatefull memorie.

Having added to this shamefull oration manie other slanderous and foule tearmes, which for diuerse respects I spare to pen, he would haue surrendered the sword to the lord chancellor, who (as I said before) being armed for the lord Thomas his coming, and also being loath that his backe should seme disloiall in refusing the sword, or his forwardnesse ouer cruell in snatching it vpon the first proffer, toke the lord Thomas by the wrist of the hand, and requested him for the loue of God, the teares trickling downe his cheekes, to glue him for two or three wordes the hearing, which granted, the reuerend father spake as inuech.

#### The chancellor his oration.

**M**y lord, although hatred be commonlie the handmaiden of truth, because we see him that plainelie expresseth his mind, to be for the more part of most men disliked: yet notwithstanding I am so well assured of your lordship his good inclination towards me, and your lordship to certaine of mine entire affection towards you, as I am emboldened, notwithstanding this companie of armed men, freelic and frankelie to offer that, which by me declared, and by your lordship followed, will turne (God willing) to the auaille of you, your friends, allies, and this countrie. I doubt not (my lord) but you know, that it is wisdom for anie man to looke before he leape, and to slowe the water before his ship hull thereon, & namelie where the matter is of weight, there it behoueth to followe sound, sage, and mature aduise. Wherefore (my lord) sith it is no malgame for a subiect to leue an armie against his prince: it lieth your lordship in hand to breath longer on the matter, as well by forecasting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by resoluing the hope wherewith you are fed. What should moue your lordship to this sudden attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but secretlie muttered, not manifestlie published. And if I should grant you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in some respect to be commended: yet reason would you should suspend the reuenge until the certaintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it standeth with the dutie and allegiance of a good subiect (from whom I hope in God you meane not to dissent your selfe) not to spurne and kicke against his prince, but contrariwise, if his soueraigne be mightie, to feare him:

The subjects  
dutie to-  
wards his  
king.

if he be profitable to his subjects, to honour him: if he command, to obeie him: if he be kind, to leue him: if he be vicious, to pittie him: if he be a tyrant, to beare with him: considering that in such case it is better with patience to bow, than with stubbornnesse to breake. For sacred is the name of a king, and obious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God shielded; the other in hell forged, and by the diuell executed. And therefore who so will obserue the course of histories, or weigh the iustice of God in punishing malefactors, shall easily see, that albeit the sunne shineth for a time on them that are in rebellion: yet such sweet beginnings are at length clasped vp with sharpe & sowre ends.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armour against your king, it resteth to discusse whether you be able (though you were willing) to annoie your king. For if among meane and private soes it be reckoned for folie, in a secret grudge to prolesse open hatred, and where he is not able to hinder, there to shew a willing mind to hurt: much more ought your lordship in so generall a quarrell as this, that concerneth the king, that toucheth the nobilitie, that apperteineth to the whole commonwelth, to foresee the king his power on the one side, & your force on the other, and then to iudge if you be able to croke with him, and to put him beside the cushion; and not whilst you strue to sit in the saddle, to lose to your owne undoing both the horse and the saddle.

King Henrie is knowne to be in these our daies so puissant a prince, and so victorious a worthy, that he is able to conquer forein dominions: and thinke you that he cannot defend his owne? The tanke kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne subjects? Suppose you conquer the land, do you imagine that he will not reconer it? Therefore (my lord) flatter not your selfe ouermuch, repose not so great assistance either in your troupe of horsemen, or in your band of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers. What face soeuer they put now on the matter, or what successe soeuer for a season they haue, because it is easie for an armie to vanquish them that do not resist: yet hereafter when the king shall send his power into this countrie, you shall see your adherents like slipper changelings plucked in their homes, and such as were content to beare you vp by the chin as long as you could swim, when they espie you sinke, they will by little and little thinke from you, and percase will ducke you over head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your sailles, doubt not but diuerse will anerre vnto you and feed on you as croles on carion: but if anie storme happen to blasse, then will they be sure to leaue you poore alone sticking in the mire or sands, hauing least helpe when you haue most need. And what will then insue of this. The branches will be pardoned, the root apprehended, your honour diffained, your house atainted, your armes reuerfed, your manours razed, your doings examined; at which time God knoweth what an hartburning it will be, when that with no colour may be denied, which without shame cannot be confessed. My lord, I potwre not out oracles as a soothsayer, for I am neither a prophet, nor the sonne of a prophet. But it may be, that I am some frantike Cassandra being partener of his spirit in foretelling the truth, and partaker of his misfortune in that I am not (when I tell the truth) beleued of your lordship, whom God defend from being Pyramus.

Weigh therefore (my lord) the nobilitie of your ancestors, remember your father his late exhortation, forget not your dutie vnto your prince, consider the estate of this poore countrie, with what heaps of curses you shall be laden, when your soul-

The name of  
a king sacred.

Rebellion  
from subiects  
it springeth.

Hard be  
Belan.

Shaken  
Thomas.

Henrie to  
Ireland.

Thomas  
reuereth  
the sword

Cassandra  
prophetic.

diers

The name of  
a king sacred.

Rebellion  
from Dubene  
t Springery.

diers shall riske the poore subjects, & so far indamage the whole reime, as they are not yet bozne that shall hereafter feele the smart of this vprore. You haue not gone so far but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offense as yet not ouer heinous, cleane to his clemencie, abandon this headlong folle. Which I craue in most humble wise of your lordship, for the loue of God, for the dutie you owe your prince, for the affection you beare the countrie, and for the respect you haue to your owne safetie, whom God defend from all traitorous & wicked attempts.

Hard be  
Silken.

Silken  
Thomas.

Having ended his oration, which he set forth with such a lamentable action, as his cheekes were all beblubbered with teares, the hoisemen, namelie such as vnderstood not English, began to diuine what the lord chancelor ment with all this long circumstance; some of them repozing that he was preaching a sermon, others said that he stood making of some herotall poetrie in the prasse of the lord Thomas. And thus as enerie idot shot his folish bolt at the wise councilor, his discourse, who in effect did nought else but drop pretious stones before hogs, one Ward de Melan, an Irish rithmour, and a rotten sheepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Irish verses, as though his tongue had run on pattens, in commendation of the lord Thomas, inuesting him with the title of Silken Thomas, because his hoisemens iacks were gorgeondlie imbrodered with silke: and in the end he told him that he lingred there ouerlong. Whereat the lord Thomas being quickened, did cast his eye towards the lord chancelor, & said thus.

### The replie of Silken Thomas.



My lord chancelor, I come not hither to take aduise what I should do, but to giue you to vnderstand what I mind to do. It is easie for the sound to counsell the sicke: but if the soze had smarted you as much as it festereth me, you would be percaie as impatient as I am. As you would wish me to honour my prince, so dutie willett me to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will with such tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my destruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitors haue bene before him. But if it be my hap to miscarie, as you seeme to prognosticat, catch that catch may, I will take the market as it riseth, and will chole rather to die with valiantnesse and libertie, than to liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as strong as he is, and as weake as I am, I shall be able like a fleshwoome to itch the bodie of his kingdome, and force him to scratch deapelite before he be able to pike me out of my seame. Wherefore my lord, I thanke you for your good counsell, and were it not that I am too crabbed a note in descant to be now tuned, it might be that I would haue warbled sweeter harmonye than at this instant I meane to sing. With these words he rendered by the sword, and sung a wate like a boblem, being garbed with his brutish droue of baine sicke rebels.

Henrie lord of  
Ireland.

Thomas  
rendereth by  
the sword.

assandras  
ophelic.

The counsell sent secretlie vpon his departure to master maior and his brethren, to apprehend (if they conuenientlie might) Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats. But the warning was to Skarbozroto, the enimie so strong, the citie (by reason of the plague that ranged in towne and in countrie) so dispeopled, as their attempt therein would seme but vaine and frivulous. Durt this, the weaker part of the rebels

would not pen by themselves within the citie walls, but stood howering aloofe off toward Dismantowine greene, on the top of the hill where the gallowes stood (a fit centre for such a circle) till time they were aduertised of their capteine Thomas his returne. This open rebellion in this wise denounced; part of the counsell, namelie Alen archbishop of Dublin & Finglasse chiefe baron bided with bag and baggage to the castell of Dublin, whereof John White was constable, who after was dubbed knight by the king in England, for his worthie seruice done in that byroze.

Alen.  
Finglasse.  
John white  
ter.

Thomas & his crew, supposing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they should find no blocke to stumble at sauing the earle of Ossorie, agreed to trie if any allurements he could be traimd to their confederacie. And forsomuch as the lord James Butler was linked with Thomas Fitzgiralde in great amitie and friendship, it was thought best to giue him the onset, who if he were won to swaie with them, they would not weigh two chips the force of his father the earle of Ossorie. Thomas forthwith sent his messengers and letters to his coufine the lord Butler, counsaing to diuide with him halfe the kingdome, would he associat him in this enterprise. Whereupon the lord Butler returned Thomas his brokers with this letter.

### The lord Butler his letter to

Thomas Fitzgiralde.



Alking pen in hand to write you my resolute answer, I muse in the vertie first line by what name to call you, my lord, or my coufine: seeing your notorious treason hath distained your honour, and your desperate lewdnesse shamed your kindred. You are so liberrall in parting stakes with me, that a man would weene you had no right vnto the game: so importunat in crauing my companie, as if you would persuade me to hang with you for good fellowship. Do you thinke that James was so mad, as to gape for gogions; or so ingrations, as to sell his truth for a peece of Ireland: Were it so (as it cannot be) that the chickens you reckon, were both hatched and feathered: yet be thou sure, I had rather in this quarell die thine enimie, than liue thy partener. For the kindnesse you proffer me, and good loue in the end of your letter, the best waite I can I purpose to requite, that is, in aduising you, though you haue setcht your seaze, yet to looke well per ye leape. Ignorance and error, with a certeine opinion of dutie, haue caried you vnawares to this folle, not yet so ranke but it maie be cured. The king is a vessell of bountie & mercie, your words against his maiestie shall not be accounted malicious, but rather belched out for heat and impotencie, except your selfe by heaping offenses discover a mischeifous and willfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitzgiralde nettled with this round answer, was determined to inuade the countrie of Kilkennie, first forcing an oth vpon the gentlemen of the pale: and such as would not agree thereto he toke prisoners. Fingall, which was not before acquainted with the recourse of the Irish enimie, was left open to be preided and spoiled by the Moles, who were therein assisted by John Burnell of Balgriffin, a gentleman of a faire living, settled in a good battle soile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoid of wit, were it not that he was overtaken with this treason. The Dublinians hauing notice that the enimie made hauocke of their neighbors of Fingall, issued out of the citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bydage of Kilmainan. And hauing incounte-

Fingall  
spoiled.

John Burnell  
of Balgriffin.

The Dublin  
mans discom-  
fited.

Patrike Fitz-  
simons slaine.

Messengers  
sent from  
Thomas to  
Dublin.

Francis Her-  
bert sent into  
England.  
Eustace of  
Salcutlan.

The archbis-  
hop of Dub-  
lin meaneth  
to saile into  
England.  
Bartholomew  
Fitzgerald.

1534  
Teling.  
Waffer.

red with the Irish nere the wood Salcocke, what for the number of the rebels, and the lacke of an expert capteine to lead the armie of Dublin in battell raie, there were fourescore of the citizens slaine, and the prieste not rescued. In this condia, Patrike Fitzsimons, with diuerse other good houlholders, miscaried.

This historie byed so great an insolencie in Thomas Fitzgerald, as he sent his messengers to the citie, declaring that albeit they offered him that inturie, as that he could not haue free passage with his companie to sit in the pale, & therefore would he vse the benefit of his late skirmish, or be answerable in iust reuenge to their due desert, he might by law of armes put their citie to fire and sword: yet this notwithstanding, if they would but permit his men to laie siege to the castell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would undertake to backe them in such fauourable wise, as the stoutest champion in his armie should not be so hardie, as to offer the basest in their citie so much as a fillip. The citizens considering that the towne by reason of the sicknesse was weakened, and by this late overthrow greatlie discouraged, were forced to make a vertue of necessitie, by lighting a candle before the diuell, till time the kings pleasure were knowne; to whom with letters they posted one of their aldermen named Francis Herbert, whom shortly after, the king for his seruice dubbed knight, incoffing him with part of Christopher Eustace of Salcutlan his lands, who had vnaduisedlie a foot in this rebellion. But before the citizens would returne answer to Thomas as touching this message, they secretlie aduertised maister John White constable of the castell of this vnlawfull demand.

The constable weighing the securitie of the citie, little regarding the force of the enemie, agreed willingly thereto, so that he might be sufficientlie stored with men and vittels. John Alen archbishop of Dublin, fearing that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the castell, brake his mind touching his sailing into England, to one of his seruants named Bartholomew Fitzgerald, whom notwithstanding he were a Giraldine, he held for his trustiest and inwardest counsellor. Bartholomew undertaking to be the archbishop his pilot, untill hee were past the barre, incouraged his maister to imbarke himselfe hard by the Dams gate. And as they were hailing in the channell that evening, they were not warte, untill the barke strake on the sands nere Clontarfe.

The archbishop with his man stole secretlie to Cartaine, there meaning to lurke untill the wind had serued to saile into England, where he scarcelie six houres sojourned, when Thomas Fitzgerald knew of his arriuall, and accompanied with James de la Hyde, sir John Fitzgerald, Oliver Fitzgerald his vncles, timelie in the morning, being the eight and twentieth of Iulie, he posted to Cartaine, beset the house, commanded John Teling and Nicholas Waffer to apprehend the archbishop, whome they haled out of his bed, brought him naked in his shirt, barefooted, and bareheaded, to their capteine. Whom when the archbishop espied, incontinentlie he kneeled and with a pitifull countenance & lamentable voice, he besought him for the loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his present calamitie, and that malice sooner he bare his person, yet to respect his calling and vocation, in that his enemie was a christian, and he amongst christians an archbishop.

As he spake thus, bequeathing his soule to God, his bodie to the enturies mercie, Thomas being stricken with some compassion, & withall inflamed with

desire of reuenge, turned his hysse aside, saieing in Irish (*Bir mwen e boddeagh*) which is as much to saie in English, as Away with the churle, or Take the churle from me: which doubtles he spake, as after he declared, meaning the archbishop should be detained as prisoner. But the cattils that were present, rather of malice than of ignorance, misconstruing his wordes, murdered the archbishop without further delate, brained and hacked him in gobbets, his blood with Abell crieng to God for reuenge, which after befell to all such as were principals in this horrible murder. The place is euer since hedged and imbeded on euerie side, ouergrowne and vnfrequented for detestation of the fact. This Alen (as before is declared) was in seruice with cardinall Wolseie, of deepe iugement in the law canon, the onelic match of Stephan Gardiner, an other of Wolseies chapleins, for auoiding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, deadlie hated of the Giraldines for his maisters sake & his owne, as he that crossed them diuerse times, and much bridede both father and son in their gouernements, not vnlike to haue promoted their accusations, and to haue bene a forger of the letter before mentioned, which turned to his finall destruction.

The rebels hauing in this erecable wise imbrued their hands in the archbishop his blood, they rode to Houth, toke sir Christopher lord of Houth prisoner, & upon their returne from thence, they apprehended maister Luttrell chiefe iustice of the common ples, conueieng him with them as their prisoner. The Dublinians during this space, hauing respite to pause sent into the castell by night sufficient store of vittels, at which time, John Fitzsimons, one of their aldermen, sent to maister constable twentie tun of wine, foure & twentie tun of beere, two thousand byle ling, sixtene hogheads of powdered beefe, and twentie chambers, with an iron chaine for the draw bidge of the castell that was newlie forged in his owne house for the auoiding of all suspicion. The castell being with men, munition, and vittels abundantly furnished, answer was returned to Thomas Fitzgerald, purporting a consent for the receiuing of his souldiers. Which granted, he sent thither James Field of Luske, Nicholas Waffer, John Teling, Edward Houks (who was likewise a pirat scotizing the coast, and greatlie annoieng all passengers) Broad and Barrell, with an hundred souldiers attendant on them, as on their capteins. These valiant utterkins planted nere Desselon his innes, right over against the castell gate two or three falcons, hauing with such strong rampiers intrenched their companie, as they little weighed the shot of the castle. And to withdraw the constable from discharging the ordinance, they threatened to take the youth of the citie, and place them on the top of their trenches for maister constable to shoot at, as at a marke he would be loth to hit.

The English paie in this wise weakened, the citizens appealed, and the castell besieged, Thomas Fitzgerald and his confederats were resolved to trie if the lord Butler would stand to his doughtie letter; and sith he would not by faire means be allured, he should be (maugre his head) by foule means compelled to assist them in this their generall attempt. Thomas upon this determination, being accompanied with Oneale, diuerse Scots, James de la Hyde, his principall counsellor, John de la Hyde, Edward Fitzgerald his vncle, sir Richard Walsh parson of Loughfowle, John Burnell of Balgriffin, James Gernon, Walter Walsh, Robert Walsh, spaurice Walsh, with a maine armie, invaded the erle of Desfoie and the lord Butler his lands, burnt and wasted the countrie of Kilkennie to Thomas towne, the

Then archbis-  
hop of Dub-  
lin murdered  
at Cartaine.

The lord of  
Houth taken  
prisoner.  
Justice Lut-  
trell taken.

John Fitz-  
simons.

The castell  
of Dublin  
besieged.

Field,  
Waffer,  
Teling,  
Houks.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald in-  
vaded the  
countrie of  
Kilkennie.

The earle of  
Desfoie slae  
The lord  
Butler  
wounded.

Francis Her-  
bert retu-  
neth from  
England.  
Shilling-  
foyth.

Thomas  
Fitzsimon

No leagu  
be kept w  
traitors.  
The Dut  
ans break  
with Tho-  
mas Fitz-  
rald.

Field and  
companie  
ben.

The youth  
Dublin  
prisoners

more inhabitants being constrained to shunne his  
force, rather than to withstand his power.

Fitzgiralde his approach towards these confines  
hated, the earle of Ossorie, and his son the lord But-  
ler, with all the gentlemen of the countrie of Kilken-  
nie, assembled nere Jeripon, to determine what or-  
der they might take, in withstanding the invasion of  
the rebels. And as they were thus in parley, a gentle-  
man of the Butlers accompanied with sixtene hor-  
sment, departed secretly from the folkemote, & made  
towards Thomas Fitzgiralde and his armie, who  
was then ready to incampe himselfe at Thomas  
towne. When the chalenger was escried, and the cer-  
taine number knowne, sixtene of Fitzgiralde his  
horsemen did charge him; and presently followed  
them seven score horsemen, with two or three ban-  
ners displayed, pursuing them untill they came to  
the hill where all the gentlemen were assembled, who  
being so suddenly taken, could not stand to bicker;  
but some fled this waite, some that waite, the earle  
was scattered from his companie, and the lord But-  
ler unwarres was hurt: whom when such of the rebels  
knew as favoured him, they pursued him but colde-  
ly, and let him escape on horsebacke, taking his waite  
to Downemore (nere Kilkennie) where he laie at  
largerie.

The earle of  
Ossorie fleeth.  
The lord  
Butler  
wounded.

During the time that Thomas with his armie  
was ransacking the erle of Ossorie his lands, Francis  
Herebert returned from England to Dublin  
with the king and counsels letters to maister Shil-  
lingforth then maior, and his brethren, with letters  
likewise to maister White the constable, to with-  
stand (as their dutie of allegiance bound them) the  
traitorous practises of Thomas and his complices,  
and that with all speed they should be succored upon  
the sight of these letters. Maister Thomas Fitz-  
simons recorder of the citie, a gentleman that shew-  
ed himselfe a politike and a comfortable counsellor  
in these troubles, paraphrasing the king his gracious  
letters, with diuerse good and sound constructions,  
imbolened the citizens to breake their new made  
league, which with no traitor was to be kept. The  
aldermen and communalitie, with this pithie persua-  
sion easilie weighed, gave forthwith order, that the  
gates should be shut, their percullices dismounted,  
the traitors that besieged the castell apprehended,  
flags of defiance vpon their walls placed, and an  
open breach of truce proclaimed.

Francis Here-  
bert returneth  
from  
England.  
Shilling-  
forth.

Thomas  
Fitzsimons.

No league to  
be kept with  
traitors.  
The Dublini-  
ans breake  
with Tho-  
mas Fitzgira-  
lde.

Field and his companies (who did not all this  
while batter aught of the castell, but onelie one hole  
that was boored through the gate with a pellet, which  
lighted in the mouth of a demie canon, planted with  
in the castell) understanding that they were betrayed,  
began to shrinke their heads, trusting more to their  
bailes than to their weapons: some ran one way,  
some another, diuerse thought to haue bene housed  
and so to lurke in Lozels den, who were thrust out by  
the head and shoulders: few of them swam ouer the  
Liffie, the greater number taken and imprisoned.  
Forthwith post vpon post rode to Thomas Fitz-  
giralde, who then was rising the countrie of Kil-  
kennie, certifieng him that all was mard, the fat  
was in the fire, he brought an old house about his  
owne eares, the Paltocks of Dublin kept not touch  
with him, the English armie was ready to be shipt,  
Herebert with the king his letters returned; now it  
stood him vpon to shew himselfe a man or a mouse.  
Thomas with these tidings amazed, made speedie  
repaire to Dublin, sending his pursuants before  
him, to command the gentlemen of the English  
pale to meete him with all their power nere Dub-  
lin. And in his waite towards the citie, his compa-  
nie took diuerse children of the Dublinians, that  
kept in the countrie (by reason of the contagion that

Field and his  
companies ta-  
ken.

The youth of  
Dublin taken  
prisoners.

then was in the towne) namelie Michael Fitz-  
simons, Patrike Fitzsimons, William Fitzsimons,  
all sons to Walter Fitzsimons late maior, at which  
time was also taken James Stanhurst, with di-  
uerse other yonglings of the citie.

Having marched nere Dublin, he sent doctor  
Trauerse, Peter Lince of the Anoke, and Oliver  
Grace, as messengers (for I made not rightlie  
tearme them ambassadoys) to the citizens, who cross-  
ing the Liffie from the blacke friers to the keie, ex-  
plained to the maior and aldermen their errand, the  
effect wherof was, either to stand to their former  
promise, or else to restore to their captaine his men,  
whom they wrongfullie detained in goale. The first  
and last point of this request statlie by the citizens  
denied, the messengers returned, declaring what  
cold intertainment they had in Dublin. Thomas  
herewith frieng in his greafe, caused part of his ar-  
mie to burne the barke wherein Herebert sailed from  
England: which done without resistance, the vessel  
road at anchor nere saint Marie abbeie, they in-  
deuored to stop all the springs that flowed vnto the  
towne, and to cut the pipes of the conduits, where-  
by they should be destitute of fresh water. Shortly  
after, they laid siege to the castell in the Shipstreet,  
from whence they were hassilie by the ordinance  
feazed, and all the thatcht houses of the street were  
burnt with wild fire, which maister White deuald,  
because the enimie should not be there refused.

Messengers  
sent to Dublin  
Trauerse.  
Lince.  
Grace.

Dublin besie-  
ged.

The Ship-  
street fired.

When no butter could sticke on their bread, in  
in that part of the citie, the greater number of the  
rebels assembled to Thomas his court, and marched  
to saint Thomas his street, rasing downe the parti-  
tions of the row of houses before them on both sides  
of the street, finding none to withstand them: for the  
inhabitants fled into the citie, so that they made a  
long lane on both the sides like a gallerie, covered  
all ouer head, to shield as well their horsemen as  
their footmen from gunshot. This done they burnt  
the new street, planted a falcon right against the  
new gate, and it discharged, pearled the gate, and  
kild an apprentice of Thomas Stephens alderman,  
as he went to bring a bason of water from the high  
pipe, which by reason the springs were damd by, was  
at that time drie. Richard Stanton, commonlie  
called Dicke Stanton, then gailor of the new gate,  
a good serutto, an excellent markeman, as his va-  
liant seruice that time did approue. For besides that  
he gald diuers of the rebels as they would skip from  
house to house, by causing some of them with his  
peece to carrie their errands in their buttocks; so he  
perceiued one of the enimies, leueling at the win-  
dow or spike at which he stood: but whether it were,  
that the rebell his powder failed him, or some gimball  
or other was out of frame, Stanton took him so  
trulie for his marke, as he strake him with his bul-  
let full in the forehead vnder the bryn of his skull,  
and withall turned vp his heeles.

Richard  
Stanton.

Stanton not satisfied with his death, issued out  
at the wicket, stript the darlot mother-naked, and  
brought in his peece and his attire. The desperat-  
nesse of this fact disliked of the citizens, and great-  
lie stomached by the rebels, before Stanton retur-  
ned to his standing, the enimies brought faggots &  
fiers to the new gate, and incontinentlie fired them.  
The townsmen perceiuing that if the gate were  
burnt, the enimies would be encouraged vpon hope  
of the spoile, to venter more fiercelie, than if they  
were incountred without the walls, thought it erpe-  
dient presentlie to charge them. To this exploit they  
were the more egerlie moued, because that notwith-  
standing Thomas his souldiours were manie in  
number; yet they knew that the better part of his  
companie bare but hollow hearts to the quarrell:  
for

Faggots laid  
vnto the  
new gate.

chibts  
Dub-  
rithere  
tame.

rd of  
taken  
T.  
Luce  
ken.

Fitz-  
g.

field  
his  
d.

Field  
his  
d.

Field  
his  
d.

for the number of the wise gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the citie, the most part of those arrivours, which were shot over the walles, were br-headed, and nothing annoied them: some shot in letters, and foretold them of all the treacherous stratagems that were in hammering.

The citizens  
bicker with  
the rebels.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
fleeth.

De la Hyde.  
Aime.  
Bath.  
Trauerse.  
Field.

The articles  
propounded to  
the citizens.

The citizens  
answer these  
articles.

That espied the citizens, and gathering the faintness of his souldiours thereby, blazed abroad upon the walles triumphant newes, that the king his armie was arrived: and as it had bene so in deed, suddenly to the number of foure hundred rushed out at the new gate, through flame and fire upon the rebels, who at the first sight of armed men) wening no lesse but the truth was so, otherwile assured, that the citie would neuer dare to reencounter them, gaue ground, forsooke their captiues, dispersed and scattered into diuerse corners, their falcon taken, an hundred of their stoutest Galloglasses slaine. Thomas Fitzgerald fled to the graie friers in S. Francis his street, there coucht that night, unknownen to the citie, untill the next morning he sale priuile to his armie not far off, who stood in wonderfull feare that he was apprehended. Thomas his courage by this late overthrow somewhat cooled, and also being assuredlie told, that a flæte was espied a farre off, bearing full saile towards the coast of Ireland, he was sone intreated, hauing so manie irons in the fire, to take eggs for his monie: & withall, hauing no foren succor, either from Paulus tertius, or Charles the first, which daile he expected, he was sore quailed, being of himselfe, though strong in number of souldiours, yet vnfurnished of sufficient munition and artillerie, to stand & withstand the king his armie in a pitcht field, or a maine battell. Upon this & other considerations, to make as faire weather as he could, he sent James de la Hyde, Aime of the Knocke, William Bath of Dollardstowne, doctor Trauerse, Thomas Field of Painsdowne, as messengers to the citizens, to treat with them of a truce, who being let in at the new gate, repaired to William Balleie his house, where maister maior and his brethren were assembled. The articles propounded by them to the citizens, were these.

- 1 That Thomas Fitzgerald his men, who were detained in prison, should be redelivered.
- 2 Item, that the citizens should incontinentlie deliuer him at one palment, a thousand pounds in monie.
- 3 Item, that they should deliuer him five hundred pounds in wares.
- 4 Item, to furnish him with munition and artillerie.
- 5 Item, to addresse their fauorable letters to the king for their captiue his pardon, and all his confederats.

The maior and aldermen, hauing ripelie debated the tenour of these articles, agreed, that maister Fitzsimons their recorder should answer vnto the first, that they would not stricke to let his seruants at libertie, so he would redeliver them the youth of the citie, which was nothing else in effect, but tit for tat. As for the second and the third demand, they were so greaue by his warres impoverishd, as they might hardlie spare monie or wares. And as touching implements for warre, they were neuer such fond niddicookes, as to offer anie man a rod to beat their owne tailles, or to betake their machines vnto the custodie of the woolues, maruelling much that their captiue would so farre ouerthot himselfe, as to be taken with such apparant repugnancie. For if he intended to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, and to make them humble meanes to his highnesse for the obtaining of his pardon, he ought rau-

ther to make late for some good deffam parchment for the ingrossing the reof, than for mupstion and artillerie to withstand his priuce. Wherefore, that thye vnlawfull demands reiected, they would willingly condescend to the first and last: as well requesting him to deliuer them the youth of the citie, as to submit himselfe and his companie to the king his mercie: promising not onelie with their fauorable letters, but also with their personall presences to further, as far as in them laie, his humble sute to the king and council.

As they parted thus to and fro, William Bath of Dollardstowne a student of the common lawes spake: My maisters, what needeth all this long circumstance? Let vs all drinke of one cup. Which words were shortly after vpon Sheffington his arriuall so crookedlie glosed, as by drinke of a soure cup he lost the best ioint of his bodie. For albeit vpon his triall he confuted his words to import an vniforme consent towards the obtaining of Fitzgerald his pardon: yet all this could not colour his matter in such wise, but that he and Eustace of Balcutlan were executed at the castell of Dublin. The messengers knowing their captiue to be at a low eb, were agreed to take the offers of the first & last conditions, and that to the accomplishing of these articles hostages should be giuen of either part. The messengers deliuered to the citizens doctor Trauerse & others, the citizens deliuered them Richard Talbot, Alderman, Rochford, & Kerrie. These were committed to the custodie of David Sutton of Kabyde, who redelivered them to the citizens immediatlie after vpon the certeine rumoz of Sheffington his repaire.

Thomas growne to this point with the Dublinians raised his siege, caused his artillerie to be conueied to Houth, marching after with his armie, to the end he might as well bulch the English ships if they durst anerre the coast, as to bicker with the souldiours vpon their arriuall. But before he toke his forneie vnto Houth, he rode to Painsdowne, to see that the castell should be of all sides fortified, where being done to order stand, that a companie of white cotes with red crosses landed at Dublin secretlie in the dead of the night, and also that another band arrived at Houth, and were ready to march towards Dublin, he posted incontinentlie with two hundred hoisemen towards the water side, incountred nere Clontarf, the Hamertons, two valiant and courageous gentlemen, hauing in their companie foure score souldiours, where they fought so balliantlie for their liues, as so few souldiours could haue done against so great a troope of hoisemen: for they did not onlie mangle and hacke diuerse of the rebels, but also one of the Hamertons wounded Thomas Fitzgerald in the forehead. Some report that one of the Musgraves, who was of kin to Fitzgerald, was slaine in this conflict, whose death he is said to haue taken greaue to hart. The rebelles fled with the slaughter of the English, bled with all speed to Houth, shot at the ships that rode at anchor, caused them to flee from thence, & to make towards Sherrish, where landed both the Eglesbys, and the Wacres, with their hoisemen. Kouks, Fitzgerald his pirat, was sent to scowze the coast, who toke an English barke laden with verie faire geldings, and sent them to his captiue. After that Thomas had returned with this bootie, and the spoile of such as were slaine to Painsdowne, sir William Bereton knight, with his sonne John Bereton, was inchoed at Houth with two hundred & fiftie souldiours verie well appointed, and maister Salisburie with two hundred archers.

Lastlie landed at the slip, neare the bydge of Dublin, sir William Sheffington knight lord de putte,

William  
Bath.

Castell of  
Balcutlan

Hostages  
taken.  
Doctor  
Trauerse.  
Talbot,  
Rochford,  
Kerrie.  
David Sutton.

The white  
cotes landed  
at Dublin.

The Hamertons  
slaine.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
wounded.  
Musgraves.

Eglesbys.  
Wacres.

English  
geldings  
taken.

Sir William  
Bereton.  
John Bereton.  
Salisburie.

Sir William  
Sheffington.  
The cal taken.

lord Bereton  
landeth.

Letters of  
thanks from  
the king to  
the Dublin  
ans.  
The lord of  
Trimle-  
stowne sur-  
rendreth the  
swoyd.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
goeth tow  
Connagh.  
The castle  
of Painsdowne  
sleaged.

Sir Will  
Bereton  
summoneth  
the castell.

Christop  
Barrele  
traiereth  
the castell  
of Painsdowne  
vice him

Holland  
captiue  
Salisburie  
The cal  
taken.



lord deputie  
landed.

Letters of  
thanks from  
the king to  
the Dublins  
ans.  
The lord of  
Trim-  
stowne sur-  
renders the  
sword.

William  
Bally.

Cullace of  
Balcuttillag.

Hollages  
taken,  
Doctor Tre-  
uerle,  
Calbot,  
Rochford,  
Berrie,  
David Dun-  
ton.

The white  
cotes landed  
at Dublin.

The Hamers  
sons slain.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
wounded,  
Walsgrave.

English  
Dacres.

English ge-  
lings taken

Sir William  
Bzereton,  
John Bzer-  
ton,  
Shallburie.

Sir William  
Shelington.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
goeth toward  
Connagh.  
The castell of  
Shamoth be-  
lieged.

Sir William  
Bzereton  
summoneth  
the castell.

Christopher  
Parese be-  
traith the  
castell of  
Shamoth.  
Parese ser-  
vice sinketh.

Holland petit  
captaine to  
Shallburie.  
The castell  
taken.

potie, whome the Irish call the gunner, because he was preferred from that office of the king his master gunner to gouerne them, and that they can euill brooke to be ruled of anie that is but meanlie bozne. The maior and aldermen receiued the gouernor with shot, and great solemnitie, who yelding them hartie thanks for their true and loiall seruice, deliuered them the king and counsell his letters, purporting the same effect in writing that he before expressed in wordes. Warnwell lord of Trimlestowne, who had the custodie of the sword, did surrender it to sir William Shelington, according to the meaning of the king his letters patents on that behalfe.

Thomas Fitzgiralde hauing intelligence that the whole armie was arrived, warded the castell of Shamoth so strongly, as he toke it to be impregnable. And to the end he might giue the gouernor battell, he rode towards Connagh, to leaue all such powder of the Irish, as either for wages, or for goodwill he could win to assist him. The lord deputie forewarned of his drift, marched with the English armie, and the power of the pale to Shamoth, and laid siege to the castell on the north side towards the parke. But before anie peece was discharged, sir William Bzereton, by the deputie his appointment, did summon the castell, offering such as kept it to depart with bag and baggage, and besides their pardon to be liberallie rewarded for their good and loiall seruice. But such as warded the castell, scornfullie scoffing the knight his offer, gaue him hartie thanks for his kindnesse which they said proceeded rather of his gentlenesse than of their deservings, wishing him to keepe vp in those such liberall offers for a dore peare, and to write his commendations home to his friends, and withall, to keepe his head warme, for at their hands he was like to haue but a cold sute. Finally not to take such keepe of their safetie, in that they were assured, that he and his fellows should be sooner from the siege raised, than they from the hold removed.

Upon this round answer the ordinances were planted on the north side of the castell, which made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight: yet the castell so warlike on each side instructed, as the rebellies were imbarred from all egress and regress. Christopher Parese sosterbrother to Thomas Fitzgiralde, to whome of speciall trust the charge of the castell was chiefe committed, profering his voluntarie seruice (which for the more part is so thanklesse and vnano- rie as it sinketh) determined to go an ale beyond his fellows, in betraying the castell to the gouernor. In this resolution he shot a letter indorsed to the lord deputie, the effect whereof was, that he would deuise means the castell should be taken, so that he might haue a summe of monie for his paines, and a competent state during his life. This motion by letters to and fro agreed upon, Parese caused such as kept the ward, to swill and boll so much, as they snorted all the night like grunting hogs, little misdemeing that whilst they slept, anie Judas had bene waking within the castell.

The occasion of this extraordinary exceeding was colored, for snatching into the castell a field peece the daie before from the armie, for which they kept such pot-reuels, and triumphant carousing, as none of them could discerne his beds head from the beds feet: Parese, taking his tide and time, made signe to the armie, betwene the twilight and dawning of the daie, who hauing scaling ladders in a readinesse, would not ouerslip the opportunity offered. Holland, petit captaine to Shallburie, was one of the forwardest in this exploit, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by mishap into a pipe of feathers, where he was vp to the arme pits, so stiffelie sticking therein,

and also vnwealdie in his armor, as there could not helpe him selfe neither in nor out. Sir William Bzereton and his band hauing scaled the walls cried on a sudden, saint George, saint George. These drunken swabs that kept the castell thought that this shout was nought else but a drame, till time they espyed the wailes full of armed men, and one of them with all perceiuing Holland thus intangled in the pipe, bestowed an arrow vpon him, which by god hap did misse him. Holland forthwith rescued by his fellows, shot at the other, and strake him so full vnder the skull, as he left him spalling. The resistance was faint, when the souldiours entered, some yelding themselves, others that withstood them slaine. Sir William Bzereton ran vp to the highest turret of the castell, & aduanced his standard on the top thereof, notifying to the deputie, that the fort was wone. Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beds, so manie goodlie hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such braue furniture, as trulie it was accounted (for household stuffe and vtensiles) one of the richest earle his houses vnder the crowne of England. The lord deputie entred the castell in the after none, vpon whose repaire, James de la Hyde, and Hartward, two fine ing men of the earle his chappell, that were taken prisoners, prostrated themselves on the ground, pitifullie warbling a song, named *Dulcis amica*.

The gouernour ranshed with the sweet and delicate voices, at the instance of Girald Almer chiefe iustice, and others of the counsell pardoned them. Christopher Parese not misdoubting but that he should haue bene dubb knight for his seruice done that daie, presented himselfe before the gouernour, with a cherefull and familiar countenance: as who should saie, Here is he that did the deed. The deputie verie colde & halfe sternelie casting an eye towards him said: Parese, I am to thanke thee on my master the king his behalfe, for this thy proffered seruice which I must acknowledge to haue bene a sparing of great charges, and a saving of manie valiant souldiours liues to his highnesse: and when his maiestie shall be thereof aduertised, I dare be bold to saie that he will not let thee lacke during thy life. And because I maie be the better instructed how to reward thee during my gouernement, I would gladlie learne, what thy lord and master bestowed on thee. Parese set a gog with these mild speeches, and supposing the more he recited, the better he should be rewarded, left not untold the meanest god turne that ever he receiued at his lords hands. Why Parese (quoth the deputie) couldest thou find in thine heart to betray his castell, that hath bene so good lord to thee? Trulie, thou that art so bollo to him, wilt neuer be true to vs. And therewithall, turning his talke to his officers, he gaue them commandement to deliuer Parese the summe of monie that was promised him vpon the surrender of the castell, and after to chop off his head. Parese at this cold salutation of Farewell & be hanged, turning his limping to whimpering said: My lord, had I wist that you would haue dealt so freelie with me, your lordship should not haue wone this fort with so little bloodshed as you did.

Whereat master Wolfe, a gentleman of worship, and one that retained to that old earle of Illbare, standing in the preele, said in Irish, *Antragh*, which is as much in English, as To late, whereof grew the Irish proverbe, to this daie in the language used, To late quoth Wolfe, as we saie, Beware of had I wist, or After meat mustard, or You come a daie after the faire, or Better done than said. The deputie asked them that stood by what was that he spake? Master Wolfe willing to expound his owne words, slept forth and answered: My lord, I said nothing, but that Parese is seized of a towne nere the water

Bzereton sca-  
tereth the wals.

Bzereton ad-  
uanceth his  
Standard.

The lord de-  
putie entere  
the castell.  
James de la  
Hyde.  
Hartward.

Girald Al-  
mer.

Parese com-  
meth before  
the gouernor.

A notable  
iudgement.

Wolfe.

The proverbe  
To late quoth  
Wolfe.

dog

Walia.

He named Baltra, and I would gladly know how he will dispose it before he be executed. The governor not mistrusting that master Wolfe had glofed (for if he understood the true signification of the terme, it was verie like that to late had not bene so sharpe to Waresse, but to some had bene as sove to him) willed the monie to be told to Waresse, and presently caused him to be cut thorow by the head: declaring the rebey, that although for the time he imbraced the benefit of the treason, yet after he could not digest the treacherie of the traitor.

Waresse behaved.

The deputie returneth to Dublin.  
Thomas Fitzgiralde marcheth towards Wainoth.

The deputie having left a garrison in the castell, returned with the armie triumphantlie to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgiralde not misdoubting but such as he left in the castell were able to stand to their tackle, leined a huge armie in Dronbur his countrie, and in Connagh, to the number of seven thousand, marching with them towards Wainoth, minding to have remoued the king his armie from the siege: but being certified, that Waresse his fosterbrother yielded by the castell to the deputie, the better part of his companie gaue him the slip. All this notwithstanding he made with such as would sticke to him to Clane. The lord deputie having intelligence of his approach, left sir William Wiereton at Dublin to defend the citie, & marched with the armie to the spaas, where he took seven score of Thomas his Galloglasles, and lead them all unarmed toward Johnsfolune. The scoutwatch espiong Thomas to march nere, imparted it to the governor, who presently commanded each man to kill his prisoner before the charge, which was dispatched; only Edmund Meine escaping mother naked by flight to Thomas his companie, leaving his shirt in his keepers hands. Both the armies advanced themselves one against the other, but the horsemen of either side could not charge, by reason of a marshy or quakemire that parted them. Therefore the deputie caused two or three field peeces to be discharged, which scattered Thomas and his rabblement, in so much as he neuer in such open wise durst after beare up head in the English pale, but rather by starts and sudden stratagems would now and then gall the English. As when the castell of Athangan was wone, which was some after the surrender of Wainoth, he caused a house of cattell to appear timelie in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the fort, suspecting it to be a house, were trained for the more part out of the castell, who were surprised by Thomas, that late hard by in ambush, and the greater number of them slaine.

Thomas and his companie fleeth.

Fitzgiralde his stratagems.

Another time he fired a village hard by Trim, and deuided such of his horsemen that could speake English, being clad and horsed like northerne men, to ride to Trim, where a garrison late with hue and cry, saing that they were capteine Salisbury his souldiours, and that the traitor Thomas Fitzgiralde was burning a village hard by. The souldiours suspecting no coustnage issued out of the towne, who were by his men charged, & a great number of them slaine, some chased to the towne, and forced to take sanctuarie in the churchyard, which in those daies was highlie reuerenced. These and the like knacks used Thomas, being for his owne person so well guarded, and for defect of a maine armie so naked, as neither he was occasioned to feare the English, nor the English forced to weigh him. During this time, there arrived with a fresh supplie of horsemen & archers, sir William Sento knight & his son, sir Rice Spanswell knight, sir Edward Griffith knight, who were dispersed to sundrie parts of the pale to defend the countrie from the enemies invasion. When the heat of this rebellion was in this wise allwaged, the lord deputie finding out no deuise to apprehend the capteine, imployed his industrie to intrap his confederats.

William Sento.  
Rice Spanswell.  
Edward Griffith.

Burnell of Walgriffin persecuting all go to wacke fled to Spounser, where he was taken by the lord Butler vicount Hurles, and being conuicted to England was executed at Tyburne. Doctor Trauers, who was left as hostage with the citizens, was by them deliuered to the lord deputie, and after with Hooks the pirat executed at the gallows on Westminster greene.

Burnell of Walgriffin taken and executed.

Hooks executed.

Sir Walter de la Hyde knight and his wife the ladie Gennet Cusface were apprehended, & brought as prisoners by master Wablon vicetreasurer from their towne of Poiclaire to the castell of Dublin, because their sonne and heire James de la Hyde was the onelie byner of all this rebellion: who as the governor suspected, was set on by his parents, & named by his mother. The knight & his wife, lieng in duress for the space of twelue moneths, were at several times examined, & notwithstanding all presumptions and surmises that could be gathered, they were in the end found guiltlesse of their sonne his folle. But the ladie was had in examination apart, and insisted by meanes to charge hir husband with his sonne his rebellion, who being not wone thereto with all the meanes that could be brought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be racht; and so with extremitie to be compelled, whereas with gentleness he could not be allured to acknowledge these apparent treasons, that neither hir husband nor he could without great shew of impudencie denie.

Walter de la Hyde and his wife Gennet Cusface apprehended.

He is committed to the tower.

Thomas his vnder taken.

The gentlewoman with these continuall sorrows heartbroken, deceased in the castell: from thence hir bodie was remoued vnto the greie friers with the deputie his commandement, that it should not be interred, untill his pleasure were further knowne; adding withall, that the carcase of one who was the mother of so arrant an archtraitor, ought rather to be cast out on a dunghill to be carrion for rauens and dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be laid in anie christian graue. The corps lieng foure or five daies in this plight, at the request of the ladie Gennet Colving, wife to sir John White knight, the governor, licenced that it should be buried. Sir William Skeffington a seuer and byright governor died shortly after at Milmainan: to whome succeeded lord deputie the lord Leonard Greie, who immediately vpon the taking of his oath marched with his power towards the confines of Spounser, where Thomas Fitzgiralde at that time remained. With Fitzgiralde sir William Wiereton skirmished so fiercelie, as both the sides were rather for the great slaughter disadvantaged, than either part by anie great victorie furthered. After Wiereton therefore perceiving that rough nets were not the fittest to take such peart birds, gaue his aduise to the lord deputie to grow with Fitzgiralde by faire means to some reasonable composition. The deputie liking of the motion, craved a parole, sending certaine of the English as hostages to Thomas his campe with a protection directed vnto him, to come and go at will and pleasure. Being vpon this securitie in conference with the lord Greie, he was persuaded to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, with the gouernours faithfull and vndoubted promise that he should be pardoned vpon his repaire into England. And to the end that no treacherie might haue bene misdeemed of either side, they both receiued the sacrament openlie in the campe, as an infallible seale of the covenants and conditions of either part agreed.

Gennet Cusface dieth.

Skeffington deceased.

Leonard Greie lord deputie.

Wiereton skirmished with Fitzgiralde.

The sacrament receiued.

Thomas sailed into England.

Whereupon Thomas Fitzgiralde rose against the willes of his counsellors, dismist his armie, & rode with the deputie to Dublin, where he made short abode when he sailed to England with the fauourable letters of the gouernour and the counsell. And as he would haue taken his iourneie to Windsoze, where the

1536 Thomas Fitzgiralde his vnder executed.

Dominique Bowze.

Charles Belmo.

to Burrell of  
je Walgerkin  
to taken and  
to executed.  
to Thomas  
to executed.

to Thomas  
to executed.  
to Walter de la  
to Hyde and his  
to lady Gennet  
to Gennet ap-  
to prehended.

to Gennet Coe  
to face death.

to Sheshington  
to deceased.

to Leonard  
to Greie lord  
to deputie.

to Secretory  
to thurmiter  
to with Fitzg  
to gerald.

to Thomas  
to Fitzgiralde  
to submitted  
to himselfe to the  
to deputie.

to The sacra-  
to ment received.

to Thomas sal-  
to leth into  
to England.

to 1535

to is com-  
to mitted to  
to the tower.

to Thomas his  
to ladies taken.

to Innocencie a  
to strong lord.

to The Cow.

to 1536

to Thomas  
to Fitzgiralde  
to his uncles  
to executed.  
to Dominiche  
to Powye.

to Charles Ke-  
to nold.

the court late, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London waie, and conueied with hast to the tower. And before his imprisonment was banded, letters were possed into Ireland, streialie comminding the deputie vpon sight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitzgiralde his vnckles, and to see them with all speed conuenient shipped into England. Which the lord deputie did not slacke. For hauing feasted thre of the gentlemen at Kilmalmain, immediately after their banquet (as it is now and then seen, that sweet meat will haue some sauce) he caused them to be manacled, and led as prisoners to the castle of Dublin: and the other two were so roundlie snatched up in villages hard by, as they sooner felt their owne captiuitie, than they had notice of their brethrens calamitie. The next wind that serued into England, these fine brethren were imbarcked, to wit James Fitzgiralde, Walter Fitzgiralde, Oliver Fitzgiralde, John Fitzgiralde, and Richard Fitzgiralde. Thre of these gentlemen, James, Walter, and Richard, were knowne to haue crossed their nephew Thomas to their power in his rebellion, and therefore were not occasioned to misdoubt anie danger. But such as in those daies were enemies to the house, incensed the king so sore against it, perswading him, that he should neuer conquer Ireland, as long as anie Oiraldine breathed in the countrie: as for making the pathwaie smooth, he was resolved to lop off as well the good and sound grapes, as the wild and fruitlesse berries. Whereby appeareth how dangerous it is to be a rub, when a king is disposed to sweepe an alleie.

Thus were the fine brethren sailing into England, among whom Richard Fitzgiralde being more bookish than the rest of his brethren, & one that was much giuen to the studies of antiquitie, wailling his inward grieffe, with outward mirth comforted them with cheerefullnesse of countenance, as well perswading them that offended to repose affiance in God, and the king his mercie, and such as were not of that conspiracie, to relie to their innocencie, which they should hold for a more safe and strong barbicane, than anie rampire or castell of brasse. Thus solacing the sille moaners sometime with smiling, sometime with singing, sometime with graue and pittie as popethymes, he craued of the owner the name of the darke; who hauing answered, that it was called the Cow, the gentleman soe appalled thereat, said: How good brethren I am in bitter despaire of our returne to Ireland, for I heare in mind an old promise, that fine earles brethren should be caried in a Cowes bellie to England, and from thence neuer to returne.

Whereat the rest began astrictly to howle and lament, which doubtlesse was pitifull, to behold fine valiant gentlemen, that durst meet in the field fine as sturdie champions as could be picked out in a realme, to be so suddenlie terrified with the bare name of a wadded cow, or to feare like lions a sille cocke his combe, being moued (as commonlie the whole countrie is) with a baine and fabulous old woines dreame. But what blind prophesie sooner he read, or heard of anie superstitious belidame touching a cow his bellie, that which he foretold them was found true. For Thomas Fitzgiralde the third of Febyuarie, and these fine brethren his vnckles, were drowne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, which was incontinently banded as well in England and Ireland, as in fozen soiles. For Dominiche Powye, that was sent from Thomas to Charles the fifth, to craue his aid towarde the conquest of Ireland (like as Chale in Crauill, otherwise called Charles Ke-nold, was directed to Paulus tertius) presenting the

saire hobbles, was aduertised by his maiestie that he came too late, for his lord and master and fine of his vnckles were executed at London the third of Febyuarie: howbeit the emperour procured king Henrie to pardon Dominiche Powye. Which notwithstanding he obtained, yet would he not returne to Ireland, but continued in Dortingale, hauing a ducket a daie of the emperour during his life, which he ended at Tibburne.

James de la Hyde the chiefe counsellor of Thomas Fitzgiralde, fled into Scotland and there deceased. To this miserable end grew this lewd rebellion, which turned to the utter vndoing of diuers ancient gentlemen, who trained with saire words into a soles paradise, were not onlie dispossessed of their lands, but also depriued of their liues, or else forced to forsake their countries. As for Thomas Fitzgiralde, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tibburne, I would wish the carefull reader to understand that he was neuer earle of Kildare, although some writers, rather of errour than of malice, terme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father liued in the tower, when he was in open rebellion, where for thought of the young man his follie he died; and therefore Thomas was attainted in a parliament holden at Dublin, as one that was benched, reputed, and taken for a traitour before his fathers decease, by the bare name of Thomas Fitzgiralde. For this hath bene obserued by the Irish historiographers euer since the conquest, that notwithstanding all the presumptions of treason, wherewith anie earle of Kildare could either faintlie be suspected or vehementlie charged; yet there was neuer anie earle of that house read or heard of, that bare armour in the field against his prince. Which I write not as a barrister hired to plead their cause, but as a chronicler moued to declare the truth.

This Thomas Fitzgiralde (as before is specified) was borne in England, vpon whom nature poliorized beautie, and fortune by birth bestowed nobilitie: which had it bene well employed, & were it not that his rare gifts had bene blemished by his later euill qualities, he would haue proued an impe worthie to be ingrafted in so honorable a stocke. He was of stature tall and personable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall somewhat ruddie, delicatlie in each lim featured, a rolling tong & a rich utterance, of nature flexible and kind, verie some caried there he fancied, easilie with submission appeased, hardlie with stubbornnesse weied, in matters of importance an headlong hotspur: yet neuertheless taken for a young man not deuoid of wit, were it not (as it fell out in the end) that a sole had the keeping thereof.

But to returne to the course of the historie. When Thomas and his vnckles were taken, his second brother on the father his side, named Gerald Fitzgiralde (who was after in the reigne of queene Marie restored to the earldome of Kildare, in which honour as yet he liueth) being at that time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirteene yeares of age, late sick of the small pocks in the countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Gerald Fitzgiralde. Thomas Leurouse, who was the child his scholemaster, and after became bishop of Kildare, mistrusting vpon the apprehension of Thomas & his vnckles, that all went not currant, wrapt the young patient as tenderlie as he could, and had him conueied in a cliefe with all speed to Dphalie, where sojourning for a short space with his sister the lady Marie Fitzgiralde, until he had recouered his perfect health, his scholemaster caried him to Donon his countrie, where making his aboad for a quarter of a yeare, he travelled to Dphren his countrie in Dounker, and hauing there remained for halfe a yeare.

James de la Hyde.

Thomas Fitzgiralde was not earle of Kildare.

See pag. 434.

No earle of Kildare bare armour at anie time against his prince.

The description of Thomas Fitzgiralde.

The aduentures of the young Fitzgiralde son to the lady Gennet countesse of Kildare.

Donoare. Thomas Leurouse.

*Glenoz Fitzgiraldo.*

peace, he repaired to his aunt the ladie Glenoz Fitzgiraldo, who then kept in Mac Cartie Keagh his late husbands his territories.

This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwaies knowne and accounted of each man, that was acquainted with his conuerſation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindneſſe, in all his actions vertuous and goodlie, and alſo in a good quarell rather ſtout than ſiſſe. To his was Ddoneil an imfortunate ſuiter. And although at ſundrie times before he ſeemed to ſhake him off, yet conſidering the diſtreſſe of his yong innocent nepheue, how he was forced to wander in pilgrimwiſe from houſe to houſe, eſchuing the puniſhment that others deſerued, ſmarted in his tender yeares with aduerſitie, before he was of diſcretion to inſoie anie proſperitie, he began to incline to his wower his requeſt, to the end his nepheue ſhould haue bene the better by his countenance ſhouldered, and in fine indenting to eſpouſe him; with this caueat or prouiſo, that he ſhould ſafelie ſhield and protect the ſaid yong gentleman in this calamitie. This condition agreed vpon, he rode with his nepheue to Ddoneil his countrie, and there had him ſafelie kept for the ſpace of a yeare.

*The ladie Glenozs liberallitie.*

*Fitzgiraldo ſaileth to France.*

But ſhortlie after the gentlewoman either by ſome ſecret friend inſoformed, or of wiſedome gathering that his late married husband intended ſome treacherie, had his nepheue diſguiſed, ſtozing him like a liberall and bountifull aunt with ſeuſen ſcore portegues, not onelie in valour, but alſo in the ſelfe ſame coine, incontinentlie ſhipped him ſecretlie in a Brittons beſſell of ſaint Malouſe, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, maſter Leurouſe, and Robert Walſh ſometime ſeruant to his father the earle. The ladie Glenoz hauing thus to his contentation beſtowed his nepheue, the eſpoſulated verie ſharpelie with Ddoneil as touching his villanie, proteſting that the onlie cauſe of his match with him proceeded of an eſpeciall care to haue his nepheue countenanced: and now that he was out of his laſh that minded to haue betrayed him, he ſhould well underſtand, that as the feare of his danger moued him to annere to ſuch a clowiſh curmudgen: ſo the aſſurance of his ſafetie ſhould cauſe him to ſequeſter himſelfe from ſo butcherlie a cutthroate, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patch hired, to ſell or betraye the innocent blood of his nepheue by aſſinitie, and his by conſanguinitie. And in this wiſe truſſing by bag and baggage, the forſoke Ddoneil and returned to his countrie.

*Chateau Brian.*

*Sir John Wallop demeth Fitzgiraldo.*

*The king demeth him.*

The paſſengers with a proſperous gale arriued at ſaint Malouſe, which notified to the gouernour of Britaine, named monſieur de Chateau Brian, he ſent for the yong Fitzgiraldo, gaue him verie hartie intertainment during one moneths ſpace. In the meane ſeaſon the gouernour poſſed a meſſenger to the court of France, aduertizing the king of the arriual of this gentleman, who preſentlie cauſed him to be ſent for, and had him put to the Dolphin named Henrie, who after became king of France. Sir John Wallop (who was then the Engliſh ambadaour) underſtanding the cauſe of the Iriſh fugitiue his repaire to France, demanded him of the French king, according to the new made league betwene both the princes: which was, that none ſhould keepe the other his ſubiect within his dominion, contrarie to either of their willes; adding further, that the boie was brother to one, who of late notorious for his rebellion in Ireland was executed at London.

To this answered the king, firſt that the ambadaour had no commiſſion from his Prince to demand him, & vpon his maieſties his letter he ſhould know moze of his mind: ſecondlie that he did not deteine him, but the Dolphin ſtaied him: laſtlie, that how

griuouslie ſoener his brother offended, he was well aſſured, that the ſillie boy neither was nor could be a traitor; and therefore there reſted no cauſe why the ambadaour ſhould in ſuch wiſe craue him; not doubting that although he were deliuered to his king, yet he would not ſo far ſwarue from the eſtreame rigour of iuſtice, as to imbrue his hands in the innocent his blood, for the offence that his brother had perpetrated. Maſter Wallop here vpon addreſſed his letters to England, ſpecificing vnto the counsell the French kings answer. And in the meane time the yong Fitzgiraldo hauing an inkling of the ambadaours motion, fled ſecretlie to Flanders, ſcantlie reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke, one of maſter Wallop his men, did not onelie purſue him, but alſo did ouertake him as he ſolourned in the ſaid towne.

*Fitzgiraldo ſaileth to Flanders, James Sherelocke purſuing him.*

Where vpon maſter Leurouſe, and ſuch as accompanied the child, ſtept to the gouernour of Valencie, complaining that one Sherelocke a ſneaking ſpie, like a pikethanke promoting varlet, did dog their maſter from place to place, and preſentlie purſued him to the towne: and therefore they be ſought the gouernour, not to leaue ſuch apparant villanie unpuniſhed, in that he was willing to betraye to onelie a guiltleſſe child, but alſo his owne countriman, who rather ought for his innocencie to be pitied, than for the deſert of others to egerlie to be purſued. The gouernour vpon this complaint ſore incenſed, ſent in all haſt for Sherelocke, had him ſuddenlie examined, and finding him unable to color his lewd praſtice with anie warrantable deſenſe, he laſt him by the heeles, rewarding his hot purſute with cold intertainment, and ſo remained in gaole, untill the yong Fitzgiraldo requiting the priſoner his vnnaturall crueltie with vndeſerued courtieſie, humble beſought the gouernour to let him at libertie. This vniunt eſcaped, Fitzgiraldo trauelled to Burels, where the emperor kept his court.

*Sherelocke unpuniſhed. Crueltie requited with courtieſie.*

Doctor Pates being ambadaour in the low countries, demanded Fitzgiraldo of the emperor on his maſters the king of Englands behalfe. The emperor hauing answered that he had not to deale with the boy, and ſo ought that he knew was not minded to make anie great abode in that countrie, ſent him to the biſhop of Liege, allowing him for his penſion an hundred crownes monethlie. The biſhop intertained him verie honozable, had him placed in an abbey of monks, & was ſo carefull of his ſafetie, that if anie perſon ſuſpected had trauelled within the circuit of his glaſſe, he ſhould be ſtrictlie examined whether he would, or from whence he came, or vpon what occaſion he trauelled that waie. Hauing in this wiſe remained at Liege for halfe a yeare, the cardinall Pole (Fitzgiraldo his kinſman) ſent for him to Rome, where vpon the gentleman as well with the emperor his licence, as with ſurrendering his penſion, trauelled to Italie, where the cardinall would not admit him to his companie, untill he had attained to ſome knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherefore allowing him an annuitie of three hundred crownes, he placed him with the biſhop of Verona, and the cardinall of Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua. Leurouſe in the meane while was admitted through the cardinall Pole his procurement, to be one of the Engliſh houſe in Rome, called ſaint Thomas his hoſpitall.

*Doctor Pates*

*The emperor beſtoweth a penſion on Fitzgiraldo.*

*Cardinall Pole ſendeth for Fitzgiraldo.*

*Leurouſe placed in the Engliſh hoſpitall.*

Robert Walſh, vpon his maſters repaire to Italie, returned to Ireland. Fitzgiraldo hauing continued with the cardinall, and the duke of Mantua, a yeare and an halfe, was ſent for by the cardinall Pole to Rome, at which time the duke of Mantua gaue him for an annuall penſion 300 crownes. The cardinall greatlie reioiced in his kinſman, had him

*Robert Walſh returneth to Ireland.*

*Cardinall Pole his order in training young Fitzgiraldo.*

*Fitzgiraldo traileth to Naples.*

*Tripolie.*

*Apollonion.*

*Fitzgiraldo returneth to Rome.*

*The cardinall imbanſeth Fitzgiraldo penſion.*

*He is maſter of the hoſpitall to the duke of Florence.*

*He ſaileth into a ſeaſe pit.*

*His gret bound ſubdeth him out.*

*Circappan.*

Cardinal  
Dole his op-  
der in Ital-  
ing young  
Fitzgerald.

Fitzgerald  
fleeth to Flam-  
bers.  
James Sher-  
locke pursueth  
Fitzgerald.

Fitzgerald  
travellith to  
Naples.

Tripolie.

Shonbyson.

Sherlocke  
imprisoned.

Crueltie re-  
quired with  
courtesie.

Doctor Bates

The emperor  
bestoweth a  
pension on  
Fitzgerald.

Cardinal  
Dole sendeth  
for Fitzgerald.

Leuonise ple-  
ced in the  
English hol-  
pital.

Robert wall  
returneth to  
Ireland.

His greet-  
hound findeth  
him out.

Tricappan.

carefullie trained up in his house, interlacing with  
such discretion his learning and studies with exerci-  
ses of activitie, as he should not be after accounted  
of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of ac-  
tive gentlemen for a dead and dumpish meacocke.  
If he had committed any fault, the cardinal would  
secretly command his tutors to correct him, and all  
that notwithstanding, he would in presence dandle  
the boy, as though he were not punitive to his punish-  
ment; & upon his complaint made, he used to checke  
Fitzgerald his matter openlie for chastising so se-  
nerelie his pretie darling.

In this wise he rested three yeares together in the  
cardinal his house, and by that time having slept so  
far in years (for he was picking fast upon nintene)  
as he began to know himselfe, the cardinal put him  
to his choice, either to continue his learning, or by  
travelling to seeke his adventures abroad. The young  
stripling (as usuallie kind doth creepe) rather of na-  
ture addicted to valiantnes, than wedded to bookish-  
nesse, choosed to be a traveller: and presentlie with the  
cardinal his licence repaired to Naples: where sal-  
ling in acquaintance with knights of the Rhodes,  
he accompanied them to Spalta, from thence he sail-  
ed to Tripolie (a fort appertaining to the aforesaid  
order, coasting upon Barbarie) and there he abode  
six weekes with Shonbyson, a commander of the  
Rhodes, who had the charge of that hold.

At that time the knights served valiantlie against  
the Turks and miscreants, spoiled and sacked their  
villages and townes that laie nere the water side,  
toke diuerse of them prisoners, and after sold them  
to the christians for bondslaves. The young Fitzg-  
rald returned with a rich bootie to Spalta, from thence  
to Rome, having spent in this voyage not fullie one  
yeare. Proud was the cardinal to heare of his pro-  
sperous exploits: and for his further advancement  
he inhaused his pension of three hundred crownes, to  
three hundred pounds, over and above three hundred  
crownes that the duke of Spantua allowed him.  
Shortlie after he preferred him to the service of the  
duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he con-  
tinued master of his house three yeares, having also  
of the duke three hundred duckets for a yearelie pen-  
sion during life, or untill he were restored; in like  
manner as the cardinal Dole and the duke of Span-  
tua in their annuities had granted him.

During the time that he was in service with the  
duke of Florence, he travelled to Rome a hunting,  
of set purpose to be merrie: and as he rode on hun-  
ting with cardinall Fernelle the pope his nephew, it  
happened that in chasing the bucke he fell into a pit  
nine and twentie fathoms deepe, and in the fall so fas-  
king his horse within two fathoms of the bottom, he  
toke hold by two or three roots, griping them fast, un-  
till his armes were so wearie, as he could hang no  
longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himselfe  
to God, he let go his gripe by little and little, and fell  
softlie on his horse, that in the bottom of the pit laie  
stark dead, and there he stood up to the ancles in  
water for the space of three houres. When the chafe  
was ended, an exceeding good greihound of his na-  
med Grifhound, not finding his master in the com-  
panie, followed his tract untill he came to the pit,  
and from thence would not depart, but stood at the  
boy incessantlie howling. The cardinall Fernelle  
and his traine missing Fitzgerald, made towards  
the dog, and surueing the place, they were be-  
relie persuaded that the gentleman was squished to  
death.

Having therefore posted his servants in hast to  
a village hard by Rome (named Tricappan) for  
ropes and other necessities, he caused one of the  
companie to glide in a basket downe to the bottome

of the hole. Fitzgerald revived with his presence,  
and willing to be removed from so darkesome a  
dungeon to the open aire, besought the other to lend  
him his roime, whereupon he was haled up in the  
basket: as well to the generall admiration of the  
whole companie, as to the singular gratulation of  
the cardinal and all his friends, rendering most bar-  
sie thanks vnto God his diuine maiestie, for pro-  
tecting the gentleman with his gracious guerdon.  
And thus surceasing to treat any further of his ad-  
ventures, untill the date of time traine my pen to  
a longer discourse, I will retaine to the inhabitants  
of the English pale, who after the death of Thomas  
Fitzgerald, through rigour of iustice and the due ex-  
ecution of lawes were greatly plesed. For over  
this, that such as were kinde for open and appar-  
rant traitors in the commotion, were for the more  
part executed, or with round sums fined, or from the  
realme exiled: certaine gentlemen of worship were  
sent from England, with commission to examine  
each person suspected with Thomas his treason, and  
so according to their discretion, either with equitie  
to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all such as  
they could proue to have furthered him in his disol-  
all commotion. Commissioners were these: sir  
Anthonie Sentleger knight, sir George Paulet  
knight, master Polle, and master Barnes. Such  
about this time was there a parlement holden at  
Dublin before the lord Leonard Crete lord deputie,  
beginning the first of Maie, in the eight and twen-  
tith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight.

Commis-  
sioners sent to  
Ireland.

Their names  
A parliament.  
1539

In this parlement there past these  
acts following.

For the attainder of the earle of  
Kildare, and Thomas Fitz-  
gerald, with others.

For the succession of the king &  
quene Anne.

Of absenties, wherein was  
granted to the king the inhe-  
ritance of such lands in Ire-  
land, wherof the duke of Dor-  
set folke & George Talbot earle  
of Waterford & Salop were  
seized, with the inheritances  
of diuerse other corporations  
and couents demurrant in  
England.

For the repeale of Doings act.  
Authorizing the king his heirs  
and successors to be supream  
head of the church of Ireland.  
That no subjects or rebellants of  
Ireland shall pursue or com-  
menie, vse or execute any ma-  
ner of prouocations, appeales  
or other processe from the see  
of Rome, vpon paine of incur-  
ring the premunire.

Against such as slander the king,  
or his heires apparant.

For the first fruits.

Of sir Walter de la Hyde knight  
his lands in Carbeire granted  
to the king.

How persons robbed shall be re-  
stored to their goods.

Restreining tributs to be gran-  
ted to Irishmen.

R. ij. Against

An act



Against proctors to be any member of the parlement.  
 Against marieng or fostering with or to Irishmen.  
 Against the authoritie of the see of Rome.  
 For the twentieth part.  
 For the English order, habit, and language.  
 For the suppressing of abbeis.  
 For the lading of wooll & flockes.  
 For the prowe of testaments.  
 Of faculties.  
 Declaring the effect of Poinings act.  
 Of penall statutes.  
 For the weres upon Barou, and other waters in the countrie of Kilkennie.  
 For the personage of Dongarvan.  
 For leasers of cozne.

An act.

The old earle of Kildare his death.

His service.

His hospitalitie and devotion.

The old earle of Kildare his policie when

As for the old earle of Kildare, who in this parlement was atteinted for diuerse presumptions, in the preamble of the said act rehearsed, certeine it is, that the reuolt of his sonne Thomas Fitzgiralde smot him so depelie to the heart, as vpon the report thereof he deceased in the tower, wishing in his death-bed that either he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his chainelesse boy had neuer liued to raise the like commotion. This earle, of such as did not stomach his proceedings, was taken for one that bare himselfe in all his affaires verie honorable, a wise, deepe, and far reaching man: in war ballant without rashnesse, and politike without treacherie. Such a suppressor of rebels in his gouernement, as they durst not beare armes to the annoiance of anie subiect, whereby he heaped no small reuenues to the crowne, intriched the king his treasure, garded with securitie the pale, continued the honor of his house, and purchased enuie to his person. His great hospitalitie is to this daie rather of each man commended, than of anie one folloved. He was so religiouslie addicted vnto the seruing of God, as what time soeuer he travelled to anie part of the countrie, such as were of his chapel should be sure to accompanie him. Among other rare gifts, he was with one singular qualitie indued, which were it put in practise by such as are of his calling, might minister great occasion as well to the abandoning of flattering carrie tales, as to the staied quietnesse of noble potentates.

For if anie whispered, vnder *Benedicite*, a sinister report or secret practise, that tended to the distaining of his honor, or to the perill of his person, he would stricte examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were past, or to come. If it were said or done, he was accustomed to laie soze to his charge, where, and of whome he heard it, or how he could iustifie it. If he found him to halt in the prowe, he would punish him as a pikethanke makebate, for being so maliciouslie caried, as for currieng fauour to himselfe, he would laboz to purchase hatred to another. But if the practise were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then would he suspend the credit, vntill such warie secrecie, as vntill the matter came to the pinch, the aduersarie should thinke that he was most ignorant, when he was best provided. As being in Dublin forewarned, that John Durkan with certeine desperate varlets conspired his destruction, & that they were determined

to assault him vpon his returne to Painoth, he had one of his seruants named James Grant, that was much of his pitch, and at a blusht did somwhat resemble him, attires in his riding apparell, and name, lie in a scarlet cloake, wherewith he dyed to be clad. Grant in this wise masking in his lords attire, rode as he was commanded in the beaten high waie towards Painoth, with six of the earle his seruants attending vpon him. The conspirators awaiting towards Lucan the coming of the earle, incouraged the disguised lord, and not doubting but it had bene Kildare, they began to charge him: but the other amazed therewith, cried that they took the marke amisse; for the earle rode to Painoth on the further side of Liffie. Wherewith the murderers appalled, fled awaie, but incontinentlie were by the earle apprehended, sustaining the punishment that such cattifes deserved.

This noble man was so well affected to his wife the ladie Gyte, as he would not at anie time buy a sute of apparell for himselfe, but he would sute hir with the same stufte. Which gentlenesse the recompensed with equall kindnesse. For after that he deceased in the tower, she did not onelie euer after liue as a chaste and honorable widow; but also might lie before she went to bed, she would resort to his picture, & there with a solemne conge she would bid hir lord goodnight. Whereby may be gathered with how great loue she affected his person, that had in such price his bare picture. An other act that did passe in this parlement touching absenties, proceeded of this occasion. Maister Girald Ailmer, who first was chiefe baron of the exchequer, after chiefe iustice of the common ples, was occasioned, for certeine his affaires, to repaire vnto the court of England. Where being for his good seruice greatlie countenanced by such as were in those daies taken for the pillars of the weale publike, namelie of the lord Cromwell, it happened that through his lordship his earnest meanes, the king made maister Ailmer chiefe iustice of his bench in Ireland. His advancement disliked by certeine of Waterford and Wexford, that were not friended to the gentleman, they debated him in such despitesfull wise, as the earle of Shrewesburie, who then was likewise earle of Waterford, was by their lewd reports caried to chalenge the king, so far as with his dutie of allegiance he durst, for bestowing so weightie an office vpon so light a person, being such a simple John at Stile as he teamed him, no wiser than Patch the late lord cardinall his sole.

The king herebypon expostulated with the lord Cromwell, who being thoughtlie acquainted with the gentleman his rare wisdom, answered: that if it would stand with his maiesties pleasure to enter into conference with him, he should be sure to find him no babe, notwithstanding the long informations of such as labored to thwart or crosse him. Whereunto the king vpon further leasure agreed, and shortly after (according to his promise) bestowed two or thre houres with maister Ailmer: who vpon the lord Cromwell his forewarning, was so well armed for his highnesse, as he shewed himselfe in his discourse, by answering *Ad omnia quare*, to be a man worthie to supplie an office of so great credit. In this conference the king demanded him, what he toke to be the chiefe occasion of disorder in Ireland, and how he thought it might best be reformed: Ailmer and it like your maiestie (quoth Ailmer) among sundrie reasons that might be probable alleged for the decaye of that your kingdome, one chiefe occasion is, that certeine of your nobilitie of this your realme of England are seized of the better part of your dominion in Ireland, whereof they haue so little

his death was conspired.

John Durkan. James Grant.

The ladie Gyte's kindnesse to his husband.

Girald Ailmer.

Oneale rebelleth.

Sir Will. Herberton sent for into Ireland.

Sir Will. Herberton sent into land.

The lord Bellahoon

James J. King bar. Slane.

Robert J. pennie.

his death was  
conspired.

John Mur-  
kan.  
James  
Grant.

The ladie  
Greie's kinde-  
nesse to his  
husband.

Girald Kil-  
mer.

Oneale re-  
bellyth.

Sir William  
Bereton  
sent for into  
Ireland.

Sir William  
Bereton  
sent into Ire-  
land.

The lord of  
Bellahoa.

James Fle-  
ming baron of  
Slane.

Robert Halse-  
pennie.

He keepe, as for lacke of their presence, they suffer the said lands to be overrun by rebels and traitors. Wherefore if your highnesse would provide by act of parliament, that all such lands, which by reason of their absence may not be defended, should be to your highnesse by the consent of the nobilitie and commonalty granted, you might thereby enrich your crowne, repress rebels, and defend your subjects from all traitorous invasion.

The king tickled with this plausible denise, persuaded master Ailmer hartie thanks for his good counsell, and in this parliament had the tenure thereof put in effect. Which rebounded cheslie to the lord of Shrewsburie his disadvantage, as one that was possessed of diverse ancient lordships and manors in that countrie. Some after this parliament, Oneale imagining that he was able to make his partie good against the English pale, conspired with Odoneale Maggadness, Odoghan, Mac Killeen, Oshanlan, and other Irish lords, and on a sudden invaded the pale, came to the Naun, burnt all the townes of ech side confining, after marched to Laragh, mustering with great pride his armie upon the top of the hill: and having gathered together the spoile of the pale without resistance, he began to recule northwards, making his full account to have gone his waie scotfree.

The lord Leonard Greie being then lord deputie, forcaasting the warre, certified the king & counsell of Oneale his rebellion, and withall humble besought a fresh supplie of souldiours to assist the pale in resisting the enimie, and that sir William Bereton (who was discharged & returned to England) should be sent into Ireland, as one that for his late service was highly commended of the countrie. The king and counsell condescending to the deputie his request, appointed sir William Bereton to bide with them, having the charge of two hundred and fiftie souldiours of Cheshiremen. In which service the gentleman was found so prest and readie, that notwithstanding in mustering his band he fell by his mishap off his horse, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than he would retire homewards, he appointed the mariners to hale him up to their barke by pulleys, and in such impotent wise arrived in Ireland, suppressing the febleness of his bodie with the contagious valor of his mind.

The lord deputie in the meane while marched with the force of the pale, the maiors & the citizens of Dublin to Drogheda: from thence likewise accompanied with the maiors & townesmen, he marched northward to Bellahoa, where Oneale & his companie on the further side of the water late incamped with the spoile of the pale. The deputie by spies and secret messengers hereof certified, caused the armie to tranel the better part of the night, inso much as by the dawnning of the daie they were nere to the rivers side: where having escribed the enimies, namlie Maggadness, and the Galloglasses that were placed there to keepe the streits (for Oneale with a maine armie lurked not farre off) they began to set themselves in battell arraie, as men that were resolved with all hast and good speed to suppress the enimie with a sudden charge.

At which time James Fleming baron of Slane (commonlie called Blacke James) garded with a round companie, as well of horsemen as of footmen, humble besought the deputie to grant him that daie the honor of the onset. Whereunto when the lord Greie had agreed, the baron of Slane with cherefull countenance imparted the obtaining of his sute, as pleasant tidings to Robert Halsepennie, who with his ancestors was standardbearer to the house of Slane. But Halsepennie seeing the fur-

ther side of the water so beset with armed Galloglasses as he took it, as likelie an attempt to rase down the strongest fort in Irel. and with a fillip, as to rush through such quickie iron walles, flatlie answered the baron, that he would rather dislaine in his office, than there to giue the onset where there rested no hope of life, but an assured certainte of death. And therefore he was not as yet so wearie of the world, as like an headlong hotspur, voluntarilie to run to his bitter and undoubted destruction. Wherefore he besought his lordship to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his default to baseness of courage, but to warinesse of safetie, although he knew none of staied mind, but would sooner chuse to sleepe in an whole shepe his pelt, than to walke in a toynelion his skin, namelie when all hope of life was abandoned, and the certainte of death assuredlie promised.

The baron with this answer at his wits end rode to Robert Betoa of Downore, brake with him as touching Halsepennie his determination, & withall requested him (as he did tender his honor) now at a pinch to supplie the want of that bastardlie coward, as he did terme him. Betoa to this answered, that though it stood with good reason, that such as heretofore tasted the sweet in peace, should now be contented to sip of the soure in war: yet notwithstanding, rather than the matter should to his honor lie in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lie in the water; & withall being surpassinglie mounted (for the baron gaue him a choise horse) he took the standard, & with a sudden hobot, having with him in the fore-ranke Hake of Hakestowne (who at the first bunt was slaine) he swam into the water, and charged the Irish that stood on the further shore. After followed the gentlemen and yeomen of the pale, that with as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with courage resisted their assault. So this stoutnesse were the enimies more boldlie picked, in that they had the advantage of the shore, and the gentlemen of the pale were constrained to bicker in the water.

But the longer the Irish continued, the more they were disadvantaged: by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplies, as their enimies could not anie longer withstand them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forsake the banke, and to giue the armie free passage. The English taking hart upon their faintnesse, brake through the Galloglasses, slue Maggadness their capteine, pursued Oneale with the remnant of his lords, leaving behind them for lacke of safe carriage the spoile of the pale, scantlie able to escape with his owne life, being egerlie pursued by the armie untill it was sunne set. In this hot conflict Matthew King, Patrike Barnewall of Kilmallocke, sir Edward Balinet priest, who after became deane of saint Patriks in Dublin, and was swoorne one of the privie counsell, and Thomas Fitzsimons of Curdiffe, were reported to have served verie valiantlie. Moreover, James Fitzsimons maior of Dublin, Michael Curfeie maior of Drogheda, Girald Ailmer chiefe iustice, and Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in the field.

But of all others, the lord Greie then lord deputie, as he was in authoritie superiour to them all, so in courage and manlinesse he was inferiour to none. He was noted by the armie to have indured great toille and paine before the skirmish, by posting bare-headed from one band to an other, debasing the enimies, inbanishing the power of the pale, depressing the revolt of rebellious traitors, extolling the good quarell of loiall subjects, offering large rewards, which with as great constancie he performed, as with liberalitie he promised. Over this, he bare himselfe so affable to his souldiours, in using them like

Robert Betoa.

Hake of Hakestowne slaine.

The Irish discomfited. Oneale put to flight.

King. Barnewall. Balinet. Fitzsimons.

The maiors of Dublin and Drogheda dubbed knights.

Ailmer. Talbot. The valiantnesse of the lord Greie.

fronds and fellows, and terming them with courteous names, and moving laughter with pleasant conceits, as they were incensed as well for the love of the person, as for the hatred of the enemy, with resolute minds to bicker with the Irish. In which conflict the deputie was as forward as the most, and bequit himselfe as valiant a seruitor as the best.

The gouernour, turning the oportunitie of this skirmish to his advantage, shortly after rode to the north, preiding & spoiling O'neale with his confederates, who by reason of the late overthrow were able to make but little resistance. In this iornie he rased saint Patrick's church in Downe, an old ancient citie of Ulster, and burnt the monuments of Patrick, Brigide, and Colme, who are said to haue bene there intombed, as before is expressed in the description of Ireland. This fact lost him sundrie hartes in that countrie, alwaies after detesting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Whereupon conspiring with such of O'pounser as were enemies to his gouernment, they booke by diuerse complaints against him, which they did exhibit to the king and counsell. The articles of greatest importance laid to his charge were the se.

The lord Greie accused.

The articles that were laid to his charge.

1 Inprimis, that notwithstanding he were strictly commanded by the king his maiestie, to appease his kinsman the pong Fitzgiralde, yet did he not onlie disobey the kings letters as touching that point by plateng bopépe, but also had priue conference with the said Fitzgiralde, and late with him two or thre feuerall nights before he departed into France.

2 Item, that the chafe cause that moued him to inuegle Thomas Fitzgiralde with such faile promises, proceeded of set purpose to haue him cut off, to the end there should be a gap set open for the pong Fitzgiralde to aspire to the earldome of Kildare.

3 Item, that he was so greedilie addicted to the pilling and polling of the king his subjects, namely of such as were resiant in O'pounser, as the beds he laie in, the cups he drank in, the plate with which he was serued in anie gentlemans house, were by his seruants against right and reason packt up, and carried with great extortion awaie.

4 Item, that without anie warrant from the king or counsell, he prophaned the church of saint Patrickes in Downe, turning it to a stable, after plucked it downe, and thipt the notable ring of bells that did hang in the steeple, meaning to haue sent them to England: had not God of his iustice prevented his iniquitie, by sinking the vessel and passengers wherein the said belles should haue bene conueied.

These and the like articles were with such odious presumptions coloured by his accusers, as the king and counsell remembryng his late faults, and forgetting his former seruices (for commonlie all men are of so hard hap, that they shall be sooner for one trespass condemned, than for a thousand good deserts commended) gaue commandement that the lord Greie should not onlie be removed from the gouernment of the countrie, but also had him beheaded on the tower hill the eight and twentieth of June. But as touching the first article, that brought him most of all out of conceipt with the king, I moued question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor thereof were true or false: His lordship thereto answered bona fide, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receiued message or letter from him. Whereby maie be gathered, with how manie dangers they are intwagged that gouernite prouinces, wherein diligence is tabackt with hatred, negligence is laden with fauours, feurritie with perils menaced, liberalitie with thanklesse un-

The lord Greie beheaded.

The lord Greie guilty: &c. of the first article.

The dangers that happen to gouernours of prouinces.

kindnesse contemned, conference to vndermining framed, flatterie to destruction forged, each in countenance smiling, diuerse in heart pouting, open flouting, secret grudging, gapping for such as shall succeed in gouernment, honouring magistrates with cap and knee as long as they are present, and carping them with tong and pen as soon as they are absent.

The lord Leonard Greie (as is aforesaid) discharged, sir William Bzereton was constituted lord iustice, whose short gouernement was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and O'neale fell to a reasonable composition, yet other of the Irish lordings, namely O'conhur and his adherents, that are content to liue as subjects, as long as they are not able to hold out as rebels, conspired together, and determined to assemble their power at the hill of Frowe in west Meth, and so on a sudden to ransacke the pale. The lord iustice forthwith accompanied with the armie, and with two thousand of the pale, of which no small number were ecclesiasticall persons, made towards the rebels, who upon the approach of so great an armie gaue ground, and dispersed themselves in woods and marishes. The lord iustice this notwithstanding invaded O'conhur his countrie, burnt his tenements, & made all his trenches with the multitude of pioners so passable, as foure hundred carts, beside light carriage, were led without let thorough the countrie. O'conhur sone after submitted himselfe, & sent his sonne Cormack to the lord iustice as hostage for his future obedience and loialtie to the king his highnesse. After this sournie was ended, sir Anthonie Sentleger knight of the order was constituted lord deputie, and sir William Bzereton lord high marshall, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be marshall, trauekking by the lord deputie his appointment to Limerike, to bring in James earle of Desmond, who stood upon certaine tickle points with the gouernour, ended his life in that sournie, and lieth intombed at Kilkennie in the quier of saint Bennie his church. In the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger, in which there passed these statutes following; namely.

Sir William Bzereton lord iustice.

O'conhur sone mitered himselfe to the lord iustice. Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie. Sir William Bzereton lord high marshall.

He died.

James earle of Desmond.

O'neale earle of Cicon.

An act

That the king and his successors to be kings of Ireland, forgrate merchants.

That the plantife maie abridge his plant in assise.

That consanguinitie or affinitie being not within the fifth degree, shall be no principall challenge.

That maketh it felonie to anie man to run awaie with his master his casket.

For the aduiliating of precontracts in marriage.

For all lordes to distreine, by on the lands of them holden, & to make their auowzie, not naming the tenant, but their land.

For capacities.

For seruants wages.

For ioint-tenants.

For recouerie in auoiding leases.

For tithes.

For attournements.

This parlement was proroged vntill the fifteenth of Februarye, and after was continued at Limerike before

O'Brien created earle of Glenclara.

The Irish sent for to the siege of Bunelonne.

Their policie in puruen for the armie.

before the said deputie, at which time there passed  
for the adiournment of the par-  
lement, and the place to hold  
the same, and what persons  
shall be chosen knights and  
burgeſes.

An act touching mispleding and reoy-  
failes.

For lands giuen by the king.

For the ſuppreſſion of Kilmai-  
nan and other religious hou-  
ſes.

1543

This parlement was likewiſe prozaged, and af-  
ter was continued and holden before the ſaid gover-  
nour at Dublin, the ſixt date of Nouember, in the  
four and thirtiſt yeare of the reigne of king Henrie  
the eight, wherein there paſſed theſe acts; namelie:

For the diuiſion of Meth into  
two thires.

An act For persons ſtanding bound in a-  
ny court for their apperance,  
and being in ſeruite, to be diſ-  
charged by writ.

This parlement was further prozaged untill the  
ſeuenteenth of Appill, and at that time before the ſaid  
gouvernour it was holden and ended, in which there paſ-  
ſed an act touching the manour and caſſell of Don-  
garuan to be vniſed and annexed to the crowne for  
euer. To this parlement reſorted diuerſe of the Ir-  
iſh lords, who ſubmitting themſelues to the deputie  
his mercie, returned peaceable to their countries.  
But James earle of Deſmond ſailed into Eng-  
land, and before the king and counsell purged him-  
ſelfe of all ſuch articles of treaſon as were falſelie  
laid to his charge: whoſe cleare purgation and hum-  
ble ſubmiſſion the king accepted verie gratefullie.  
Shortlie after Deſmond his returne homeward, the  
great Dneale was created earle of Tiron, and his  
baſe ſonne Matthew Dneale baron of Dongaruan.  
For in thoſe daies John Dneale, commonlie called  
Shane Dneale, the onclie ſonne lawfullie of his bo-  
die begotten, was little or nothing eſteemed.

Dneale hauing returned to Ireland with this  
honour, and the king his fauor, when with certeine  
other Irriſh lords ſailed into England, ſubmitting  
their liues and lands to the king his mercie. This  
when was at that time created earle of Clencare,  
in which honour his poſteritie hitherto reſteth. Short-  
lie after the returne of theſe lords to their countrie,  
king Henrie being fullie reſolued to beſiege Bul-  
longne, gaue commandement to ſir Anthonie Sent-  
leger deputie, to leue an armie of Irriſhmen, and  
with all expedition to ſend them to England. To  
theſe were appointed capitaine the lord Potore, who  
after was dubb knight, Surlocke & Singlaſſe, with  
diuerſe others. They muſtered in ſaint James his  
parke ſeuē hundred. In the ſiege of Bullongne  
they ſtood the armie in verie good ſted. For they were  
not onclie contented to burne and ſpoile all the villa-  
ges thereto adioining; but alſo they would range  
twentie or thirtie miles into the maine land: and ha-  
uing taken a bull, they ſwed to tie him to a ſtake, and  
ſcorching him with ſaggots, they would force him to  
rore, ſo as all the cattell in the countrie would make  
towards the bull, all which they would lightlie lead  
awaie, and furniſh the campe with ſtoke of beſe.

If they tooke anie Frenchman priſoner, leſt they  
ſhould be accounted couetous, in ſnatching with  
them his entier bodie, his onclie ranſome ſhould be  
no more but his head. The French with this ſtrange

kind of warfaring aſtoniſhed, ſent an ambalaſador to  
king Henrie, to learne whether he brought men  
with him or diuels, that could neſther be wone with  
rewards, nor pacified by pitie: which when the king  
had turned to a laeſt, the Frenchmen euer after, if  
they could take anie of the Irriſh ſcatering from the  
companie, ſwed firſt to cut off their genitals, and  
after to torment them with as great and as linge-  
ring paine as they could deviſe.

After that Bullongne was ſurrendered to the king,  
there incamped on the weſt ſide of the towne be-  
yond the hauen an armie of Frenchmen, amongſt  
whome there was a Thraſonickall Colias that depar-  
ted from the armie, and came to the bynke of the  
hauen, and there in ſetting and daring wiſe chalen-  
ged anie one of the Engliſh armie that durſt be ſo  
hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And al-  
beit the diſtance of the place, the depth of the hauen,  
the nernelle of his companie imboldened him to  
this chalone, more than anie great valour or pity  
that reſted in him to indure a combat; yet all this  
notwithſtanding, an Irriſhman named Riſcholl  
Welſh, who after reteined to the earle of Kilbare,  
loathing and diſdaining his proud bzags, ſung into  
the water, and ſwam ouer the riuer, fought with the  
challenger, ſtrake him for dead, and returned backe  
to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his  
mouth, before the armie could ouertake him. For  
his exploit, as he was of all his companie highlie  
commend, ſo by the lieutenant he was bountifullie  
rewards.

Such about this time the earle of Lennor, verie  
longſhallie inquieted in Scotland, and forced to for-  
ſake his countrie, became humble petitiſoner to  
king Henrie, as well to releue him in his diſtreſſed  
calamitie, as to compaſſe the means how he might  
be reſtored to his lands & living. The king his high-  
neſſe moued with compaſſion, poſſed the earle ouer  
to Ireland, with letters of eſpeciall truſt, command-  
ing ſir Anthonie Sentleger then deputie, to aſſiſt  
and further the Scotiſh outcaſt, with as puſſant an  
armie as to his contentation ſhould ſeeme good. The  
deputie, vpon the receipt of theſe letters, ſent for  
James Butler earle of Dymond and Oſſerie, a no-  
ble man, no leſſe politike in peace, than valiant in  
warres, made him priuie to the king his pleaſure;  
and wiſhall in his maieſties name did caſt the charge  
hereof vpon the ſaid earle, as one that for his tried  
loialtie was willing, and for his honour and valour  
able to attempt and atchieue ſo rare and famous an  
exploit. The lord of Dymond as willing to obeye, as  
the gouernour was to command, leuied of his te-  
nants and reteiners ſix hundred Gallowglafſes,  
four hundred Bearnes, three ſcore hozſemen, and  
four hundred and forty ſhot: ſo in the whole he muſ-  
tered on Dſmantowne greene nere Dublin, ſix-  
tene hundred ſouldiours.

The lord deputie yeelding his honour ſuch thanks  
in words, as he deſerued indeed, leuied in the pale  
ſixtene hundred ſouldiours more, to be annexed to  
the earle his companie.ouer them he conſtituted  
ſir John Trauers capteine, but the erle of Dymond  
was made generall of the whole armie. When the  
ſouldiours were with munition and victuals about-  
dantlie furniſhed, the earle of Dymond and the earle  
of Lennor tooke ſhipping at Sheriſe, hauing in their  
companie twenty and eight ſhips well rigged, ſuffi-  
cientlie manned, and ſtronglie appointed. From  
thence they ſailed northwards, and rode at anchor  
without the hauen of Oldſet beyond Kartegfer-  
gus. Where hauing remained hulling without the  
mouth of the hauen, contrarie to the aduiſe of the ma-  
ſters of their ſhips (who prognosticated the ſpedie ap-  
proch of a ſtorme, and therefore did with them to take

A French  
challenger  
vanquiſhed.

Riſcholl  
Welſh.

1545  
The earle of  
Lennor as-  
ſiſted by king  
Henrie.

James But-  
ler earle of  
Dymond.

Sir John  
Trauers  
knight.

The earle of  
Dymond and  
the earle of  
Lennor in  
danger to be  
drowned.

Sir William  
Bzereton  
lord iuſtice.

O'Connor ſub-  
mitteth him-  
ſelfe to the  
ord iuſtice.  
Sir Anthonie  
Sentleger  
ord deputie.  
Sir William  
Bzereton lord  
high maſter.

he biſhop.

1543

James earle  
of Deſmond.

Dneale earle  
of Tiron.

When crea-  
ted earle of  
Clencare.

1544  
The Irriſh  
ſent for to the  
ſiege of Bul-  
longne.

Their policie  
in purſuing  
for the armie.

take a good harbrough) it hapned that the said night there arose so boisterous a tempest, that the whole fleet was like to have bene overwhelmed. The mariners bethaking their passengers and themselves to the mercie of God, did cut their maine masts, let slip their anchors, and were weather driven to the haven of Dunbaitaine in Scotland, whereas they were like to run their ships on ground, and consequently they all should either have bene plunged in the water, or else have bene flaine on the land by a great number of Scots that awaited their approach. God with his gracious clemencie preventing their imminent calamitie, sent them not onlie a wished calme, but also a prosperous gale of wind, that blew them backe in safetie to the Irish coast, from whence they were scattered.

The earle of Lennor advertised by certeine of his friends that met with him on the sea, that the Scots (contrarie to their promise) dealt verie double with him (for although they gave their word to surrender up to him the castell of Dunbaitaine, yet they did not onelie forfesse that hold, but also were readie to encounter with his souldiours upon their arrivalls) he concluded to returne to Ireland. The earle of Diamond verie loath that so great an attempt should take so little effect, dealt with him verie earnestlie, notwithstanding his counsell were betwaxed to invade his enemies, and his lordship should be sure to find the armie so forward in assisting him in so famous an enterpryse, as they would shew themselves more willing to bicker with his foes in Scotland, than without skirmishing to returne to Ireland. The earle of Diamond was of this nature, that as he would not begin anie martiall broile rashlie or unadvisedlie, so he would not seeme to put it by lightlie or easilie.

Further, whereas the earle of Lennor stood in hope, that the lord of the out Isles would aid him, it was thought by Diamond not to be amisse, to expect his coming; and so joining his companie to the armie, there rested no doubt, but that the Scottish enemies would be forced to plucke in their homes, although at the first blush they seeme to set a good face on the matter. Lennor somewhat with this persuasion carried, gave his consent to expect the lord of the out Isles determination, who notwithstanding all the sett of the enterpryse were desired, would not slip from his word, but personallie failed to the Irish fleet, with three gallies well appointed. The noble man with such martiall triumphs was received, as warlike souldiours could on the sea afford him. But of all others, both the earls gave him heartie intertainment for his true & honorable dealing, that to be as good as his word, would not seeme to thinke from his friend in this his adversitie. And shortly after as they craved his advise what were best to be done, either to land in Scotland, or else to returne homeward, his flat resolution was at that time to retire, because their drift was detected, their feined friends fainted, the castles were fortified, and the shoares on all parts with swarms of Scots peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie to give out in open rumors, that they meant not at anie hand to invade Scotland, but to retire to their countrie.

And after that the Scottish souldiours should be dismissed, which would be incontinent upon their returne, by reason of the excessive charges: then might the earle of Lennor with lesse preparation, and more securitie give a fresh onset, that the enemies should sooner feele his force, than heare of his arrivall. Diamond and Lennor upon this determination landed with the greater part of the armie, and appointed the ships to bend their course to Dublin. The lord of the out Isles and his three gallies failed with the fleet,

for he was not able by reason of the feebleness of his bodie to travel by land, or for the further to prolong his life, which he ended at: Whith presentlie upon his arrivall, and was with great solemnitie buried in saint Patricks his church at Dublin, upon whose death this epitaph following was framed:

*Ecce manique mea patria dnm reddidit exul,  
Exsul in externa totor & ipse mori.*

Both the earls marched with the armie on foot to Carrigfergus, where they brake companie. For Lennor and sir John Trouers taking as he thought the shorter but not the safer wate, travelled through the Ardes with the number of five hundred souldiours, where the Irish inhabitants skirmished with them, and put them to such streid plunges (for they would gladly have seen what a clocke it was in their budgets) as they wished they had not parted from the rest of the armie. The earle of Diamond with his souldiours (which were a thousand five hundred, as before is expessed) marched on foot to Belfast, which is an arms of the sea, a quarter of a mile broad or little lesse. And albeit their weather were bitter and overnipping, and no small parcell of the water were congeled with frost, yet the earle and his armie waded over on foot, to the great danger as well of his person, as of the whole companie, which doubtlesse was a valliant enterpryse of so honorable a personage. From thence he passed to Strangford, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he discharged his souldiours, and having presented himselfe to the gouvernour at Dublin, he rode homewards to the countie of Kilkennie.

Shortly after sir Anthoine Sentleger lord deputie and the earle of Diamond fell at debate, inso much as either of them laid articles of treason one to the others charge. The chiefe occasion of their mutuall grudge proceeded of certeine new and extraordinary impositions, wherewith the deputie would have charged the subjects. Whereat the earle of Diamond as a zealous defender of his countrie began to chide, & in no sort could be wone to agree to anie such unreasonable demand. Whereupon Diamond, perceiving that the gouvernour persisted in his purpose, addressed letters of complaint to such as were of the privie councill in England: which letters were by one of sir Anthoine his friends intercepted at sea, and presented to him to be perused. Sir Anthoine having over read the writings, sent master Wasnet in post haff with the packet to Kilkennie, where the earle of Diamond kept his Christmasse, requesting his lordship to take in good part the opening of his letters. Which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaint, than in anie sort to imbar his writings from comming to the counceils hands.

The earle answered that his quarell was so good, his dealing so open, as he little weighed who took a view of his letters. And for his part what he wrote he meant not to unwrite; but in such sort as they came from the gouvernour, they should be sent to the councill: and if their honours would allow anie subject to be so hardie, as to intercept and open letters that were to them indorsed, he could not but digest anie such iniurie that they would seeme to beare. With this answer Wasnet returned, and the earle performed his promise. Whereupon the gouvernour and he were commanded to appeare before the privie councill in England, where they were sundrie times examined, and their accusations ripelie debated. In fine, the councill equallie to both parts in their complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due desert of both their loiall services, than the vaine presumption of their mutuall accusations, wrapped by their quarels & made them both friends, with such indifferencie, as neither part should be

The lord of the out Isles

Epitaph.

The Irish skirmish with the earle of Lennor.

The earle of Diamond his toilsome travel.

The deputie and Diamond at debate.

Diamond his letters intercepted.

The lord deputie and Diamond sent to England.

They are made friends.

Sir John Trouers chieftain commended to the flat.

Sir Will Wile King

The earle of Diamond his propertie.

The lord of the out Isles faith to the earle of Lennor.

Diamond and Lennor land.

The earle of Diamond castely.

His detection.



either with anie conquest exalted, or with anie foile debased.

And so; so much as sir John Alen knight then lord chancelor of Ireland, was found to limpe in this controuersie, by plaieng (as it was supposed) more craftilie than wiselie, with both the hands, in that he seemed to be rather a fosterer of their malice, than an appeaser of their quarels, he was likewile sent for into England; and being tript by the council in his take, was committed to the Fleet; wherein he remained a long time. In this trouble the earle of Desmond was greatlie aided by sir William Wolfe knight a worshipfull gentleman, bozne in the citie of Waterford, who deseruing in deed the praise of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grew to be of great credit in the court, and stood highlie in king Henrie his grace, which he wholie vsed to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abused to the annoi-  
ance of his foes. This gentleman was verie well spoken, mild of nature, with discrecion stout, as one that in an bysight quarell would beare no coles, sel- dome in an intricate matter grauelled, being found at all affairs to be of a pleasant and present wit. Ha-  
uing lent the king his signet to seale a letter, who ha-  
ning potwored ermites ingrained in the seale; Wolfe how now Wolfe (quoth the king) what, hast thou lice here? And if it like your maiestie, quoth sir Will-  
iam, a louse is a rich cote, for by giuing the louse, I part armes with the French king, in that he giueth the floure de lice. Whereat the king hartlike laugh-  
ed, to heare how pretilie so bissing a taunt (namelie proceading from a prince) was suddenlie turned to so pleasant a conceipt.

Anon after the agreement made betwene De-  
mond and Sentleger, the earle his seruants (which he kept at that time in his liuerie to the number of fiftie) besought his lordship to take at the Limehouse his part of a supper, which they provided for him. The noble man with honour accepting their dutifull of-  
fer, supped at their request, but not to their conten-  
tation at the place appointed. For whether it were that one caltise or other did poison the meat, or that some other false measures were vsed (the certeinlie with the reuenge whereof to God is to be referred) the noble man with thirtie and five of his seruants presentlie that night sickened: one James White the earle his steward, with sixtene of his fellows died, the remnant of the seruants recovered. But their lord, whose health was chieflie to be wished, in the floure of his age deceased of that sicknesse at  
1546  
Elie house in Holbozne, much about the eight and twentieth of October, and was buried in saint Tho-  
mas of Acres his church, whose death bred sorow to his friends, little comfort to his aduersaries, great losse to his countrie, and no small grieue to all good men.

This earle was a goodlie and personable noble man, full of honour, which was not onelie lodged in-  
wardlie in his mind, but also he bare it outwardlie in countenance: as frankie & as liberall as his cal-  
ling required, a deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather stout than stubbozne, bearing himselfe with no lesse courage when he resisted, than with honorable discrecion where he yielded. A fauour-  
er of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that pro-  
cured onlawfull quietnesse before bysight troubles, being notwithstanding of as great wisdome in the one, as of valour in the other. An earnest and a zealous upholder of his countrie, in all attempts rather respecting the publike weale than his priuat gaine. Whereby he bound his countrie so greatlie vnto him, that Ireland might with good cause wish, that either he had neuer bene bozne, or else that he had neuer deceased; so it were lawfull to craue him to be

immortall, that by course of nature was framed mortall. And to giue sufficient proue of the entrie affection he bare his countrie, and of the zealous care he did cast thereon, he betooke in his death-bed his soule to God, his carcase to christian buriall, and his hart to his countrie; declaring therby, that where his mind was settled in his life, his hart should be there intomed after his death. Which was accord-  
ing to his will accomplished. For his hart was con-  
ueied to Ireland, and lieth ingraued in the quere of the cathedrall church in Bilkennie, where his ances-  
tors for the more part are buried. Upon which kind e louing legacie this epitaph following was deuised:

*Cor patria fixura vivens iam redditur illi* This epitaph.

*Post mortem patria que per acerba venit.*

*Non sine corde dulci mortali vixit quem*

*Patris regens vita permanet obsequia sua.*

*Qua licet infelix extrinseco corde frustur,*

*Attamen optato viuere corde nequit.*

*Ergo quid hec faciat? Quem re non possit amorem*

*Cordi ut iam charo reddere corde velit?*

The effect of which said epitaph is thus Englished:

The liuing hart where laie ingrauen

the care of countrie deere,

To countrie liuelesse is reford

and lies ingrauen here.

None hartlesse liues, his countrie then

alas what ioie is left,

Whose hope, whose hap, whose hart he was

till death his life bereft.

And though the soile here throwds the hart,

which most it wisht t'enioie,

Yet of the change from nobler fear,

the cause dooth it annoie.

What honour then is due to him,

for him what worthie rite?

But that ech hart with hartiest loue,

his worthiest hart may quite?

This earle was of so noble a disposition, as he  
would sooner countenance and support his poze well  
willer in his aduersitie, than he would make or  
fatone vpon his wealthie friend in prosperitie. Ha-  
uing bid at London (not long before his death) the  
ladie Gyele countesse of Kildare to dinner, it hap-  
ned that a souldier, surnamed Potwe, who latelie re-  
turned fresh from the emperour his warres, came  
to take his repast with the earle before the messen-  
ger. When the earle and the countesse were set, this  
coisting Kutterkin wholie then standing on the sol-  
dado hoigh, placed himselfe right ouer against the  
countesse of Kildare, hard at the earle of Desmond  
his elbow, as though he were halle fellow well met.  
The noble man appalled at the impudent fauicnesse  
of the malapert soldier (who notwithstanding might  
be bozne withall, bicause an vnbidden ghest know-  
eth not where to sit) besought him courteously to  
giue place. The earle, when the other arose, taking  
vpon him the office of a gentleman byher, placed in  
Potwe his seat, his cousine Edward Fitzgiralde,  
now lieutenant of hir maiesties pensioners, who at  
that time being a yong stripling, attended vpon his  
mother the countesse, and so in order he set euerie  
gentleman in his degre, to the number of sixtene  
or sixtene: and last of all the companie, he licenced  
Potwe, if he would, to sit at the lower end of the ta-  
ble, where he had scantlie elbow roome.

The countesse of Kildare, perceiving the noble  
man greatlie to stomach the souldiers presumptu-  
ous boldnesse, nipst him at the elbow, and whispering  
sottlie, besought his lordship not to take the matter  
so hot, bicause the gentleman (the ment Potwe)  
knew that the house of Kildare was of late attain-  
ted, and that hir children were not in this their cala-  
mitie in such wise to be regarded. So ladie (quoth the  
earle

The kindnes  
of James erie  
of Desmond to  
his friends.

Edward  
Fitzgiralde.

The lord of  
e out of his  
city.

The epitaph.

The Irish  
triumph with  
e earle of  
ennor.

The earle of  
Desmond his  
some tra-  
ll.

The depute  
of Desmond  
debate.

Desmond his  
ers inter-  
ted.

The earle of  
Desmond de-  
ralety.

His descrip-  
tion.

The lord de-  
e and de-  
id sent for  
England.

The earle  
& friends.

earle with a lowd voice, and the teares trilling downe his leres, saie not so, I trow to see the daie, when my yong cousin Edward, and the remnant of your children (as little reckoning as he maketh of them) shall disdain the companie of anie such skipiacke. Which prophesie fell out as tralie as he foretold it, onelie saying that it stood with God his pleasure to call him to his mercie before he could see that daie after which doubtlesse he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Bilsdare.

Sir Anthoine  
Sentleger re-  
turneth lord  
deputie.

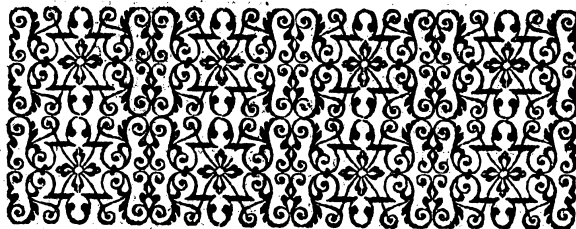
After this noble earle his untimelie decease, Sir Anthoine Sentleger was returned to Ireland lord deputie, who was a wise and a warie gentleman, a balliant ferretor in war, and a good iusticer in peace, properlie learned, a good maker in the English, having grauntie so interlaced with pleasantnesse, as with an exceeding good grace he would attaine the one without putting dumptinesse, and exercise the other without loathsome lightnesse. There fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as lord deputie had the presentation. When diuerse made suit to him for the benefice, and offered with dishonestie to haue that which with safetie of conscience he could not sell,

he answered merilie, that he was resolved not to commit simonie: yet notwithstanding he had a nag in his stable that was worth fortie shillings, and he that would giue him fortie pounds for the nag, should be preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleasure offered, than of anie vnconscionable meaning purposed to haue done. Sentleger his  
simonie.

His gouernement had bene of the countrie verie well liked, were it not that in his time he began to aslesse the pale with certeine new impositions, not so profitable (as it was thought) to the gouernors, as it was noisome to the subiects. The debating of which I purpose to referre to them, who are discourfers of publike estates, and the reformers of the common wealth, praiseng to God, that he with his grace direct them so faithfullie to accomplish the dutie of good magistrates, that they gouerne that poore battered Iland to his diuine honour, to his maiesties contentation, to the suppressing of rebels, to the upholding of subiects, and rather to the publike weale of the whole countrie, than to the priuat gaine of a few persons, which oftentimes falleth out in proue to the ruine and vndoing of the seker.

*Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine instructions directed me, and my leasure serued me, haue I continued a parcell of the Irish historie, and haue stretched it to the reigne of Edward the sixt. Wherevpon I am forced to craue at thine hands pardon and tollerance: pardon for anie error I shall be found to haue committed, which vpon friendlie admonition I am readie to reforme: tollerance, for that part of the historie which is not continued, till time I be so furnished and fraughe with matter, as that I maie emploie my trauell to serue thy contentation.*

FINIS.





THE SUPPLIE OF THIS  
Irish Chronicle, continued from the  
death of king Henrie the eight, 1546, vntill this  
present yeare 1586, in the 28 yeare of hir maiesties  
reigne, sir Iohn Perot residing deputie  
in Ireland.

By Iohn Vowell aliàs Hooker of the citie  
of Excester, gentleman.

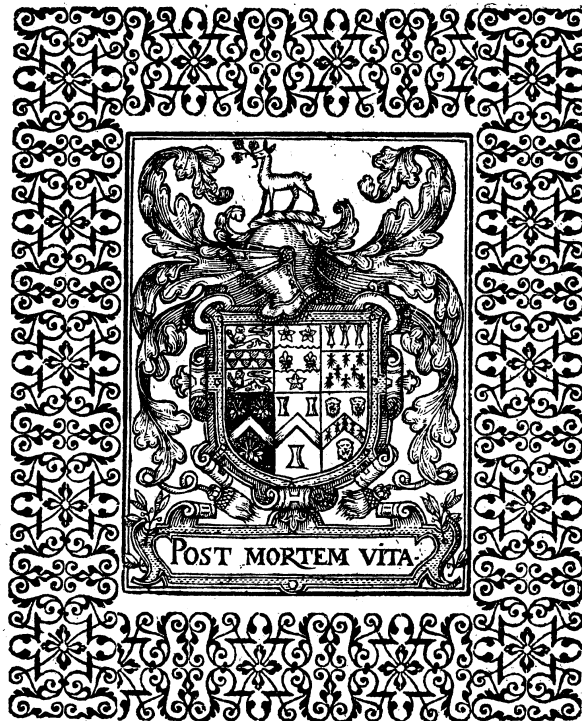


*S from the time of Giraldus Cambren-  
sis (the best deserued and exact writer of the  
conquest and state of Ireland in his time, few  
or none haue followed and continued any per-  
fect course of that historie vntill the death  
of king Henrie the eight, and the begin-  
ning of king Edward the sixt 1546; and  
therefore no certeine knowledge nor assurance  
can be yelded, nor set downe either of the quiet  
gouernement in time of peace, or of the troublesome state in time of  
warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records,  
which were verie slenderlie & disorderlie kept, or out of some priuat mens  
collections and pamphlets, remaining in some od and obscure places: euen  
so the like from that time vnto these presents hath happened and is fallen  
out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due ob-  
seruations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie  
the memoriall; sauing the things so latelie doone are not altogether out of  
remembrance, and some yet liuing that can remember some things doone in  
their times. And yet that is so vncerteine, and euerie man so varieth one  
from the others reports, that no man can well thereupon set downe a perfect  
and so exact a course as the nature of an historie requireth, and as it ought  
to be doone. He therefore that vpon such vncerteinties shall intermedle  
and*

## The Preface.

*and undertake the penning, much more the printing of such an vncerteine, confused, and intricate discourse, must looke and be assured to be subiect to manie cauls and reproches: which thing discouraged me the writer hereof to intermedle at all in this historie. Neuerthelesse, this worke requiring a supplie, and my selfe being earnestlie required to doo something herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue searched and collected to set downe in this short discourse and rhapsodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not so full as the worke requireth, nor so sufficient as to the satisfaction of the reader, nor yet so answerable to the nature of an historie as is necessarie and requisit: yet let the good will of the writer be his discharge from reproch, and be an occasion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full measure in matter and truth: that this historie may haue his perfection, the reader satisfied, and this writer acquitted.*

John Hooker, aliàs Vowell.



Shir Anth  
me Gentl  
touchd.

154  
Shir Ede  
Bellingh  
made lord  
putie.

A mint in  
Dublin.

Shir Ede  
Bellingh  
carefulne  
gouernor

Sundrie  
bles of ho  
dept.

His seer  
in his ser

Reighlin  
deie in clol  
with a w  
and made  
foyt.



# THE SUPPLIE OF THE Irish Chronicles extended to

this present yeare of our Lord

1586, and the 28 of the reigne of

queene Elisabeth.

Sir Antho-  
nie Senteleger  
remoued,



1547  
Sir Edward  
Bellingham  
made lord de-  
putie.

A mint in  
Dublin.

Sir Edward  
Bellingham  
carefull in  
gouernment.

Shundate sta-  
bles of horses  
kept.

His secretie  
in his seruice.

Leighlin ab-  
bee inclosed  
with a wall  
and made a  
fort.

After the death  
of king Henrie  
the eight, sir An-  
thonie Senteleger  
knight, was re-  
moued; who deliue-  
red by the sword  
at his departure  
vnto sir William  
Babston knight;  
and he was lord  
iustice, vntill such  
time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent ouer to  
be deputie. This man was seruant to king Ed-  
ward the first, and of his priue chamber: a man verie  
well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout  
& valiant, and did verie worthilie direct his gouern-  
ment. In his time there was a mint kept in the ca-  
stell of Dublin, which being at his commandement,  
he was the better able to do good seruice to the king  
his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In  
the ciuill gouernment he was carefull to place lear-  
ned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a spe-  
ciall eye for the doing of their offices; as he had the  
like care for good and expert capteins, to serue in the  
martiall affaires. And for the more speedie seruice  
to be done therein at all times needfull, he kept sum-  
drie stables of horses: one at Leighlin, one at Ler,  
and some in one place and some in another, as he  
thought most meet for seruice. And whatsoeuer he  
had to do, or what seruice soeuer he meant to take  
in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so priuie,  
as none should haue anie vnderstanding thereof,  
before the verie instant of the seruice to be done; and  
for the most part, whensoeuer he tooke anie iournie  
in hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what  
place he would ride, or what he would do. It happe-  
ned that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of  
Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Where-  
vpon calling vnto him his companie as he thought  
good, and without making them acquainted what he  
minded to do, tooke horse & rode to Leighlin bridge.  
The abbey there (being suppressed) he caused to be in-  
closed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that  
house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horses, and  
there he furnished himselfe and all his men with  
horses and other furniture, and forthwith rode in-  
to Apponister, vnto the house of the earle, being then

Christmas; and being vnlodged and vnthought of, the earle of  
he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by  
the fire, and there tooke him, and caried him with  
him to Dublin.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and  
in apparell, hauing for want of good nurture as much  
good maners as his kernes and his followers could  
teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did  
so instruct, schole, and informe him, that he made a  
new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie  
in maners, apparell, and behaviours appertaining to  
his estate and degree; as also to the knowledge of  
his dutie and obedience to his soueraigne & prince;  
and made him to kneele vpon his knees sometimes  
an houre together, before he knew his dutie. This  
though it were verie strange to the earle, who ha-  
uing not bene trained by in anie ciuillitie, knew  
not what appertained to his dutie and calling: nei-  
ther yet of what authoritie and maiestie the king  
his soueraigne was; yet when he had well digested  
and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe  
most happie that euer he was acquainted with the  
said deputie, and did for euer after so much hono-  
rize him, as that continuallie all his life time at euery  
dinner and supper, he would praise for the good sir  
Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was  
so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where  
soeuer he trauelled, he would be chargeable to no  
man; but would be at his owne charge. It happe-  
ned that trauellling the countrie, he was lodged on  
a night in vicount Saltinglaffes house, where all  
things were verie plentifullie provided for him:  
which the vicount thought to haue giuen and bestow-  
ed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he com-  
manded his steward to paie & discharge all things,  
thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused  
his intertainment; saieing: The king my maister  
hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me  
therein for my charges and expenses: wherefore,  
I neither may nor will be burdenous nor chargeable  
to anie other man. He was verie exquisit & carefull  
in the gouernment, as few before him the like; as  
well in matters martiall, as politike, magnani-  
mous and couragious: in the one, to the appalling  
of the enimie; and as seuer & bright in the other, to  
the benefit of the commonwelth. For neither by flat-  
terie could he be gained, nor by hypocrisie be corrup-  
ted.

The earle of  
Desmond ta-  
ken in his  
house.

The earle is  
rude without  
nurture.

The earle in-  
structed in ci-  
uillitie.

The earle  
praiseth for  
the good sir  
Edward Bel-  
lingham.

The lord de-  
putie would  
be chargeable  
to none.

The good go-  
uernment of  
this deputie.



Sir Edward  
Bingham  
well beloved.

1548  
Sir Francis  
Wolton  
justice.

Sir Francis  
Wolton married  
the countess of  
Dymond, died  
and was bur-  
ied at Water-  
ford.

1549  
Sir William  
Wolton  
lord justice.

1550  
Sir Anthony  
Sexton  
lord deputie  
the second  
time.

1551  
Sir James  
Cross  
lord  
deputie.

1552  
Sir Antho-  
nie Sexton  
lord deputie  
the third  
time.

A fatall des-  
tine to euerie  
god governour  
to be flander-  
red.

1555  
The lord  
Fitzwaters  
made lord de-  
putie.

1555  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie and  
Corywen lord  
justices.

ted; he was feared for his severitie, and beloved for his integritie; and no gouvernor for the most uninter-  
sallie better reported of than was he. But as ver-  
tue hath the contrarie to envie, so he found it true:  
for he was so envied at, and that rebellious nation  
not looking for woe: that a man, who travelled all the  
waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of  
themselves, and of their duties; and also to reforme  
that corrupt state of gouvernement, that great prac-  
tises and decesses were made for his reuocation; and  
matters of great importance informed and enforced  
against him. Whereupon, before two yeares en-  
ded of his gouvernement, he was reuoked, and sir  
Francis Wolton made lord justice. At his comming  
into England, great matters were laid vnto his  
charge: but he so effectually did answer the same,  
that his maiesties doubtfullnesse was resolved; & he  
not onelie cleared, but also better liked than ever he  
was before, & should haue bene sent backe againe,  
had he not alleged his infirmities; the which was a  
fistula, and other good reasons, which were accepted  
for his excuse. Sir Francis Wolton had married the  
countesse of Dymond, and by that meanes he was  
a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in  
the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was  
but short, & no great matters could in so short a time  
be done by him. After his death, sir William Wab-  
ston had the sword deliuered vnto him, and he conti-  
nued lord justice, vntill that sir Anthony Sexton  
came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second  
time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & ex-  
perience he had good skill and did well gouerne: yet  
there remained some coles of the fire in his first go-  
uernement vnuenched; and within a shorter time  
than thought of, he was reuoked: and sir James  
Cross was sent ouer to supplie the place; his euill  
successes in god attempts did not answer his va-  
lour and good deserts.

And albeit the time of his gouvernement were  
not long, yet it continued vntill the death of king  
Edward the first, and then he was called home, and  
sir Thomas Cusacke and sir Gerard Elmer were  
appointed lords justices, who iointlie gouerned the  
estate, vntill queene Marie sent ouer sir Anthony  
Sexton; who now the third time was lord deputie.  
This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and  
vprightlie in a god conscience, and being well ac-  
quainted in the courses of that land, knew how to  
meete with the enemies, and how to staie all magi-  
strates and others in their duties and offices: for  
which though he deserved well, and ought to be be-  
loved and commended: yet the old practises were re-  
newed, and manie slanderous informations were  
made and imaged against him: which is a fatall  
destinie, and inenitable to euerie god gouvernor in  
that land. For the more paines they take in tillage,  
the worse is their harvest; and the better be their ser-  
uices, the greater is the malice and enuie against  
them; being not vnlike to a fruitfull apple tree, which  
the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels be hur-  
led at him. Well, this man is called home, and the  
lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie.  
At sir Anthonies comming ouer, great matters  
were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduersa-  
ries he had, which verie eagerlie pursued the same a-  
gainst him: wherein he so answered, that he was  
not onelie acquitted; but also gained his discharge  
for ever to passe ouer anie more into so vnthankfull  
a land.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a  
short time of his being there, was sent for into Eng-  
land. And in his absence, sir Henrie Sidneie  
then treasurer at warres, and doctor Corywen, were  
for a time ioint lords justices: but verie shortly af-  
ter,

a commission was sent to sir Henrie Sidneie to  
be sole lord justice, and so continued alone vntill the  
lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Sufter, came againe  
and resumed his former office of deputie. After  
that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to do with  
the Dnele. For the whole north part of Ireland be-  
gan to be vnuenched, and for preventing of sundrie  
inconueniences, which might grow by the Scottish  
Ilanders in aiding the said Dnele, the lord depu-  
tie made a iourneie and vsoage into the said Isles,  
to ioine them into his friendship. In his absence,  
he constituted sir Henrie Sidneie lord justice; but  
after that he had done his businesse, he returned a-  
gaine to Dublin, where he remained and continued  
in his office vntill the death of queene Marie, and  
then he passed ouer into England, and left sir Hen-  
rie Sidneie to be lord justice now the fourth time.  
And after some time spent there, and queene Elisa-  
beth now settled in the imperfall crowne of Eng-  
land, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of  
Ireland to performe those seruices, which before he  
had taken in hand: who did verie great good ser-  
uice against the Irish, and by meanes he took  
the Dnele, and kept him prisoner in the castell of  
Dublin: but yet before he could or did bring the  
same to perfection, he was reuoked into England,  
and left the land in a verie broken state; which was  
committed to sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made  
lord justice. But his gouernement being not well  
liked, choise was made by hir maiestie and the  
councell of sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the  
honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place,  
who then was lord president of Wales.

This man had bene before a long seruitor in  
that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares bene trea-  
surer at warres, which is the second office vnder  
the lord deputie in that land; as also had bene lord  
justice sole and iointlie foure times. Great was his  
knowledge, wisdom, and experience both of that  
land, and of the nature, manners, and disposition of  
the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others  
in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue  
the gouernement of them. He was therefore called  
from out of Wales, where he then resided in his go-  
uernment vnto the court: and there after conse-  
rence had with hir highnesse, and with the councell;  
he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, be-  
ing the seventh yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the  
yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he receiued of  
hir maiestie a booke of instructions signed with hir  
owne hand, dated the first of October 1565, the  
seuenth yeare of hir reigne aforesaid, concerning  
the principall articles for his gouernement & direc-  
tion, which chieftie consisted in these points.

First, that there should be a bodie of a councell  
established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the  
gouernment of the same realme in times of peace  
and of warre; and whose names were then particu-  
larly set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of  
them should before their admission be sworn by the  
said lord deputie, according to the accustomed man-  
ner: with an exhortation, that for so much as hir  
maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence  
in their wisdomes, aduises, good counsels, and ser-  
uices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises,  
assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and  
consultation, concerning the state of that realme.

And they likewise, considering the place and au-  
thoritie wherevnto hir maiestie had called the said  
sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold hir place in that realme:  
they should yeld that obedience and reuerence vnto  
him, as to such a principall officer doth appertene.  
And then they both together, to haue a speciall care  
and regard to the gouernement, which was compo-  
sed

The Dnele  
and all the  
north be vn-  
quien.

1556  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
justice the  
fourth time:

1557  
The earle of  
Sufter lord  
lieutenant.  
The Dnele  
taken and  
kept in prison.

1564  
Sir Nicho-  
las Arnold  
lord justice.

1565  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
deputie.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
president of  
Wales.

A booke of ar-  
ticles deliue-  
red to sir Hen-  
rie Sidneie  
for his go-  
uernment.

A councell to  
be established.

Euerie coun-  
sellor to be  
sworne.

Gods lawes  
to be kept, and  
christian reli-  
gion to be  
vied.

Learning of  
the scriptures  
to be mainte-  
ned.

The church  
lands not to  
be alienated.

The lawes to  
be duly admi-  
nistrated.

Schirffes to  
be appointed in  
euerie shire.

The garisons  
to be looked  
vnto.

A muster to be  
kept euerie  
moneth.

A due regard  
to be had of  
hir maiesties  
reuenues.

That euerie  
officer of re-  
ceipts do  
yearlie make  
his account.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie tak-  
eth his leaue  
of the queene  
and councell.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie tot-

sed in foure articles that do orderlie hereafter fol-  
low.

The said foure articles were these.

Gods lawes  
to be kept, and  
christian reli-  
gion to be  
quiet.

**F**irst, that they should faithfully and  
earnestlie regard the due and reue-  
rend obseruation of all Gods lawes  
and ordinances, made and established  
for the maintenance of the true christian faith and  
religion among his people; and that all meanes  
should be vsed, as well by doctrine and by teaching,  
as by god examples, that deuotion and godlinesse  
might increase, and contempt of religion might be  
restrained, punished, and suppressed. That learning  
in the scriptures might be maintained and increased  
among the cleergie, and that for the reliefe of the ec-  
clesiasticall state, no alienations nor waists of the  
lands pertaining to anie church or college, should be  
alienated: neither anie impropriations of benefi-  
ces be put in vze: besides sundrie other articles in-  
cident to this effect.

Learning of  
the scriptures  
to be mainte-  
ned.

The church  
lands not to  
be alienated.

The lawes to  
be duly admi-  
nistered.

Shiriffes to  
be appointed in  
euerie shire.

The garrisons  
to be looked  
vnto.

A muster to be  
kept euerie  
moneth.

A due regard  
to be had of  
his maiesties  
reuenues.

That euerie  
officer of re-  
ceipts do  
yearelie make  
his account.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie ta-  
keth his leaue  
of the queene  
and counsell.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie to be  
sworne.

2 The second was, that the administration of law  
and iustice should duly and by rightlie be executed,  
without respect of persons: that inquirie be made  
what notable faults are in anie of the iudges, or o-  
ther ministers of the law: that unfit persons male  
be removed from their places, and some sufficient  
persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the  
same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in  
euerie countie, and to execute their offices by right-  
lie, according to the lawes of England.

3 The third, that the garrisons and men of warre  
be well ordered to the benefit of the realme, and re-  
pressing of disordered subiects and rebels: that they  
do liue according to the orders appointed, without  
oppression of the good and true subiects. That there  
shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster  
made either by the lord deputie, or by such commis-  
sioners as he shall appoint mete and indifferent for  
that purpose; who shall make inquirie of the num-  
ber of the souldiours vnder euerie capteine; for the  
sufficiency of their persons, their harness, armors,  
and weapons, and other their necessaries: and how  
they were paid of their wages, and whether they  
were Englishmen or not.

4 The fourth article was, whether there had bene  
had a due care & regard to the preservation of the  
reuenues of the crowne, & for the recouerie of that  
which is withydrawne. And whether euerie of the offi-  
cers appointed for the receiuing of anie part of the  
said reuenues, as namelie the receiuers of rents,  
shiriffes, erchetoys, collectors of the subsidies, cu-  
stomers, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and  
of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and  
such others, did yearelie make and answer their ac-  
counts; and besides sundrie other articles incident  
to euerie of these principals.

After that he had receiued this booke, and his com-  
mission, he prepared himselfe with all the expedition  
he could, to followe the great charge committed vnto  
him: which being done, he repaired to his mai-  
estie and toke his leaue: and to his farewell, he gaue  
him most comfortable speeches and good counsels,  
promising his fauor and countenance to all his well  
doings, and a consideration for the same when time  
should serue. The like leaue he toke also of the  
lords of the counsell, who in like order gaue him the  
like farewell: and these things done, he departed  
towards the sea side, where after he had taried a long  
time for a good wind and passage, he toke ship, and  
arrived in Ireland the thirtieth of Ianuarie, about  
foue miles from Dublin, and from thence he travel-  
led to Dublin; where he was most honorablie recei-

ued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lord iustice, and the  
whole counsell; together with the mayor and his bre-  
thren of that citie. And the people in great troops  
came and saluted him, clapping and shouting with all  
the soie that they could deuise.

The next fundaie then next following, being the  
seuenth daie of his arriual, and the twentieth of the  
moneth, he accompanied with the lord iustice and  
counsell, repaired to the high church in the citie na-  
med Chyffes church; where after that the diuine ser-  
uice was done, he toke his oth, receiued the sword,  
and assumed vpon him the gouernement: and ther-  
with he made a most pithe, wise, and eloquent ora-  
tion, which consisted vpon these speciall points. The  
first, what a precious thing is god gouernement,  
and how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and  
countries do flourish and prosper, where the same  
is orderlie, in equitie, iustice, and wisdom, directed  
& gouerned. Secondlie, what a continuall care the

queenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onelie  
for the good guiding & ruling of the realme of Eng-  
land, but also of Ireland; which he so earnestlie de-  
sireth, and wisheth to be preferred, as well in peace  
as in warre: that he hath made great choise from  
time to time of the most graue, wise, and expert  
counsellors for the one; and the most ballant, skil-  
full, and expert men of armes for the other: that  
both in peace and warres, the publike state of the  
commonwealth, and euerie particular member  
therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in  
safetie vnder his gouernement. And for the per-  
formance thereof, his maiestie ouer and besides the  
reuenues of the crowne of Ireland, did yearelie  
far aboute anie of his progenitoys, expend of his  
owne cofers out of England, great masses of mo-  
nie, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All  
which his excellencie expenses and continuall cares  
he made the lesse account of; so that his realme and  
subiects of Ireland might be preferred, defended,  
and gouerned.

Lastlie, notwithstanding his maiestie might haue  
made better choise of manie others, who were bet-  
ter able to hold his place in this realme, both for ho-  
nor, wisdom, and experience: yet his pleasure  
was now to cast this heauie charge and burden vpon  
him. Which he was the more vntwilling to take  
vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the  
more vnable & weake he was to susteine the same.  
Nevertheless, being in god hope, and well promised  
of his highnesse fauor and countenance in his well  
doings, and hauing his confidence in them his high-  
nesse counsellors associated vnto him, to soine, aid,  
and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is  
the more readie to take the sword in hand; in hope  
that this his gouernement shall be to the glorie of  
God, the honor of his maiestie, the benefit of the com-  
monwealth, and the preservation of the whole realme  
and people of the same. And so making his earnest  
request to the said lords present, for their contoining  
with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in  
this his maiesties seruice, he made an end of his  
speeches.

The said counsellors, hauing well considered the  
great value and weight of this his graue and wise o-  
ration, did most humbly thanke his lordship for the  
same, and promised in all dutifullnesse, faith, and o-  
bedience to performe and attend what shouler to them  
in anie wise should apperteine. These things done,  
they all conducted the said lord deputie in all honora-  
ble manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common  
people in euerie street and corner meeting him, and  
with great acclamations and soie did congratulat  
vnto his lordship his comming among them in that  
office. Immediatlie after the performance of all  
the

The benefit of  
god gouern-  
ment.

The queenes  
maiesties con-  
tinuall care for  
Ireland.

The queenes  
maiesties ex-  
pendeth  
yearelie out of  
his owne cof-  
ers for Ire-  
land sundrie  
thousands of  
pounds.

The congra-  
tulation of the  
people.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
president of  
Wales.

A booke of ar-  
ticles deliue-  
red to sir Hen-  
rie Sidneie  
for his go-  
uernement.

A counsell to  
be established.

Euerie coun-  
sellor to be  
sworne.

The broken  
state of Ire-  
land.

The English  
pale wasted  
and spoiled.

The soldiers  
beggerlie and  
out of order.

The miser-  
able state of  
Leinster.

The fertile  
soile of the  
countie of  
Kilkennie  
made wast.

Downer by  
civill war de-  
stroyed.

Thomond all  
wasted by ci-  
vill warres.

Connagh de-  
voured by ci-  
vill warres.

The gentle-  
men all impo-  
werished.

Ulster was  
rich and rich.

the solemnities, pertaining to these actions, he called and assembled all those persons which his highness had appointed, admitted, and allotted to be of his maiesties private council for that realme, and did sweare them according to the accustomed manner. Then from time to time they assembled and met, consulting and deliberating what waie and order were best to be taken for repairing of that broken common-wealth and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogether infected with sores and biles, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health. And surely if the state of that land was ever miserable and in perill to be overthrowne: it was never more like than at these presents; for as for the English pale, it was overwhelmed with infinite numbers of caterpillars, who daily by spoiles and robberies have devoured and wasted the same: whereby the people universallie were so poor, and the commons in such extreme penurie, that they had not houses, armour, nor weapons to defend them, nor apparell, bittels, nor any other necessities to relieve them; the soldiers so beggerlie that they were most intolerable to the people, and so roted in insolencie, lascivnesse and idlenesse, that unless the remedie were the more speedie, they would be past correction: and so much the worse, because many of them were alied in marriage, and companies of the Irish: who the more they were affected to them, their trust and service more doubtfull to his maiestie. The province of Leinster and they altogether most miserable, the Tols, Obzines, Kinselaghies, Moolies, Dmoughs, Caranaghs, the Poyes, and the residue in their accustomed manners wholly bent to spoiles and all mischiefes, no place of any safetie remaining for the good subject; especiallie in the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, became of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie few being left to inhabit the same.

Downer, the inhabitants there likewise for the most part being followers to the earle of Desmond, and following his wars against the erle of Desmond, made that province, and especiallie the counties of Tipperarie and Kilkennie, being wealthy and rich, to become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom his maiestie was could be assured. Notwithstanding experience had taught them, and they assured, that no waie was for their recoverie and safetie so good and assured, as to humble themselves, and to become his highnesses full and obedient subjects: yet as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, contented themselves rather with a beggerlie life to be miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace and assured. The provinces also of Thomond altogether almost wasted by the warres betwene the earle there and sir Donell Obzien. Desmond likewise by reason of dissention betwene the earles of Desmond and Desmond, and by the daily invasions and prizes of Piers Grace was almost wasted and inhabited.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie rich and wealthy, and well inhabited, is wasted with the wars betwene the erle of Clanrichard and Mac William Enter: the Irish countries all wasted and impoverished, partly by reason of their dissimulations, societies, and conferences with the rebelles, and partly by the particular discords among themselves. Finally, all the gentlemen throughout, went in times past to be keepers of hospitalitie, were by the daily prizes made upon them and their tenants so impoverished & distressed, that they were not able to mainteine and relieve themselves nor their families. The province of Ulster for wealth

and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselves, but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of receipt of all the prizes and spoiles from out of the other provinces: but as for loialtie, dutifulnesse, and obedience to his maiestie, they were most disloyal, rebellious, and disordered. For after that Shane Donelle by blood and murder had gotten the maiestie, he alone then ruled the roste, who in pride exceeded all the men upon the earth, abiding no superior, nor allowing any equall. And here it were not amisse, but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and cause why the said Shane did first breake out from his due obedience, and did shake off the government of his maiestie, which (as farre as the writer hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here followeth.

Con Donelle, the first earle of Ulster, had two sonnes, Matthew and this Shane or John. And king Henrie the eight having good liking of this Con Donelle, and to further and keepe him a good subject, he being a mightie man, and of great power in his countie, he made and created him earle of Ulster, and his eldest son Matthew he made baron of Dungannon, and the remainder of the said earledome to the said Matthew, and to the heirs male of his bodie. This Shane being the second brother, and of an aspiring mind, envied his elder brother, and in no wise could he brooke him, but from time to time seeketh occasions to quarrell and fall out with him, and in the end most traitorously and unnaturallie murdered him: their father yet living, who did not so much lament and bewaile the same, but began much more to distrust of his owne safetie. Nevertheless, it is not knownen that the said Shane did offer him any violence, but when he was dead, although he had no right to succeed into the earledome, by reason that Matthew his elder brother had left sons behind him, who by the letters patents and course of the common law were to succeed the grandfather: yet Shane usurped the name of Donelle, and entred into his fathers inheritance according to the Irish manner, among whom the custome is, that the eldest in years of the name of any house or familie doth succeed his ancestor, unless at the time of his death he had a son of the full age of one and twentie years. And thus having perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he scorneth at the English government, and after the Irish manner proclaimeth himselfe Donelle, and the capitaine of his countie, refuseth likewise all obedience to his maiestie, and breaketh out into open rebellion.

Sir Henrie Stonie then lord iustice, in the absence of the erle of Sussex, being advertised of these stirs, taketh advise of the counsell what was best to be done. And then it was agreed, that the said lord iustice should take his journey towards Dundalk, for the fortifying of the English pale, and should send a messenger to Shane Donelle, who then late at a lordship of his about six miles from Dundalk, and to will him come to Dundalk to his lordship: which was done. But Shane returned his answer, praying pardon, and also most humbly requested his lordship that it would please him to chuse a son of his, & be his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to do all things in service for his maiestie, as his lordship should command and appoint. This answer at the first was not thought good, nor yet honorable to the lord iustice so to do, until the said Shane had first come and submitted himselfe. But when it was considered what great inconveniences might ensue, if his request were denied; it was agreed that the said lord iustice should condescend unto his request. And accordingly upon the last of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, he went unto the said, Shanes

Shane Donelle.

The cause of  
Shane Donelle's rebellion.

Con Donelle made earle of Ulster.

Shane usurpeth the name of Donelle. The Irish custome in succession.

Shane Donelle breaketh into rebellion.

Shane Donelle prayeth sir Henrie Stonie to be his gossip.

Shane excuseth himselfe  
why he came not to the lord iustice.  
Matthew was Kilkennies sonne.

The objection of Shane  
that against the title of Matthew to be Donelle.

The wicked custome of the Irish.

Matthew taketh the feigning of Donelle.

Shanes house, and there his lordship and Jaques Wingfield were godfathers, and having performed the baptizing of the child, they both had conference of the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his doings, did allege for his defense sundrie articles as foloweth.

First, he said that Matthew baron of Dungannon was the sonne of one Bellate of Dundalke, a smith by occupation, begotten and bozne during the spousals of the said Bellate, and one Alton his wife, and that the said Matthew was alwaies taken and reputed to be the sonne of the said Bellate, untill he was of the age of sixteen yeares or thereabouts: at which time Con Dneile his father, upon the saleng of the said Alton, that he was the father of the said Matthew, did accept and take the said Matthew to be his sonne, & gaue him the name of Farbarough.

And here understand you the wickednesse of this countrie; which is, that if anie woman do mislike hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall haue all such children as were bozne of hir bodie during their abode togither, except such as she shall name to be begotten by anie other man: which man so named shall by their custome haue the said child: and so it should seeme to be meant of this point.

Also the said Matthew did upon this the affirmation of his mother seeke to blurpe the name of a feignorie of the Dneiles, and the dominions appertaining to that feignorie and surname. Also that there be aboue a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise yield to this the claime of Matthew, although he for his owne part would be contented therewith. Also he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that should intitule the sonne of the said baron to the said lands are bitterlie void, because that Con Dneile father to the said Shane had no other right nor interest to that countrie, but during his owne life: and therefore without the consent of the lords and inhabitants of that countrie, could make no surrender nor conuenance, whereby he might be enabled to take and haue the said lands by force of letters patents.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie person, be of anie force or value, untill that an inquisition be taken of the lands so giuen before that the letters patents do passe: which in this case neither was, nor could be done, sith the countrie of Tiron is no shire ground. Also if the said lands should accorde to the queens lawes descend to the right heire, then in right it ought to descend to him, as next heire being mulierlie bozne; and the other not so bozne. Also he saith, that upon the death of his father lord of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the custome of the countrie did assemble themselves togither, and by a common consent did elect and chose (without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to be Dneile, as the most worthy and ablest of that countrie. Which election by the custome of the countrie hath bene alwaies vsed without anie confirmation, asked of the kings and queenes of England.

Also he saith that as Dneile he claimeth such authorities, iurisdiccions, and duties vpon his men & countrie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessors, and which duties for the most part are recorded, and remaine in writing. When the lord iustice had at full heard these articles, and considered well of them togither with the counsell, made answer vnto Shane that the matter was of great weight and importance, & which neither he nor the counsell cold determine of themselves, before hir maiestie were made p'sente and acquainted therewith; and therefore in the meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subject vnto hir maiestie, nothing doubting but that he should haue and re-

ceiue at hir hands, what should be found meet, right, and iust.

And so hauing vsed manie god and frendlike speeches and exhortations vnto him, the said Shane promised to vse and behaue himselfe well and honestly, & as to his dutie should apperteyne: they departed in verie frendlike manner. And thus in such wise and politike manner the lord iustice handled the matter, that by temporizing and gaining of time all matters were pacified, and so continued vntill the coming ouer of the earle of Sussex lord deputie: who then of a newe toke the matter in hand, and he did so strellie and seuerellie followe the same, that he ouermatched Shane Dneile. But it so greued the said Shane, that notwithstanding he dissembled and gaue a good countenance, & promised well; yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed nothing: but as the wolfe which often casteth his haire but neuer changeth his conditions, was one and the same man or rather worse, and therefore tyrannized and vsed most crueltie, and of all others most disloyal and disobedient; to the deputie would he not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with him, but at his owne pleasure.

The queenes maiestie in some termes he would honor, but in deede he denied all obedience, subtil and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but in the residue of the daye verie vncertaine and vnstable, and much giuen to excessive gulping and setting. And albeit he had most commonlie two hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dundun, and had his full fill therof, yet was he neuer satisfied, till he had swallowed by marvellous great quantitties of like bagh or Aqua vite of that countrie: therof so vntemeasurably he would drinke and house, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie, which by that meanes was most extremelie inflamed and disordered, he was effeines conuulsed (as the common report was) into a deepe pit, and flanging vpright in the same, the earth was cast round about him by to the hard chin, and there he did remaine vntill such time as his bodie was recovered to some temperature: by which meanes though he came after in some better plight for the time, yet his manners and conditions dallie worse. And in the end his pride ioined with wealth, drunkennesse, and insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannize ouer the whole countrie; greatlie it was feared that his intent was to haue made a conquest ouer the whole land. He pretended to be king of Ulster, euen as he said his ancessors were, and affecting the manner of the great Turke, was continually garded with six hundred armed men, as it were his Janissaries about him, and had in readinesse to bying into the fields a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen. He furnished all the peasants and husbandmen of his countrie with armour and weapons, and trained them by in the knowledge of the wars: and as a lion hath in awe the beastes of the field, so had he all the people to his becke and commandement, being feared and not beloued.

Duerse meanes and waies were practised and vsed by the lord deputie and counsell for the pacifying and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time to time sent vnto him; for and about the same, who sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as backwards and vntoward. Of all the residue of Ireland there was the lesse doubt to recover them, by reason that they by their owne ciuill wars had consumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this man, small or no hope at all, vnlesse he might be chastised, and with force be reduced to conformities. Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking

Shane Dneile promised to be quiet.

Shane Dneile became a tyrant and a rebell.

Shane Dneile a drunkard and a surfeiter.

Shane Dneile buried in the ground after his drunkennesse.

Shane Dneiles force.

The peasants in Ulster trained by in warre.

Shane excused himselfe when he came not to the lord iustice.

Matthew was Bellates sonne.

The obligation of Shane Dneile against the title of Matthew to be Dneile.

The wicked custome of the Irish.

Matthew father the feignorie of Dneile.

Shane Dneile.

The cause of Shane Dneiles rebellion.

Con Dneile made earle of Tiron.

Shane blursped the name of Dneile. The Irish custome in succession.

Shane Dneile breakeh into rebellion.

Shane Dneile praier for Henrie the ninth to be his godfild.

Postes set be-  
tweene Ire-  
land & Lon-  
don.

The misera-  
ble state of  
Ireland.

No God nor  
religion in  
Ireland.

of him alwaie. And because in these troublesome times, it were meet advertisements should go to and from his maiestie and counsell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to them, order was taken for the more speedie conuenance of letters reciproke, there should be set postes appointed betwene London and Ireland. This was then the present state of all Ireland, altogether denoured with robberies, murders, riots, treasons, ciuill and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to his highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and towne; and yet the one being gentle men and liuing by their labors, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decayed; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impouerished, and brought to such extremities, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselves.

And among all other the most intollerable miseries vniuersallie reigning, this one excceeded all the rest, that there was scarce a God known; and if known, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroyed & vncouered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as sheepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. When where neither God is known, the prince obeyed, no lawes current, no gouernement accepted, and all things infolded in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdom? Wherefore sir Henrie Sidneie now lord deputie, & the counsell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which laie them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, daillie assembled themselves; & deuised the best waie that might be to be taken herein. Wherein his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chiefe of the counsell, then joined to assist him in counsell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decayed men; and the lord deputie himselfe dyuen to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuertheless it was concluded and agreed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the O'neile and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the state and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and oportunitie would serue thereunto.

The earles of  
Dymond and  
Desmond  
submit them-  
selves to the  
queens order.

Sir John of  
Desmond  
spoileth the  
earle of Dymond's  
lands.

At this present time the earles of Dymond and Desmond were in England, and the quarrels and controuersies growen betwene them were daillie examined before the lords of the counsell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And because their assertions were so contrarious and vncertaine in denieng and affirming, as no proceeding could be had for a finall end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their doings were best known, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the counsell both the said earles submitted themselves to the queenes maiesties order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound each of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder his highnesse broad seale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the foresaid examinations. But in the meane time whilste these things were in doing in England, sir John of Desmond, in verie outrageous and disordered manner, fired & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Dymond, which things were verie spottie after appeased. In these troublesome daies Mac Artimore an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, and principall man of his sept in Downshire, hauing verie great possessions, and late still in

peace and did nothing at all, neither toke he partie with one whom he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appearance mistaked both their doings.

This man made his humble sute to his maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto his maiesties highnesse, and so to recognize his dutie and allegiance to his, and so to resume and haue a new estate therof from his againe, according to the orders and lawes of England. Which his maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his state in all obedience and dutie to his crowne, did for the worthinesse of his bloud & stocke, & for the greatness of his gouernement make him a baron of the parlement in that reline; & for his further advancement created him an earle vnder his letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane O'neile, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of his highnesse in aduancing such a one to that honour, and enuied and maligned him that he was so honozed. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all god order, braying out speeches not meet nor seemlie. For (saith he) you haue made a wise earle of Mac Artimore, I keepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the queene is my soueraigne ladie, yet I neuer made peace with hir, but at hir seeking. And where he had required to haue his parlement robes sent vnto him as earle of Wiron, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a triall to be made in parlement) yet now he cared not for to meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an erle. For I am (saith he) in bloud and poluer better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Ulster. And as Ulster was theirs, so now Ulster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I wan it, and with the sword I will keepe it. Which his words fell out true, though long he intoided not the same: and forthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, whereby he became execrable and hateful vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

Now his maiestie, being græued and annoied with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him clearelie rooted out, or chastised: but therein he was stayed, being boyned in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to yeeld to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now he seeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; he gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploye his whole care, consideration, and wisdom, how such a cankered and dangerous rebell might be utterly extirped. And seeing the matter also to haue so manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not be well concluded: therefore he sent ouer sir Francis Knolles vice chamberleine, to conferre with the lord deputie, who arrived at Dublin the seuenth of Aprill 1566, aswell concerning these matters of warre, as the whole state and gouernment of this realme. Who when he was arrived, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betwene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordingly things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittels were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph coronell of the footmen, and sundrie other capteins arrived with their souldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was conuenient

Mac Artimore surrenders  
his lands to the  
queens & taketh it of her.

Mac Artimore made  
earle of Clancare.

Shane O'neile scoffeth  
at the earle of Clancare.

The proud  
taunts of  
Shane O'neile.

Shane O'neile for his  
pride and tyrannie becometh  
hateful before God & man.

Shane O'neile  
besiegeth  
Dundalk, &  
is repelled.

1565

Coronell Randolph arriveth  
at the Wirr  
where he  
intrencheth  
himselfe.

The lord deputie cometh  
to the Wirr  
where he  
ordereth the  
seruice.

O'neile incenpeth  
neere to  
Dirrie and  
offereth battell.

Sir Francis  
Knolles sent  
into Ireland,  
1566



conuenient to be.

Likewise the archtraitor knowing what preparation was made against him, he doth the like also on his part against his maiestie; and at a lordship or manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustred all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seven hundred horsemen. And glorying much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to haue conquered all Ireland withall, and that no man durst to adventure vpon him: he marcheth vnto the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besiegeth the same. He was no more busie to giue sundrie attempts of inuasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and hee had the repulse, being with shame diuinen to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and inuasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much stead, as a farre smaller companie of the English souldiers deserued commendation: which perforce and maugre of his teeth compelled him to retire with shame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Iulie 1565, and the first yeare of the deputation of sir Henrie Sidnete, Edward Randolph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent ouer out of England, and arrived at the Dirrie with seven hundred men vnder his regiment, and he himselfe by the counsell in England appointed to be the coronell. This man as soone as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Dirrie, where he remained in garrison without doing of a nie thing, untill the comming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of his maiesties forces, appointed to be ioined with the said coronell, for the better seruice against the arrogant traitour Shane O'Neill.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that seruice required; he returned backe to Dublin through Odonels countrie, and so thorough Connagh, leaving the coronell accompanied with one band of fiftie horsemen vnder the leading of capteine George Heruie the elder, and with seven companies of hundreds of footmen vnder the charges of capteine Robert Cornelwall, and capteine John Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, vittels, and all other necessaries meet and requisit. Shane O'Neill who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now vpon his honoz and reputation, incamped himselfe about two miles from the garrison, hauing then in his armie a thousand five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. And from daie to daie he would continuallie with his horsemen houer and range the fields, and shew himselfe ready to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to adventure the same.

The coronell not liking these dallie offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour vnto him, and all the English nation, which were come ouer to serue against him, and now would do nothing, but were dallie bearded by the enimie: not withstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sicknesse in the campe, that his small companie was much weakened and vnable to serue: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remoue him from his so nere a seat. Whereupon he drew out of his companie to the number of three

hundred men, whome he thought most meet to serue, and being accompanied with fiftie horsemen vnder capteine George Heruie, marched toward O'Neils campe, who pretending a great top to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to incounter with them; perswading himselfe that he should that daie be maister of the field, and haue a conquest to his hearts desire.

The coronell made choise of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide their charge. O'Neill in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the coronells footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so receiued with the English shot and so galled, that he made some staie. Whereupon capteine Heruie taking his oportunitie, most valiantlie with his small band of horsemen brake in to the battell of O'Neill. Likewise coronell Randolph with his few horsemen gaue the charge vpon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the seruice which he desired: but the coronell verie valiantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and whereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being affrighted and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whome the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chace about foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The coronell onelie was slaine, but capteine Heruie and diuerse of the horsemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

After the death of this valiant coronell, whose funeral the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Sentlow was made coronell: vnder whose gouernement the garrison liued verie quietlie. For this last overthrow so quailed the spirits and courages of O'Neill and his companie, that they had no desire of aie further incountering with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was done: and being determined in the spring to adventure some peece of seruice, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what means, the fort and towne of the Dirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and vittels laie were blowne up with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so manie of the souldiers as laie sicke there were burned in their beds. Whereupon the coronell calling all his capteins together, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their vittels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselves for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, sauing capteine George Heruie: for he rather did chole to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impouerish his souldiers by killing their horses (which perforce they must needs haue done) for want of shipping. And therefore euen almost against all hope he returned towards Dublin through the enimies countrie, who followed and chased him foure daies together without intermission, both with horsemen and footmen: but at length he recovered Dublin, not without great wonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about O'Neill, and in all places thorough out Ulster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best seruice of his maiestie. And yet considering the great

The coronell li preparch to fight with O'Neill.

The valiant seruice of capteine George Heruie.

The coronell Randolph is slaine.

O'Neill and his companie, and are pursued, killed & hurt about 800.

The lord deputie kept the coronell Randolphs funerals.

The Dirrie and all the vittels and munitions are burned.

The coronell abandoneth Dirrie, and returneth to Dublin by seas. Capteine George Heruie returneth by land in great danger.

Shane O'Neill besiegeth Dundalke, & is repelled.

Shane O'Neill made arie of Clancare.

Shane O'Neill scattereth the arie of Clancare.

1565

Coronell Randolph arriveth at the Dirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

The proud warts of Shane O'Neill.

Shane O'Neill for his side and pinnie becometh hateful for the God & in.

The lord deputie cometh to the Dirrie and setteth all things in order for the seruice.

O'Neill incampeth nere the Dirrie and offereth battell.

Ir Francis rolls sent to Ireland, 1566

The lord deputie maketh a iourne into Ulster.

1566

The pusillanimie of the O'Neill.

Donnell restored into his possessions. The lord deputie recovereth a great countrie in Ulster unto the crowne.

The earle of Desmond is in campe and doeth no hurt.

The earle of Desmond maketh his repaire to the lord deputie.

importance of the service, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a iourne into Ulster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certaine of the counsell, and with such capitaine and souldiers as he thought good: he advanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seventeenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Killebegh, & so from thence he travelled through out Ulster, and passed thence unto Athlon in Connaught, where he came the six and twentieth of October.

In this iourne the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer anie fight at all: saving once at and nere a wood not far from Clogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gave the charge with horsemen, footmen, and certaine Scottish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horsemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Frlough Lenough, called the Salmon, but toke his ease and durst not to give the adventure. In this iourne the lord deputie restored Donnell to the possession of his lands and castles, kept by O'Neills from him; & sundrie lords and men of the best sort submitted themselves. By which this his lordships iourne he recovered to his highnesse a countrie of foure score miles in length, and eight and forty miles in breadth, without losse of anie man saving Mac Swier, who being sicke died in this iourne; and saving a few persons which by the waie upon an occasion would adventure the winning of a certaine Island in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittels of the enemies, and in assailing of it they were drowned.

Immediately upon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troublesome state of Pounster, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to annoie at his pleasure the earle of Desmond, the lord Barrie, the lord Roch, and sir Thomas Fitzgibbon of the Decies; but he did not hurt anie man at all: saving one Mac Donogh a rebell and a dissuall savage man. The lord deputie being overlaid with the continuall cares to resist O'Neill, could not in person traueil into Pounster, nor yet without great perill divide his armie: wherefore he sent capitaine Herne constable of Leighlin unto the said earle, whereby he might be advertised of his intendment and meaning: which appeared to be but a mere insolencie and an outrage to be reuenged upon the earle of Desmond, although the rumor was, that he would continue with O'Neill. Which report when it came to his eares, and being advertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delay, toke his horse, and having in his companie onelie the baron of Dunboine, and capitaine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whom for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships denotion, either to go and attend him unto Ulster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get; the lord deputie finding him vittels: and then to abide & serve in Ulster in despite of Shane O'Neill; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine upon the borders there, with such a number of horsemen, as should be appointed unto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifulnesse to his maiestie,

as was meet for a subject to shew to his soueraigne. The deputie having some liking of his offers, and considering the sickle state of these presents, accepted his last offer, willing him to go backe againe, and to prepare a crew of one hundred horsemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within foureteen daies: which he did, and with him came sir John Desmond, his uncle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Botwe and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, sir Warham Senterleger, and capitaine Herne, did remaine upon the borders, untill his lordships returne from out of his iourne in Ulster.

And as the realme at large was much infected with the cruell warres of O'Neill and the troubles in Pounster; so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs unto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against an other. For Oliver Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certaine booke in writing, containing an information of sundrie notorious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same, and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parlement, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by his maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and counsell. Likewise sir Edmund Butler and Piers his brother were grievously complained upon by the ladie of Dunboine, Mac Brian Arra, Oliver Fitzgibbon, sir William O'Carrell, and others; for their daile outrages, robberies, murders, prizes, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appealing of such matters, and for the better ministration of iustice, the lord deputie had bene a long tyme to his maiestie and counsell for a chancelor to be sent ouer, who at length were resolved upon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arrived at Dublin in Iulie 1567, a notable and a singular man, by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so severe therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or auerted from the same: and so much good in the end ensued of his upright, diligent, and dutifull service, as that the whole realme found themselves most happy and blessed to have him serve among them. Now he taking upon him to deale in all matters of complaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countrie, and acquitted himselfe against his maiestie.

But to returne to the Lord Deputie, who immediately upon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he toke order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such convenient places upon the frontiers, as then appertained and was most meet & convenient. The rebell on his part leaueth nothing undone, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great sollicitie of himselfe devised manie things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire wasted the countrie, Que mantle of his maiesties subjects, and in the end besieged his highnesse towne of Dundalke: where his pride and treason were iustlie scourged, who came not with so much glozie to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leaue and lose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode upon him: and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had unfettered him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countrie, as is before said, gained from him the last iourne, Mac Swier, a mightie man in his countrie forsake him, and submitted himselfe to his maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithfull service, and to receive his lands and countrie at his highnesse hands.

The earle of Desmond serueth in the English pale.

The lord deputie taketh great prey upon the O'Neill.

The O'Neill distressed all countie in doubt to do.

O'Neill his owne countie condemned him to subjection.

O'Neill seeth for his of the Sc

The Scots disguis with O'Neill.

Shane O'Neill by the Scots brought by capti Piers.

Shane O'Neill hea upon the of the cast Dublin.

Oliver Sutton complained against the earle of Kildare.

The ladie of Dunboine complained against the Butlers.

1567 Doctor Weston is made chancelor of Ireland.

The O'Neill entereth the English pale with sword and fire. The O'Neill besiegeth Dundalke the second time, and departed with great dishonor. The O'Neill forsaken of friends.

Mac Swier forsaketh O'Neill, and so do the Scots.

Alexander Og and Mac Donnell offer to serue  
hir maiestie, with all the Scots vnder them against  
the rebell. Con Donnell late deliuered from the re-  
bell, offereth seruite against him. Tirlogh Lenough  
with the helps of his neighbours daillie backed the  
said Dneile, that his force was quailed that waite.  
The lord deputie had continuallie four regiments  
residing nere the English pale, who continuallie as  
it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of  
the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogheba did also  
issue out, and in one morning toke a preie of two  
thousand nine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other  
small beasts and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe  
thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps  
and followers, his men, some by Ddonnell, and some  
by others to the number of three or foure thousand  
persons at times slaine, himselfe discomfited, his  
passages stopped, and all places of his refuge preuen-  
ted, and now but one poore castell left wherein he tru-  
sted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weake-  
ned, and beholding his declination and fall towards,  
was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe,  
and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter  
about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie,  
and in all humble and lowlie maner to submit him-  
selfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find  
mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience  
was so cauterised, and his hands so imbued with in-  
finit and most horrible murders, bloodsheds, trea-  
sons, whoredomes, drunkenness, robberies, bur-  
nings, spoiles, oppressions, and with all kinds of vice  
and wickednesse, that his heart was ouerlaid and ouerla-  
den with an vtter despaire to obtaine any grace or  
fauor: and therefore was the more easilie persua-  
ded by those whome he toke to be his friends, to trie  
first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that  
they would ioinie and aid him in his most wicked re-  
bellion. Whereupon he toke his iourne towards  
Clandeboite, where Alexander Og and his companie,  
to the number of six hundred persons, were then in-  
camped: and for the better gaining of his purpose,  
he had a little before enlarged Charleie Boie brother  
to the said Alexander, and who had bene prisoner  
with him.

The lord de-  
putie taketh a  
great preie  
vpon the  
Dneile.

The Dneile  
distressed of  
all comfort is  
in doubt what  
to do.

Dneile his  
owne conscie-  
nce condem-  
neth him to  
serue submit-  
tion.

Dneile see-  
keth for helpe  
of the Scots.

The Scots  
do disguise  
with Dneile.

Shane Dneile  
slaine by the  
Scots by a  
draught made  
by captaine  
Piers.

Shane D-  
neiles head set  
vpon the top  
of the castell of  
Dublin.

he earle of  
Desmond  
sleweth in the  
english pale.

liuer shut-  
teth against  
the earle of  
Ibare.

he labie of  
and boine  
uplainteth  
at the  
neters.

1567  
doe we  
n is made  
d chances  
of Ire-  
d.

e Dneile  
reth the  
glishe pale  
h sword  
fire.  
e Dneile  
egeth  
ndelike the  
nd time,  
departed  
h great  
onoz.  
e Dneile  
ken of  
ids.

e Swier  
keth D-  
and so  
he  
ids.

deliuerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacriliger and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir maiestie and counsell, aduertising this hap and good successe. Which done, his lordship with all speed made his repaire into Ulster, and incamped himselfe in the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all the noblemen and gentlemen of Ulster being glad that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they which were competitors of the capitaine of Ulster, who most humble and obedientlie presented and submitted themselves vnto hir highnesse. And when his lordship had set all things in such order as the time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the countrie, and most pithilie and effectually instructed and perswaded them to obedience, teaching them the great blessings of God which cometh thereby, as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences, miseries and calamities they had felt by the contrarie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he promised shortly to send commissioners amongst them, who should haue authoritie to decide all controuersies betwene partie and partie (title of land and death of man excepted.)

Also he proclaimed and commanded hir maiesties peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed exercises: and that all men of warre should liue vpon their owne, or vpon that which their friends with a good will would giue them: and so publishing peace vniuersally, euery man departed home fullie. The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who laie for an hostage of his father, to be safely kept in the castell of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters of commandement in that behalf, dated the first of Iulie 1567. The quenes maiestie being deliuered from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Ulster at hir commandement and disposition, was verie desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, whereby the might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer into Ireland one Robert Leeth, skilfull in that art, and that he should make the perfect descriptions of the same. Likewise also the being aduertised of the outrageous dealings of the earle of Desmond, in mainteining proclaimed rebels, and continuing of warres against the earle of Desmond (whose insolencie to seeke to be reuenged vpon the said earle, was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile of the whole countrie, and the onelie cause of great murders, bloodshed, and vndoing of manie people) she willed the lord deputie by hir letters to apprehend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the castell of Dublin, which was so done. And after both he and his brother sir John of Desmond were sent into England, and there committed to the towser.

After all the foresaid troubles and ciuill wars were appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and good order, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties letters for his repaire into England vnto hir presence, he did accordingly prepare himselfe thereunto, and by a commission vnder hir brode seale of Ireland did appoint doctor Welleson then lord chancellor, and sir William Fitzwilliams treasurer at wars, to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them being verie well learned, iust, and bright; the other verie wise, & of great knowledge and experience, in the affaires of that land. Both which two being like well minded to do hir maiestie seruice, did most louinglie and brotherlie agree therein, each one aduising and aduertising the other according to the seuerall gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by which meanes they passed their government verie well

The quene  
aduertised of  
Shane D-  
neiles death.

The noblemen  
of Ulster, be-  
ing glad of  
Dneiles death,  
do submit  
themselves.

Orders giuen  
by the lord de-  
putie to the  
noble men of  
Ulster.

Dneiles sonne  
is committed to  
safe custodie.

Robert Leeth  
sent into Ire-  
land to draw a  
true plot of the  
whole land.

The earle of  
Desmond  
committed to  
ward, and sent  
to the towser,  
together with  
his brother sir  
John Des-  
mond.

1567  
Doctor Wel-  
leson and sir  
William Fitz-  
williams  
made lords  
iustices.

Sir Henrie Sidneie 102d deputie passed into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond.

Ed. Mulineux,

Sir Edmund Butler breakeh out into outrages.

The p[ri]nce of Mac Artie 103d earle of Clancart,

The earle of Clancart maketh warres upon the lord Roch. James Fitzmois maketh warre upon the baron of Lixenew.

The archbishop of Cashell in danger to be killed.

Sir Peter Carew maketh suite to his maiestie for the recone of his lands in Ireland.

well and quietlie to the great contentation of his maiestie, the commendation of themselves, and the common peace of the countrey; and so the said Sir Henrie hauing placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Donno: Sligo, he was with great honor receiued at the court, and the other was sent to the towre. His maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a windowe, he saw him to come in with two hundred men attending vpon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told him that it was Sir Henrie Sidneie his deputie in Ireland. When it is well (quoth he) for he hath two of the best offices in England. So he presented himselfe before his highnesse, and was welcome to him. Neuerthelesse, after his departure, the particular grudges betwixt some certeine men, brake out into great and outrageous disorders, as Sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh inuasion vpon Oliuer Fitzgiralde, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlawes of the Donno: and Mo:es proclaimed traitors, and hauing in the field a thousand of Gallowglasse, horsemen, and Bernes, threaten to burne the towne of Kilkennie, and spoile Dearell of his countrey. But they as also Oliuer Fitzgiralde, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuenge, leaving to seeke reuenge by armes, made their reuenges to the lords iustices, and by law requested redress. The earle of Clancart was puffed up with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Mounster, and did confederate with the Mac Swaines, Ollsuane Mo:es, and others of the Irishie of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displayed inuadeth the lord Roches countrey, and in burning of his countrey, he destroyed all the coyne therein, seven hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried awaye fiftene hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also James Fitzmois of Desmond maketh cruell warres against the lord Fitzmois baron of Lixenew, which albeit they were but priuie displeasures, yet troublesome to the whole countrey: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so temporise with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken vpon aduertisement of his maiesties pleasure here, in. About this time one Mo:es a runninge p[re]st, hauing lately bene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arriued into Ireland, and made challenge to the same see: which being denied vnto him by the archbishop which was there placed by his maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenly with an Irish skaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

This yeare Sir Peter Carew of Devon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onelie barons of Carew in England; but marqueses of Cozke, barons of Devon, and lords of Malton Awe:; and sundrie other seignories in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended vnto him: he made the queens maiestie and counsell acquainted therewith, and prayed that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to follow, and by order of law to recover the same. Which was granted vnto him, as also he had his highnesse and their lordships severall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect: and willing them to aid and assist him with all such his maiesties euidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other

god meanes they might. Whereupon he sent the writter hereof to be his agent: who hauing by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and p[re]sidents, found in his maiesties treasure and castell of Dublin, answering and agreeing with the euidences of Sir Peter Carew: then the said Sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Malton, then in the possession of Sir Christopher Chivers knight, and to the baronie of Devon, then in the occupation of the Canenaughes.

Sir Peter Carew passeth into Ireland.

The first, when it was found good in law, and Sir Christopher Chivers yielded, and compounded for it: the other was trauesed before the lord deputie and counsell, and vpon good and substantiall euidences, records, and p[ro]ofes; a decre passed by the lords of the counsell, in the behalfe of Sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recovered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records doe impart, about the eighteenth yeare of king Richard the second. But as for the marqueship of Cozke, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Mounster then not settled in anie quietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, hauing spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arriued at Crag Fergus, in September 1568: and toke the sword of gouernement vpon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the counsell by their letters of the fourth of Nouember 1568, did aduertise his maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in briefe consisted in these points immediate following.

Sir Peter Carew by a decree recouereth the baronie of Devon.

1568 Sir Henrie Sidneie returneth lord deputie.

Parliament summoned at Dublin.

The lord chancellor by operation.

That Sir Edmund Butler had made a p[re]te in Shileagh vpon Oliuer Fitzgarret, and done sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles vpon his countrey: who was forthwith sent for, and refused to come, excusing that he had businesse about the execution of certeine seruices in the counties of Kilkennie, and Tipperarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferent good order, sauing some contention betwixt the earle of Clanricard, and Mac William Enter; and an old controuersie renewed betwixt McDonnell and Donno: Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghs countrey. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Oshaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countries. As for Mounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of James Fitzmois of Desmond, against Fitzmois baron of Lixenew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Roch: and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certeine outlawes, did disorderlie spoile and p[re]te the countries to feed their bellies.

The state that Ireland stood in.

Connagh in reasonable peace.

Mounster out of order.

The present state of Ulster the lord deputie being desirous to knowe the certaintie thereof, immediately vpon his landing in Ireland he made a tourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishie to stand in wauering terms: whereupon he sent for Turlogh Lenogh O'Neill, who yielding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat swarued from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a tourneie vpon Fernelie, and in combining with the Scots, of whom he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and verie hardlie obtained, and not until his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the Scots

Turlogh Lenogh breaketh the peace, but submitteth himselfe.

Stanhurst chosen to be speaker of the lower house.

Scots had put in for their localtie. Adonelle quietlie possessed the countrie of Treconell, and continued a dutifull subject to his maiestie; saving the old grudge betwene him and Turlogh did rather increase than decate. When lord of the land betwene Loughfoile and the Ban, being for the same sometime molested by Turlogh Lenogh, did beare with all iniuries, and desired to be exempted from Turlogh, and to hold the same of the quenes maiestie. The like did the two principall men, eligible for the captainrie of Tiron, desire for their parts all the residue of Ulster in good staie and quietnesse.

The lord deputie after this iourneie returned to Dublin, and there, when by the aduise of the council he had disposed all things in good order concerning the gouernement: he caused the writs for summons of the parlement to be awarded out vnto euerie noble man for his apperance; & to euerie shiriffe for choosing of knights and burgeses for their like apperance at Dublin the seventeenth of Januarie, in the eleuenth yeare of his maiesties reigne; at which time and daie apperance was then and there made accordinglie. On the first daie of which parlement, the lord deputie, representing his maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner vnto Chyffes church, and from thence vnto the parlement house: where he sat vnder the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the princelie robes of crimson velvet doubled or lined with ermin. And then & there the lord chancelloz made a verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of what great effect and value, how the common societie of men was thereby maintained, and each man in his degre conserued; as well the inferiour as the superiour, the subject as the prince: and how carefull all good common-wealths in the elder ages haue bene in this respect: who considering the time, state, and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time to time ordeine and establish most holosome lawes, either of their deuises, or drawn from some other good common-wealth: and by these meanes haue prospered and continued.

And likewise, how the quenes most excellent maiestie, as a most naturall mother ouer hir children, and as a most vigilant prince ouer hir subjects, hath bene alwaies, & now presentlie is verie carefull, studious, & diligent in this behalfe: hauing caused this present parlement to be assembled, that by the counsell and aduise of you hir nobilitie, & you hir knights and burgeses, such good lawes, orders, and ordinances maie be decreed, as maie be to the honor of almighty God, the preservation of his maiestie, and of his imperiall crowne of this realme, and the safetie of the common-wealth of the whole realme: for which they were not onelie to be most thankfull; but also most carefull to do their duties in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker directing his speeches to the knights and burgeses, who were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of the realme, willed them that for the auoiding of confusion, and for an orderlie proceeding in this action: they should assemble them selues at and in the house appointed for that assemble; and there to make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended, and the court adourned untill thursdaie next, the twentieth of Januarie. In the meane time, the knights and burgeses met in the lower house, and appointed for their speaker one Stanihurst, recorder of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and learned man; who vpon thursdaie aforesaid was presented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the higher house: & then he hauing done most humble his

obedience and dutie, made his oration and speech; first abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficientlie adozned and furnished with such gifts of knowledge and learning, as to such an office and calling dooth appertene: wherein he was so much the more vnfit, as the cause he had in hand was of great weight and importance. And therefore he wished, if it might so seme good to his lordship, some man of more grauitie, and of better experience, knowledge, and learning might supplie the place. Neuerthelesse, for somuch as he might not refuse it, he was the more willing, because he did well hope his seruice being done with his best good will, and in all dutifulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his comfort was the more, because he had to deale in such a cause, as was for the establishing of some good and holosome lawes, whereof he was a professour.

And herevpon he toke an occasion, according to the argument that was before handled by the lord chancelloz, speaker in the higher house, to discourse of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what good succedeth there insue to all such realmes, countries, and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled & gouerned. And when he had spoken at large hereof, there he declared what great causes that realme of Ireland had, to giue for euer most hartie thanks and praises to God for his godnesse, in sending such a vertuous, noble, and a most godlie prince, as was his maiestie, who not onlie was carefull by the sword to stand in their defense against all enemies, traitors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions: but also for their conseruation in times of peace would haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made in a parlement of themselves, as should be most expedient for the common-wealth of the same land. When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then he concluded with an humble petition, that it might please his maiestie to grant vnto them their liberties and freedoms of old belonging to euerie assemble of a parlement. The first was, that euerie man being a member of the lower house, should and might haue free comming and going to and from the parlement: and during their abode at the same without molestation or impeachment of anie person or persons, or for anie matter then to be laid against anie of them. The second, that they and euerie of them might haue libertie to speake their minds freely to anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that parlement. Thirdlie, that if anie of the said house should misorder and misbehaue himselfe in anie vndercent manner, or if anie other person should euill intreat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correction and punishment of euerie such offender should rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When he had ended his speech, and in most humble manner done his obeisance; the lord deputie hauing paused vpon the matter, made answer to euerie particular point in most eloquent and effectual manner, which consisted in these points: Nothing misliking with the speaker for so much abasing of himselfe, because he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and verie sufficient for that place, doubting nothing but that he would performe the same in all dutifulnesse, as to him appertained. And concerning the benefit which groweth to all nations and common-wealths by the vse of the lawes; besides that dailie experience did confirme the same generallie, so no one nation particularlie could better auaile it than this realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope that they would accordinglie frame themselves to liue accordinglie, and also to praise for his maiesties safetie and long life, whereby vnder his they might inioie a peaceable and a quiet life in all prosperitie. And concerning the priuileges, which they requested

Stanihursts oration.

The requests of the speaker for allowance of the liberties of the parlement house.

The lord deputie answered Stanihursts oration.

Peter ew passeth Ireland.

Peter ew by a & recouer the baron & Dyson.

568 Henrie new receth lord tie.

State that and stand

nagh in mable

inster out 107.

ogh Lee breaketh ace, but itreth life.

Parlement summoned at Dublin.

The lord chancelloz his oration.

Stanihurst chosen to be speaker of the lower house.



requested to be allowed, forasmuch as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietly serve his highness in that assembly, to his honor, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased his majesty so long as the were not impeached, nor his imperiall state derogated, that they should into the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adjourned.

The next date following being fridate the lower house met; and contrarie to the order of that house, and dutie of that companie, in stead of unitie there began a division, and for concord discord was received. For all, or the most part of the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especially they who dwelled within the counties of Wex and Dublin, who seeing a great number of Englishmen to have place in that house began to except against that assembly as not good, nor warranted by law. Their vantage was Sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and worthy to have bene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged three speciall causes, while he and his complices would not yield their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie townes, which were not corporat, and had no voice in the parliament. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of townes corporat had returned themselves. The third and chiefest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such townes and corporations, as which some of them never knew, and none at all were resident & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

These matters were questioned among themselves in the lower house for foure daies together, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more speeches, the greater boiles; until in the end, for appealing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: unto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they having at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for townes not corporat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and souveraignes as have returned themselves, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest upon the shiriffes for their wrong returns. The messenger of this answer, howsoever he were liked, his message could not be received nor allowed: which being advertised unto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon his majesties attorneie generall was sent unto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not be credited, neither would they be satisfied, unless the iudges themselves would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Upon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer nor abide the reading thereof: but rose up in verie disorderd manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrarie to that gravitie and wisdom, which was or should be in them. Wherefore, for pacifying of the same, the chiefe iustices of the quenes bench, and the chiefe iustice of the common pleas: the quenes sergeant, attorneie generall, and solicitor, the next date following came to the lower house, and there did as firme their former resolutions, which thought it might have sufficed. Yet certeine lawyers who had place in that house, did not altogether like thereof,

And albeit this matter were orderly compassed, and sufficient to have contented everie man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appere in the sequele of that assembly, where certie bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especially Sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the quenes majesties profit or common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their captivities should be taken awaie, and coine, and liverie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices mistaking, it did even open it selfe of a rebellion then a brewing and towards. Which in deed followed, for immediately after the parliament, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose.

There were two bills put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of Sir Edward Boinings lord deputie, in the tenth yere of king Henrie the seventh, which though it were meant most for their owne benefit and common-wealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the imposs for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselves verie forward & so bin quiet, that it was more like a beebaiting of disorderd persons, than a parlement of wise and grave men. Wherewith a certeine English gentleman (the wyfter hereof being a burgesse of the towne of Athennie in Connagh, who had before kept silence, and still so meant to have done; when he saw these foule misorders and overthwarting, being grieved, stood up, and prayed libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saying, that it was an usage in Bithagoras scholes, that no scholars of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, or determine, but give eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and advised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdom, speake, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to have bene altogether silent, is enforced even of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to praye their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then upon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse what was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subject: and lastlie, how the quenes majesty had most honorable and carefulle performed the one, and how vndutifullie they had considered the other: for that the nesther found that obedience in that land, which still liued in rebellion against hir; nesther that benevolence of the better sort, which for his great expenses spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to have yielded unto hir. It appered manifest in sundrie things, and speciallie in this present assembly, namely one bill concerning the repeale of Boinings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet his majestie, of his owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without any of your consents, as he hath already done the like in England; saving of his courtesse it pleaseth him to have it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that he might thereby have the better triall and assurance of your dutifullness

Mutinie in the lower house

Sir Christopher Barnwell excepteth against the choice of the burgesses.

The resolution of the iudges.

The dissliking of the iudges opinions.

The selfewill and forwardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

Sir Edmund Butler misliketh with the parliament.

The repeale of Boinings act.

The act for imposs of wines.

butifalnesse and goodwill towards hir. But as the hath and doth find your bent farre otherwise, so doth the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For notwithstanding his long services in times past, his continuall and daile trauels, toymes, and hostings, with the great perill of his life against the rebels for your sake and safetie; and his endlesse turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat sutes for your quietnesse, and to you well known, he hath deserved more than well at your hands: yet as the vniuersall thankfull Israelites against Moses, the vniuersall Romans against Camillus, Scipio, and others: and as the vniuersall Atheniens against Socrates, Themistocles, Pelitiades, and others; you haue and do most vniuersall requite and recompense this your noble gouernor: against whome and his doings you do kicke and spurne what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall vpon you, as it hath done vnto others to your owne shame, ouerthrow, and confusion. And when he had spent a long time in this matter, and proued the same by sundrie histories of other nations, he proceeded to the bill, which by sundrie reasons and arguments he proued to be most necessarie, and meet to be liked, allowed, and consented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his speeches, he sat doونه, the most part of the house verie well liking and allowing both of the person and of the matter; saving the persons before named, who did not heare the same so attentiuely as they did digest it most vniuersally, supposing themselves to be touched herein. And therefore some one of them rose vp and would haue answered the partie, but the time and daie was so far spent about the ordinarie houre, being well nere two of the clocke in the afternone, that the speaker and the court rose vp and departed. Whombeit such was the present murmurings and threatenings breathed out, that the said gentleman for his safetie was by some of the best of that assemble conducted to the house of sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then late and resided. The lord deputie in the meane time, hearing that the lower house were so close, and continued together so long about the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had bene concerning the questions before proponed, and therefore did secretly send to the house to learne and know the cause of their long sitting. But by commandment of the speaker, order was giuen to the doore keepers, that the doores should be close kept, & none to be suffered to come in or out, so long as the gentleman was in deliuerie of his speeches; and after the court was ended, it was aduertised to the said lord deputie, who thanked God that had raised by vniuersall friends vnto him in that place.

The next daie following being fridaie, as soon as the court of the lower house was set, sir Christopher Barnetwell, and the lawyers of the English pale, who had conferred together of the former daies speeches, stood vp and desired hearing: who leauing the matter in question, did in most disorderly manner inueigh against the said gentleman, affirming, anouching, and protesting, that if the words spoken had bene spoken in any other place than in the said house, they would rather haue died than haue borne withall. Whereupon the speaker by consent of the residue of the house commanded them to silence, and bidded that if they had any matter against the said gentleman, they should present and bring it in writing against mondaie then next following. And for so much as their dealings then were altogether disorderly, being more like to a hearebaiting of loose persons than an assemble of wise and graue men in parlement; motion and request was made to the speaker, that he should reforme those abuses and disorderly behaviours; who not onely promised

so to do, but also prayed assistance, aduise, and counsell for his doings therein, of such as were acquainted with the orders of the parlements in England. Which was promised vnto him and performed, and also promised that a booke of the orders of the parlements used in England should in time be set forth in print, which the said gentleman did, and presented & bestowed the same among them in forme following.

**The order and vsage how to keepe a parlement in England in these daies,** collected by Iohn Vowell alias Hooker gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Excester at the parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Domini 1571, by Elizabetha Reg. decimo tertio and the like vsed in hir maiesties realme of Ireland.

And here you must note, that what the kings and queenes of England do in their persons in England, the same is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parlement robes and vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir maiestie there in all things.

By whom and for what cause a parlement ought to be summoned and called.

**T**he king, who is Gods annointed, being the head and chiefe of the whole realme, and vpon whom the gouernement and estates thereof do wholly and onely depend, hath the power and authoritie to call and assemble his parlement, and therein to seeke and aske the aduise, counsell, & assistance of his whole realme, and without this his authoritie no parlement can properly be summoned or assembled. And the king, hauing this authoritie, ought not to summon his parlement but for weightie and great causes, and in which he of necessitie ought to haue the aduise and counsell of all the estates of his realme, which be these and such like as foloweth.

First for religion, for so much as by the lawes of God and his realme, the king next and immediately vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth, and the chiefe ruler within his realms and dominions: his office, function, and dutie is, about all things to seeke and see that God be honored in true religion and vertue, and that he and his people do both in profession and life liue according to the same.

Also that all idolatries, false religions, heresies, schismes, errors, superstitions, & whatsoeuer is contrary to true religion, all disorders and abuses, either among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, ordered, and redressed.

Also the assurance of the kings and queenes persons, and of their children, their advancement & preferment in mariages, the establishing of succession, the suppression of traitors, the auoiding or eschewing of warres, the attempting or mouing of wars, the subduing of rebels, and pacifying of ciuill wars and commotions, the lessning or hauing any aid or subsidie for the preservation of the king and publike estate: also the making and establishing of good and wholesome lawes, or the repealing and debarring of former lawes, as whose erection may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to the estates of the prince or commonwealth.

For these and such like causes, being of great weight, charge and importance, the king (by the aduise of his counsell) may call and summon his high court of parlement, and by the authoritie therof establish and order such good lawes and orders as then shall be thought most expedient and necessarie.

¶. The

Sir Edmund Butler mislieth with the parlement.

The repeale of Dothings act.

The act for imports of wines.

A booke of the orders of a parlement house impzined for Ireland.

The order and maner how to  
*summon the parlement.*

**T**he king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lordes and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marqueses, earls, viscounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addressed to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Cantuarburie and Poike, and by them they are sent and disperfed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their seuerall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the five ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie seuerall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgesles within his countie.

How and what persons ought to be  
*chosen for the clergie, and of their  
 allowances.*

**T**he bishop ought vpon the receipt of the writ sent vnto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appere in proper person at the parlement, vntlesse they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or prorie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselves to appere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or prorie.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appere before him, his chancelor, or officer, at a certeine date, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appere for them, and these shall haue their commission or prorie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, conuincing of heresies, appealing of schismes, and deuising of god and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reasonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the exchequer of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leuied for the same, according to an old order used among them.

How and what maner of knights, ci-  
*tizens, and burgesles ought to be chosen,*  
 and of their allowances.

**T**he shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue bene accustomed to send bur-

gesles within his countie, that they do chose and elect among themselves two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgesles for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselves & the aldermen and common counsell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselves of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betwene the houres of eight and nine of the forenone, make proclamation; that euerie freholder shall come into the court, and chose two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinctlie read. Wherevpon the said freholders, then and there present, ought to chose two knights accordingly, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be seuerall indentures made betwene the shiriffe & the freholders of the choise of the knights, and betwene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgesles & of their names, & of their mainpenners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgesles vnder the seuerall common seales of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirtene shillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesle the old vsage to haue five shillings: but now it is but thre shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be given from the first daie of their iourneie towards the parlement, untill the last daie of their returne from thence. Provided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so many daies as by iourneieing six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgesles, god regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, vntlesse he be resant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experience in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie utter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therfore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Cincti gladio*: not bicause they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swords: but bicause they should be such as haue godd experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and realme godd aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of godd fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or perjured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

## The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrees or estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrees.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degree of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the tempozaltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgeses, & these be called by the names of the communalitie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do a nyte thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

## Of the places and houses of the parlement.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he giue at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wheresoeuer it be kept, the old vsage and manner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did growe manie inconueniencies, and therefore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which oftentimes did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience freely, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great graues, did diuide this one house into three houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and tempozall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgeses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelates and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will briefly subiect and declare particularly in order as followeth.

## Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degree: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hangd richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre up as the kings seat, and upon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degree. On his left hand there are two like benches, upon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betwene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale of England, or the lord

chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king, who doth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, upon which they do write and late their bookes. In the middle roome beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchequer, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned counsell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall lawes, and all these sit upon great wolle sacks, couered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre or ralle, betwene which & the lower end of the house is a bold roome seruing for the lower house, and for all suitors that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and appertaining, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

## Of the officers of the higher house, and first of the speaker, and of his office.

The chiefe officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancellor or keeper of the great seale, or lord chiefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honor of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waite of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that upon these three daies he standeth on the right hand of the king nere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration upon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bills presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuered vnto the clerks to be safely kept.

All bills he must cause to be read twice before they be ingrossed, and being read three times he must put the same to question.

If anie bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thence, and in that case it must be kept untill the end of the parlement.

If anie bill be denied, impugned, and clere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thenceforth received.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether side is the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If anie bill be vnperfect, or requirereth to be amended, he must choise a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make choise of two of the kings learned counsell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receive the same; and being returned to his place, and euerie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or done in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the aduise of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other times as he seeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recorded, & they to pale their fines, unless they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or haue some iust and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clerks to make true entries & true records of all things done there, and to see that the clerks do giue and deliuer the copies of all such bills there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command euerie man of ech degree in that house to do the like.

Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentleman sergant ought to attend vpon him, going before him with his mace, unless he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a sergant of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also for euerie priuat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

#### Of the chancellor of the higher house.

The chancellor is the principall clarke of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be past.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings feuerall courts of records to be inrolled, as namelie the Chancerie, the kings bench, the Common pleas, and the Exchequer.

All such acts as are to be imprinted, he must send to the printer.

All such priuat acts as are not imprinted, if anie man will haue the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chancellor to be ingrossed and sealed, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

#### Of the clerks of the parlement.

There be two clerks, the one named the clarke of the parlement, & the other named the clarke of the crowne. The clarke of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bills presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entries of all things there done and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to giue the same, recetuing the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must do it.

The counsell of the house he maie not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliuer vnto the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, sauing he may keepe a transumpt and a copie

thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, he hath three pounds.

Also for euerie bill thereof he giueth a copie, he hath for euerie ten lines a penie, according to the custome.

The clarke of the crowne, his office is to supplie the place and come of the clarke of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the clarke ought to haue.

He must giue his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & do what shall be intained him.

All such acts as be not imprinted, if anie man will haue them exemplified vnder the brode seale, he must exemplifie them, and haue for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clerks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a bowd before them, their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bills which are past both houses, and the other must read the consent or disagreement of the king.

#### Of the sergeants or porters of the higher house.

There is but one sergant, which hath the charge of keeping of the doores: for though there be diuerse doores, yet the keepers thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept sweet.

He ought not to suffer anie manner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned counsell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bills or otherwise, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to haue anie thing there to do.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, unless he be lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale: for then he hath a sergant of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be committed to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or sergant hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for euerie daie of the parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, fortie shillings.

Also he hath for euerie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of euerie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

#### Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distinct from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, hauing foure rowes of seates one aboute an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table bowd, at which sitteth the clarke of the house, and thereupon laieth his booke, and writeth his records. Upon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings priue counsell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claimeth, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he cometh, sauing that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said counsels, the Londoners, and the citizens of Wozke do sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordinglie. Without this house is one other,



in which the under clerks do sit, as also such as be tutors and attendants to that house. And when fouer the house is divided upon anie bill, then the come is voided; and the one part of the house cometh downe into this to be numbered.

### The office of the speaker of the lower house.

**T**he chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, or the more part of them; he himselfe being one of the same number, and a man for grauitie, wisdome, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office during the time of the parlement; and is to be presented to the king the third daie following.

His office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinances, statutes, and customs of the same to be firmelie kept and obserued.

When he is presented unto the king, sitting in his estate roall in the parlement house for the purpose, he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the laies and of the parlement; which done, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in the parlement, may haue and intoie the ancient priuileges, customs, and liberties, as in times past haue appertained, and bene vled in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue libertie of spech, and it relie to utter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to anie bill or question to be proponed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free comming and going to and from the said parlement; as also during the said time of parlement; that they, nor anie of their seruants or retinue be arrested, molested, sued, imprisoned, or troubled by anie person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or anie other of that company, being sent or come to him of anie message, and do mislike himselfe in doing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but graunt him pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and see that the clerke do enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bills as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third daie, and when fouer he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bills, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clerke.

He ought to cause and command the clerke to reade the bills brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which done, he must breuilie recite and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bills brought in he hath choise, which and when they shall be read: vnlesse order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue three readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clerke to ingrosse the same, vnlesse the same be reiected and dashed.

If anie bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house.

If when a bill is read, diuers do rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake: neuertheless, euerie one shall haue his course to speake

if he list.

If anie speake to a bill and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and will him to come to the matter.

If anie bill be read three times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not; saying thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in maner & forme as hath bene read, saie *Ye*: then the affirmatiue part saie *Ye*. As manie as will not haue this bill passe in maner and forme as hath bene read, saie *No*. If vpon this question the whole house, or the more part, do affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the more part do denie the bill; then the same is to be dashed out, and to be reiected: but if it be doubtful vpon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the better come, which (by the sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they do come in, one by one: and as vpon the triall the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If vpon this triall the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for other wise he hath no voice.

Also if anie of the house do misbehaue himselfe, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If anie foren person do enter into that house, the assemblee thereof being sitting, or do by arresting anie one person thereof, or by anie other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himselfe from dealing or intermeddling in anie publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himselfe wholie to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to anie noble man, counsellor, or other person, to deale in anie of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his doings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send anie offender, either to sergeants ward, or to the tower, or to anie other prison at his choise, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both houses, and enacted, five pounds.

At the end, and on the last daie of the parlement, he maketh his oration before the king in most humble maner, declaring the dutifull seruice and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humble praier for his pardon, if anie thing haue bene done amisse.

### Of the clerke of the lower house.

**T**here is onelie one clerke belonging to this house, his office is to sit next before the speaker at a table, vpon which he writeth & laiesth his booke: He must make true entrie of the records and bills of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bills appointed vnto him by the speaker to be read:

ap. iij,

read:

read : he must read openlie, plainlie, and sensible.  
The billes which are to be ingrossed, he must do it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the booke of the orders of the house ; he hath to deliver the same unto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, receiuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie priuat bill passed and enacted, fortie shillings.

He hath allowed unto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

### Of the sergeant or porter of the lower house.

The sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to keepe the doores of the house : and for the same he hath others vnder him, for he himselfe keepeth the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and seeth the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there ; vntlesse he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person do come, he ought to bring him in, going before him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to keepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to do his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carrying his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance (during the time of the parlement) is twelue pence the date of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence ; and of euerie burgesse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the date, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie priuat bill do passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

### Of the conuocation house.

The conuocation house is the assemblee of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons : euen so the archbishops and bishops do sequester themselves, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and vsages ; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function ; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vsed in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops do sit all at a table, and do discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question before them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or

from anie priuat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degree, which degrees are knowne by such degrees & offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned : for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a serton, and so forth, as such officers were wont to be in the church.

The bishops do not sit at forenone, but onelie at afternone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, do resort and assemble themselves there at the forenones with the temporal lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie do obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons do vse. For being assembled together on the first date, with the bishops, are by them willed to make choise of a speaker for them, whom they call the proloquator : when they haue chosen him, they do present him vnto the bishops : and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and doth all things as the speaker of the lower house for the commons doth, as well for the ordering of the clergie & of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things done among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onelie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their doings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vntlesse they be confirmed by act of parlement : but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the keeping thereof ; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) do consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others : these shall suffice for this matter.

### Of extraordinarie persons which ought to be summoned to the parlement.

Besides the personages of the former degrees, which ought to be summoned to the parlement : the king also must warne and summon all his counsellors both of the one law and of the other ; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namely the two chiefe iustices and their associates of the kings bench and the common pleas, the barons of the exchequer, the sergeants, the attorneis, the solicitors, the master of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue counsell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtfull cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceived and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and refozme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie counsellors to the same.

They are all retained at the kings charges.

Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namely the chancelor of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are retained at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is already particularly declared.

Of the daies and houres to sit in  
parlement.

All daies of the weeke are appointed, saving and accepted the sundries and all principall feasts, as nanelie the feast of Alhallowes daie, Christmas, Easter, Whitsonide, and saint John the baptists daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the morning, and doth continue untill eleven of the clocke.

They do not sit at afternoones, for those times are reserved for committies and the conuocation house.

In the morning they beginne with the common prayer and the letanie, which are openlie read in the house.

Of the king, his office and authoritie.

Having declared of all the estates, degrees, and personages of the parlement, it resteth now to speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in all, the beginning and ending, and vpon whome resteth and dependeth the effect & substance of the whole parlement. For without him and his authoritie nothing can be done, and with it all things take effect. Neuerthelesse, when he calleth & assembleth his parlement, there are sundrie orders which of him are to be obserued, and which he ought to see to be kept and executed; or else the parlement ceaseth to be a parlement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these be the chiefe which do intue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assigning and appointing the time, date, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least forty daies before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and prouide all such officers as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens, burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the common house, or proloquutor of the conuocation house: but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, orders, and customs of the realme, as they were wont and ought to be, and the kings good aduise yet not to be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow to all and euerie of the estates, and to euerie particular man lawfullie elected, and come to the parlement, all and euerie the ancient freedoms, priuileges, immunities, and customs, during the parlement; as also during the times and daies, coming and going to and from the parlement: but yet the same humble to be requested of his highnesse by the speaker in his oration at the beginning of the parlement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the parlement three daies at the least, during the time of the parlement; that is to saie, the first daie, when the whole estates according to the summons make their appearance, which is called the first daie of the parlement. On the second daie, when the speaker of the common house is presented, which is counted the beginning of the parlement. And the third daie, which is the last daie, when the parlement is prorogued or dissolved: for vpon these daies he must be present, vntill in case of sickness, or absence out of the realme, for in these cases the king may summon his parlement by commission, and the same is of as good effect as if he were present in person: and as for anie other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propound to the parlement house in writing all such things & matters of charge, as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accordingly as the same shall then by the consent of all estates be aduised, concluded, and agreed: so the king either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can (of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish anie bill; but accept the same as it is presented vnto him from the estates of the parlement, or else altogether reiect it.

Also the king as he doth prefix and assigne the date and time when the parlement shall begin; so also he must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall be prorogued or dissolved: which ought not to be as long as anie matters of charge, weight, or importance be in question, and the same not decided nor determined.

Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie  
of the parlement, and of the orders  
of the same.

The parlement is the highest, chiefe, and greatest court that is or can be within the realme: for it consisteth of the whole realme, which is diuided into three estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons, euerie of which estates are subiect to all such orders as are concluded and established in parlement.

These three estates may iointlie and with one consent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, orders, and statutes for the common wealth; but being diuided, and one swarming from the other, they can do nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and his lords onlie, nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king do anie thing of auaille. And yet neuerthelesse, if the king in due order haue summoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not yet appeere; or if they come and appeere, yet will not do or yeld to any thing, then the king with the consent of his commons (who are represented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses) may ordeine and establish anie act or law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectual, as if the lords had giuen their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summoned and will not come, or coming will not appeere, or appereing will not consent to do anie thing, alleging some iust, weightie, and great cause; the king (in these cases) cannot with his lords denie, make, or establish anie law, the reasons are these. When parlements were first begun & ordeined, there were no prelates or barons of the parlement, and the temporal lords were verie few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parlement, which authoritie was hitherto neuer abridged. Againe, euerie baron in parlement doth represent but his owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are represented the commons of the whole realme; and euerie of these giueth not consent onlie for himselfe, but for all those also for whom he is sent. And the king with the consent of his commons had euer a sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordeine, and establish good and wholesome lawes for the common wealth of his realme. Wherefore the lords being lawfullie summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or consent in parlement, can not by their folie abridge the king and the commons of their lawfull proceeding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all in one house, but for the avoiding of confusion they

be now diuided into two feuerall houfes, and yet nevertheless they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houfes being named and counted a p[er]ce of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, censure, and iudgement of a meane burgeſſe, is of as great auaille as is the best lord, no regard being had to the parties who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called *p[er]s*, as it were fathers, for *P[er]* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, learned, and expert men of the land: for such were the senators of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisdom and care that was in them in governing of the common-wealth. They are also called counsellors, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good counsell, in making and deuising of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgeſſes, ought to be well aduised that they do elect and choſe such as being to be of that assemble, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and careful men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithfull and trustie counsellors) should do that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, otherwise they do great iniurie to their prince and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his comming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or sute taking effect which during that time is begun, entered, or commenced against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murder, and felonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person having voices in parlement, hath free libertie of speech to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to anie matter proponed; or of himselfe to propone anie matter for the commoditie of the prince and of the commonwealth: but having once spoken to anie bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgeſſe, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a laie man. But if by error a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no briber nor taker of anie rewards, gifts, or monie, either for deuising of anie bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to do all things uprightly, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behaviour; none taunting, checking, or mistreating an other in anie vnseemlie words or deeds: but all affections set apart, to do and endeavour in wisdom, sobrietie and knowledge, that which that place requirith.

Also if anie one do offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, galls, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to anie of them by the said parlement houses, or anie of them: howbeit most commonlie the tower of London is the prison which

is most vsed.

Also if anie one of the parlement house be serued, sued, arrested, or attached by anie writ, attachment, or minister of the Kings bench, Common pleas, Chancerie, or what court so euer within this realme: the parties troubled and making complaint thereof to the parlement house: then forthwith a sergeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelic aduertising that the parties so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said proceſſe, and not to deale anie further against the said parties; for the parlement being the highest court, all other courts as inferior yield and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of suites to be commenced against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, vpon paine of imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and adiudged.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to keepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and done in the parlement house, to anie manner of person, vnlesse he be one of the same house, vpon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or otherwise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leaue obtained of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recozded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one comming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entreteth and commeth in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to do his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bare headed, and speake his mind plainlie, sensible, & in decent order.

If anie come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must staie at the inner doore vntill they be called in, and then being entered, must first make their obeisance; which done, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to staie vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwarde must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie; and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be done at the departure.

Also when anie knight, citizen or burgeſſe doth enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And you shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shew himselfe in his apparel. For in time past, none of the counsellors of the parlement came other wise than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men readie to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse words to choſe such for knights

knights as be girded with the sword: yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed, but be such as be skillfull in feats of armes, and besides their good advices can well serve in martiall affairs. And thus the Romane senators used, who being men of great knowledge and experience, as well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat alwaies in the senat house and places of counsell in their gownes and long robes. The like also was alwaies and hath bene the order in the parlements of this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old customes, and good orders thereof were kept and observed.

Also if anie other person or persons, either in message or being sent for, doe come: he ought to be brought in by the sergeant, and at the first entering must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeisance, and being past in the middle waie, must make one other; and when he is come before the speaker, he must make the third, and then do his message; the like order he must keepe in his returne. But if he doe come alone, or with his learned counsell, to plead anie matter, or to answer to anie obiection: he shall enter, and go no further than to the bar within the doore, and there to doe his three obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committees haue not authoritie to conclude, but onelie to order, reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed vnto them, and of their doings they must giue report to the house againe, by whome the bill is to be considered.

Also euerie bill which is brought into the house, must be read three seuerall times, and vpon three seuerall daies.

Also euerie bill, which vpon anie reading is committed and returned againe, ought to haue his three readings, vnles the committees haue not altered the bill in anie substance or forme, but onelie in certeine words.

Also when anie bill vpon anie reading is altogether by one consent reiecte, or by voices after the third reading overthrowen, it ought not to be brought anie more to be read, during the sessions of parliament.

Also if anie man doe speake vnto a bill, and be out of his matter; he ought to be put in remembrance of the matter by the speaker onelie and by none other, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoever anie person doth speake to anie bill, he ought to stand vp, and to be bareheaded, and then with all reuerence, grauitie, and seemelie speech to declare his mind. But whensoever anie bill shall be tried either for allowances, or to be reiecte: then euerie one ought to sit, because he is then as a iudge.

Also euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, before he doe enter into the parlement, and take his place there, ought to be sworn to take his oath, acknowledging the king to be the supreme and onelie gouernour of all the estates within this realme, as also to renounce all foreign potentates.

### The order of the beginning and ending of the parlement.

On the first daie of the summons for the parlement, the king in proper person (vnlesse he be sick or absent out of the realme) being apparelled in his roiall and parlement robes, ought to be conducted and brought by all his barons of the cleargie and laitie, and the commons summoned to the parlement, vnto the church, where ought a sermon to be made by some archbishop, bishop, or some other famous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in like order be brought to the higher house of parle-

ment, and there to take his seat vnder the cloth of estate: likewise euerie lord and baron (in his degree) ought to take his place.

This done, the lord chancelor, or he whom the king appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh his oration to the whole assemble, declaring the causes whie and wherefore that parlement is called and summoned, exhorting and persuading euerie man to doe his best endeavour in all such matters as shall be in the said parlement proponed, as shall be most expedient for the glorie of God, the honor of the king, and the commonwealth of the whole realme. Then he directeth his talke vnto the knights, citizens, and burgeses, aduertising them that the kings pleasure is, that they doe repaire to their house; and there according to the old and ancient custome, doe chuse and elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among themselves to be speaker for them, and giueth them a daie when they shall present him to the king. And these things thus done, the king ariseth, and euerie man departeth. This is accounted for the first daie of the parlement.

The second or third daie after, when the speaker is to be presented: the king with all his nobles (in like order as before) doe assemble againe in the higher house, and then come vp all the commons of the lower house, and then and there doe present their speaker vnto the king. The speaker forthwith maketh his dutifull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his oration before the king, and prosecuteth such matters as occasion serueth, and as is before recited in the office of the speaker; and this done, euerie man departeth. And this is accounted for the beginning of the parlement, for before the speaker be presented, and these things orderlie done, there can no bills be put in, nor matters be intreated of.

Aske when all matters of weight be discussed, ended, and determined, the king commandeth an end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles, and commons doe againe assemble in the higher house in their robes, and in like order as is before recited, where the speaker maketh his oration, and is answered by the lord chancelor or speaker of the higher house. Then all the bills concluded and past in both houses, that is to saie, in the higher house of the lords, and in the lower house of the commons, are there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his consent or dissent to euerie of them as he thinketh good. And when the titles of all the bills are read, the lord chancelor or lord speaker, by the kings commandement, pronounceth the parlement to be proroged or cleane dissolved. And this is called the last daie or the end of the parlement, and euerie man is at libertie to depart homeward.

The mondaie following, sir Christopher Barne, well and his complices, hauing better considered of themselves, were quiet and contented, and the parlement begun with some troubles had his continuance and end with better successe. In the time of this parlement, and after the same, sundrie grievous complaints were exhibited to the lord deputie and counsell by the late wife of the deceased baron of Dunboin, Mac Brian Arra, Oliver Fitzgiralde, sir William Ocarell, and diuerse others the quenes good subiects, against sir Edmund Butler and his brethren, for sundrie routs and riots, spoiles and outrages which they were charged to haue done vpon his maiesties subiects. Whereupon first letters and then commissioners were sent in to the countie of Wickemrie and Tipperarie for the hearing and redressing thereof: but they returned without doing of anie thing. For sir Edmund, conceiuing some hard dealings to be meant toward him by the lord deputie,

Commissioners sent to heare the complaints made against the Butlers.



The nobles  
men & gen-  
tlemen in  
Downshire  
sent their  
messengers  
to the pope.

The noble-  
men & gen-  
tlemen in  
Downshire  
preclaimed  
traitors.

Sir Peter  
Carew was com-  
manded to  
serue against  
the Butlers.  
Cloughgre-  
man taken.

Sir Peter  
Carew in  
danger to  
haue bene  
killed.

Henrie Da-  
uels sent to  
discouer the  
enimie.

Sir Peter  
Carew and  
the English  
captains gi-  
ueth charge  
vpon the re-  
bels & haue  
the victorie.

tie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and gard,  
did not agree before the said commissioners, but  
both he and his brethren combined themselves with  
James Fitzmorris Desmond, Mac Artie Poze,  
Mac Donagh, and the seneschall of Imokille and o-  
thers of Downshire, who before (and unwitting the  
Butlers) had sent the usurped bishops of Cathell and  
Emelle together with the youngest brother of the erle  
of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine,  
for reformation of the popish religion, & for freeing  
the land from the possession of his maiestie and of  
the imperiall crowne. Which matter in the end brake  
out into an open and actual rebellion, and the lord  
deputie by proclamation published them all to be  
traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting.  
But before the same was fully prepared, he sent his  
letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew  
knight then being at Leigghlin, to enter into the acti-  
on of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who be-  
ing accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine  
Walbte, capteine Basenet, and others, latelie sent  
vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his com-  
mandement, and first assaulted the castell of Clough-  
griman in the Dunlough belonging to sir Edmund  
Butler, and took it, and gaue the spoile vnto the sol-  
diers.

From thence they remoued to Kilkennie towne,  
where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle  
of Downshire, espieng vpon a certeine date sir Pe-  
ter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell  
of Kilkennie alone, he charged his peere, and leueled  
the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to  
haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the  
castell. At which verie instant a chapelaine of the said  
earle & his steward, coming by him, & suspecting  
some euill thing towards, turned by the mouth of  
the peere, which therewith was discharged, and so no  
bodie hurt; and understanding the thing was meant  
against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and for  
a time thrust him out of the house. Whilste these  
captains late at Kilkennie, it was aduertised vnto  
them, that a great companie of the rebels were in-  
camped about thre miles out of the towne, & were  
there marching in verie good order. Wherevpon sir  
Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled  
all the captains, and taking their aduise what was  
best to be done, they concluded that Henrie Dauels  
a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman,  
who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie  
well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had  
married his wife out of that towne, and him they  
sent out to discouer the matter, who about thre miles  
off had the view, and espied a great companie of a-  
bout two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the  
middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in  
battell arraie. When he returned with this report,  
then sir Peter Carew appointed the vordward to cap-  
teine Gilbert, who together with Henrie Dauels  
and twelue other persons of his companie galloped  
before the rest, and finding as it was before aduertis-  
ed, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie  
followed with the like hast vnder sir Peter Carew,  
and then capteine Walbte, and capteine Basenet,  
seeing and assured that all things were clere be-  
hind them, followed so nere, that all the companie  
euen as it were at one instant gaue the like charge,  
where they slue foure hundred Gallowglasses at the  
least, besides others. The residue of the companie  
were fled into the mountains fast by, and none or  
few escaped but the horsemen and kerns. And of his  
maiesties side no one man slaine, but a man of cap-  
teine Walbtes was hurt.

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obtained this  
victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with

all his companie to the towne of Kilkennie, euerie  
capteine and souldier carieing two Gallowglasses  
ares in his hand, but left the spoile to their follow-  
ers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not  
in the campe, but was at his vnckles house at din-  
ner. The townesmen of Kilkennie were verie soyle  
for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet ne-  
uertheless not long after, James Fitzmorris came  
to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being  
well garonised with certeine soldiers, & they them-  
selves well appointed, did so carefullie and narowlie  
looke to themselves, that they defended and kept the  
towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the  
countrie and other small townes did not so escape,  
for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Poze,  
the countie of Dublin, and all the countrie were  
spoiled, preied, and ouerrun; and among all others  
the old Fulco Quimerford a gentleman, of long  
time seruant to thre earles of Downshire, was robbed  
in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in  
monie, plate, and household stufte, besides his corne  
and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in  
this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford,  
which thing had not lightlie bene sene before, and at  
a faire kept then at Enescoth, there the souldiers  
committed most horrible outrages, lamentable  
slaughters, filthie rapes, and desolourings of yong  
women, abusing mens wiues, spoiling the towne,  
& slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape, the  
sword were caried captiues & prisoners. From hence  
they went into Querie and into the quenes countie,  
and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villa-  
ges, murdered the people: and then they met with  
the earle of Clancare, and James Fitzmorris De-  
smond, with whom they then combined, and agree-  
ed to cause Wirlough Lennough to procure in the  
Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and  
to the king of Spaine. Finally, nothing was left  
vndone, which might anie waies tend to the subuer-  
sion of his maiesties imperiall crowne of England,  
and to discharge that land from all Englishmen  
and English gouernement, and by these means (the  
English pale and the good cities & townes excepted)  
the most part, if not the whole land, was imbued &  
infected with this rebellion.

The earle of Downshire himselfe, a man of great  
honour and nobilitie, was all this time in England:  
but from time to time was aduertised of the trouble  
some state in that land: and whereof no little detri-  
ment redounded to his lordship, by reason that a  
great and most part of all his lordships throughout  
that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so  
much grieve him as the follies of his brethren. For  
great were his griefs, & verie much was he inquie-  
ted therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his  
brethren, nature moued him, and reason perswaded  
him, that no such outrageous parts could proceed  
from them, which in anie waies should either con-  
cerne his maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his  
house, which hitherto hath bene alwaies found  
and true. Wherefore, when he heard of anie matter  
against them herein, he would plead their innocen-  
cies, and defend their causes, untill such time as by  
credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw  
apparent matter and manifest proofes of the contra-  
rie. Which reports albeit they grieved him verie  
much, yet (as I said) nothing grieved him more, than  
their disloialtie and breach of dutie against his ma-  
iestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Where-  
fore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards his  
highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others,  
by the sword, or by some other means, to recouer and  
reclaim them.

Wherevpon his maiestie, standing assured of  
his

The earle  
Downshire  
dwelt at  
Wexford.

The earle  
parreth to  
lord deputie

Edmund  
Butler su-  
mmed by  
the.

James Fitz-  
morris be-  
lieved Kil-  
kennie.

Fulco Qu-  
imerford spo-  
iled & robbed.

A wicked ma-  
sacre at En-  
escoth.

A wicked  
conspiracie &  
combining of  
the traitors.

Sir Edm-  
Butler  
exiles.

1569

The long  
granitie  
earle of  
Downshire  
to his  
brethren.

The earle of  
Downshire  
lands spoiled.

The good ad-  
uersion of the  
earle of Down-  
shire to his  
brethren.

The citie  
Waterford  
standing  
their libe-  
refuse to  
aid to the  
deputie.

The earle of  
Downshire  
offereth to  
serue against  
his  
brethren.

The long  
putte  
into  
the  
good  
the  
into the

his sweetie, and having a special trust in him, sent him over into Ireland, who arrived at Waterford the fourteenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked massaker was committed and done at the faire at Inneskilly. Immediatly upon his landing, he advertiseth unto the lord deputie his coming, and with all convenient speed maketh his repaire unto him, who then was incamped and late nere Limerike: and then and there offereth his service with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open view and sight of the whole campe did yeld and submitt himselfe simple to his maiesties mercie, confessing his follie and craving pardon. And then was he delivered to the earle his brother upon his bonds, to bee forth coming before the said lord deputie at his coming to Dublin: and also promised to doe the like with his two other brothers, which he did upon the firste of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and counsell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causers whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord deputie did not knowe nor like him, for he could have no justice at his hands, nor against sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered upon some part of his lands, nor yet against any other person. Then that the said lord deputie had threatened him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his lottie lokes. Thirdlie, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would doe manie things.

When all these things were heard at full, and nothing in pwise falling out as was avouched, the three brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which sir Edmund escaped, and made breach: neuertheless the earle brought him againe. And upon the last of Februarie 1569 he brought also his two other brethren, for whom he had under, taken, and presented them before the lord deputie and counsell, where the matter being heard at large, the counsell conferred hereof among themselves, and in the end they all the three brethren were againe called before the lord deputie and counsell, and then and there kneeling upon their knees, did confesse their follies, and submitted themselves in all dutifullnesse and simplicitie to the queens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturallie as a brother made humble petition for them: but grauellie as a father recited their errors, reprovved them of their outrages, and counsellled them to their duties: and in the end condescended in the due consideration of his maiesties roiall estate. And thereupon they were committed to safe keeping within his maiesties castell of Dublin, at his highnesse disposition; and not long after upon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the matter againe.

The lord deputie followed his first begun hosting, who when he was incamped nere Clonmell, where it was thought he should have bene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the citie of Waterford, to send unto him the assistance of a few souldiers onelie for three daies; who did verie insolentlie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their liberties with his maiesties prerogative, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they shewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disloyaltie to his highnesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within half a mile of Clonmell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thence went into the towne, where the soueraigne and his brethren received him with all the honour

they could, and gaue him a banket in their towne house; where, unto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speech, teaching them the dutifullnesse and obedience of a subject, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the contrarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore laung before them their present estate for example, did moue and persuaide them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they ought to his maiestie, and not to be dismayd at the doings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the prince, and vnder whose all kings and princes doe rule, hath bene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: euen as of the contrarie he sendeth his manifold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subject. And so having vnto sundrie and notable sentences and examples to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

And from thence he remoued and marched towards Cathell, which lieth in the countie of Tipperarie, nere unto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie approaching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared himselfe to defend the pile. The lord deputie taking the same as a defiance, approached thereunto and besieged it: and whilst the assault was in preparing, it was yielded by composition, and after resorted to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thence by tourneies he marched and went to Corke, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Koch and Barrie, and by sir Cormac Mac Eage: and being aduertised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Inishillie, a principall rebell, and combined with James Fitzmorris, had spoiled and preyed the whole countie, and had also warded and bittelled his castell of Wallie martie, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to mainteine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end toke it full of bittels. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

The spoile was giuen to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was giuen to Jasper Horsey, & so he returned to Corke, and from thence he toke iourneie to Kilmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and named Humfrey Gilbert his maiesties seruant to be colonnell, and besides his owne band of an hundred horsemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeineernes there to remaine. And there he did knit and conioine unto him by oth, and vnder god pledges, the vicounties of Koch and Wexis, with the lord Powze, the lord Courcie, sir Cormac Mac Eage, sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Age, and the most part of the freeholders in the counties of Limerike and Corke. And this done he passed by iourneies to Limerike, and from thence he went to Gallewaie, and there established a president and a counsell, and placed sir Edward Fitton to be lord president, the earles of Thomond and Clancicard, and all the noble men & septs of gentlemen of that ppointe yielding to the same.

Thence he marched to Athlon, taking in the waie the castell of Roscomen, which he left with the ward of twentie horsemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by iourneies traucked and came to Dublin, and there remained. Captaine Gilbert in the meane time, having a speciall respect and regard to his charge, his ballancie and courage was such, and his god hap so well answering his worthie and forward attempts, that he in short time broke the hearts, and appalled the

Wallie martie a castell of the seneschals besieged and taken.

The seneschall escaped out of his castell.

Humfrey Gilbert made colonnell of the soldiers.

Sir Edward Fitton made president of Connaught.

Captaine Gilberts good service.

The earle of Desmond arrived at Waterford.

The earle repaireth to the lord deputie.

Edmund Butler submitteth himselfe.

Sir Edmund Butler excuses.

1569

The lone and grauitie of the earle of Desmond to his brethren.

The citie of Waterford standing upon their liberties refuse to send aid to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie went into Clonmell & bleth verie good speeches unto them.

James Fitzmorris believeth him.

Fulco Quinmerford spoiled & robbed.

A wicked massacre at Enniscorthy.

A wicked conspiracie & combining of the traitors.

The earle of Thomonds lands spoiled.

The good affection of the earle of Desmond to his brethren.

The earle of Desmond offereth to serve against his brethren.

the courages of all the rebels in Hounser, and no rebell kinobme left in effect, which dare to withstand and make anie resistance against him. And to such an obedience he brought that countrie, that none did or would refuse to come unto him, if he were sent for but by a hoarse boy: for all yielded unto him, some by putting in recognisances, & some by giving of pledges, and all in seeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare submitted himselfe to captaine Gilbert.

And that prond earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before usurped this name to be king of Hounser; euen he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limerike unto him, and there falling upon their knees acknowledged their treasons, and most humbly desired his maiesties pardon: and offered to put in his eldest sonne, and the sonnes of his chiefeest freholders for pledges and hostages. Likewise the president of Connagh in such wisdome, courage, & byrightnesse, directed his gouernement, that he was obeyed of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The wicked he spareth not, but being found faultie either in open sessions, or by martiall inquisition, he causeth to be executed: and by these meanes hauing rid awaie the most notable offenders and their followers, the whole prouince rested in good quietnesse and in dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes.

The good seruice of sir Edward Fitton lord president in Connagh.

The Caenagh's submission.

The Caenagh's, the ancient enemies to the English gouernement, and who in the rebellion were conioined with the Butlers: these bordering upon the frontiers appointed to sir Peter Carew, were so by him chased and persecuted, that finding no place of rest or quietnesse, he hath brought them to submit themselves simple to his maiesties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide such orders and conditions as shall be laid upon them. Curlogh Lennogh in Ulster, being at supper with his now wife, eunt to the earle of Argile, was shot through the bodie with two pellets out of a calluer, by a feather or rimer of the Donloghs. Whereupon the Scots whome he retained were in a maze, and the countrie standing upon the election of a new captaine: howbeit, he was in hope of recouerie. And thus after long troubles was the state of the whole realme recovered to quietnesse. Whereupon captaine Gilbert, when he had settled Hounser in outward apperance in a most perfect quietnesse, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertised and recounted all his doings at full.

Curlogh shot through with two bullets.

Drogheda.

Captaine Gilbert dubbed knight.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he desired licence to depart ouer: whome the said deputie did not onelie most courteously receive; but also most thankfullie did accept his good seruice, and in some part of recompense, vpon his appeares date in the church at Drogheda, he did bestow vpon him the order of knighthood; which he well deserved, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to his highnesse, and to the lords of the counsell. And now by the waie, if without offense a man maie, after the manner of Cambrensis in his historie, and after the vsage of noble gouernours and captains in other realmes, who for the increase of vertue, and encouraging of worthy persons, do attribute to such as do deserue well their due praises & commendations, I hope it shall not be offensive to the reader, nor impertinent to the historie, to set downe somewhat of much, what maie be said of these two worthy personages, sir Peter Carew, and sir Humfreie Gilbert: both which were of one countrie and birth, bozne in the countie of Deuon, and of neere blood, kindred, and consanguinitie.

The description of sir

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a second brother, and bozne of a great parentage, whose ancestors

came and descended from the earle of Cornwell, a man of a higher stature than of the common sort, & of complexion cholerike; from his childhood of a herie pregnant wit and good disposition: his father died leaving him verie yong, and he conceiuing some great good thing to come of his towardnesse, prouided some portion of liuing to mainteine and keepe him to schole. And after his death, his mother, being no lesse careful of him, did cause him to be sent to schole to Eton college: from thence, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was sent to Oxford, & did there prosper & increase verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furnished, they would haue put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named mistres Katharine Aspleie, who was attendaunt to the quenes maiestie, after that she saw the yong gentleman, and had had some conference with him, she fell in such liking with him, that she preferred him vnto his maiesties seruice: and such was his countenance, forwardnesse, and behauiour, that his maiestie had a speciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarlie discourse and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few peares spent in the court, he passed ouer into Ireland, being commended by his highnesse to sir Henrie Sidonie then lord deputie: who gaue him interteinement, and made him a captaine ouer an hundred hoisemen: wherein he so well acquitted himselfe, that he was also made coronell of Hounser; and had appointed vnto him, besides his owne band of one hundred hoisemen, foure hundred footmen, besides such Geraldines as Thomas of Desmond, brother to the erle of Desmond had procured, & vpon his oath of loyalty and pledges had promised his faithfull seruice.

And albeit he were but yong of yeares, which might seeme to hinder his credit: yet such was his deuout mind to serue his maiestie, and so effectuallie to his great praise he followed the same; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he so supplied euen as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie attaine vnto. For in seruice vpon the enimie he was as valiant and couragious as no man more; and so good was his hap to answer the same: for he alwaies for the most part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courage; as did appere in the ouerthrow giuen nere Bilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with thowen persons gaue the onset vpon a thousand men, of which sir hundred were armed Gallotoglasses, who then were ouerthrowne: and likewise in Hounser, which was altogether vp in rebellion; and he coronell, did not onelie in martiall affaires shew himselfe most valiant; and in short time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the prondest of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but foue hundred against sundrie thousands; and enforced that prond earle of Clancart to follow him to Limerike, and there humbly vpon his knees to aske pardon and mercie: but also, after that he had subdued and overcome them, did most byrightlie order and direct his gouernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, & determine the complaints & griefs, and compound all the causes of euerie sutor. Which was so rare a thing in one of his yeares, as scarce was credible, had not euewitnesses and daillie experience proued and iustified the same.

After that he had established peace and tranquillitie in that countrie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his seruices, and the good successe thereof; and in what quiet state he left the countrie, he desired leaue to passe ouer into England, for and about certaine matters of great importance, which

The ballad new in seruice, and the wisdom in gouernement of sir Humfreie Gilbert.

Hamfrise  
Gilbert, and  
his descent.

which he had to follow, which he did obtaine: as also in reward of his service, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honored and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to his maiestie, and the lords of the counsell, he departed. As soon as he had presented himselfe before his highnesse, his good countenance and fauour, in respect of his good service to his maiestie was increased and doubled; and he speciallie about all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was married to a young gentlewoman, and an inheritor; and therefore he gave himselfe to studies pertaining to the state of gouernement, and to nauigations. He had an excellent and readie wit, and there with a tongue at libertie to utter what he thought. Which being adorned with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notable discourse anie matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good proofe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisdom, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwelth of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in nauigations; and finding out by his studies, certaine nations and vnknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made his maiestie acquainted therewith, and obtained of his licence to make a nauigation, which he took in hand. But before he could compass the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Whence he of all his brethren had five sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giuing a hope of a good towardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceased, yet in their visages, and in the memorie of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall liue in fame immortall. Was much without offense, and not altogether impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

Sir Hamfrise  
Gilbert is  
drowned.

Curlogh Lenough  
prepareth to invade  
the English  
pale.

The earle of  
Thomond re-  
uolteth.

The earle of  
Dymond fol-  
loweth the  
earle of Tho-  
mond, and  
drineth him  
out of the  
land.

Lucas Dillon  
made chiefe  
baron.

Curlogh Lenough thinking to invade vpon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repressed, and driuen to keepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wearie of the other; and his wife and he not agreeing, they were vpon a point to sunder. The earle of Thomond reuolteth from his due obedience, and becommeth a rebell: whome the earle of Dymond so hardlie pursued, that he drave him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thence into England. For the discouerie of whose treasons and rebellions to his maiestie & to the lords of the counsell, one Rafe Rochelcie chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long tate made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receiue according to his deserts: his maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from iudgement of death.

This were the queenes maiestie, considering the good service of Lucas Dillon his generall at foine in Ireland, was vpon the death of baron Bath made chiefe baron of the exchequer there; & capitaine Piers for his good service at Knockfergus was libtallie considered and countenanced by his maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, lutes, and request made to his maiestie for a president and counsell to be established in Dounker, and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sicknesse and vna- bilitie of sir John Dollard, appointed to be the presi-

dent, it was lingered and deferred, is now reuised and renewed: and sir John Perot knight was made lord president, and a counsell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, intertainment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Denbokeshire in South Wales, and one of great reuenges and worship, valiant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more meet to gouerne and tame so faithlesse and unruler a people, as ouer whome he was now made ruler. They heard no longer of his coming, but as a sort of wasps they sting out, and reuolting from their former feined obedience, became open rebellies and traitors vnder James Fitzmorris an architector, and as dogs they returne to their vomit, and as swine to their durt and puddles.

Sir John  
Perot ap-  
pointed to be  
lord president  
of Dounker.

The rebelling  
of Dounker  
against the  
president.

The nature of  
the Irishmen.

And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, exrenated, barbarous, and unfaithfull nation, who (as Cambrensis testifieth of them) they are a wicked and peruerse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant, faithfull in that they be alwaies unfaithfull, and true in that they be alwaies trecherous and untrue. They do nothing but imagin mischief, & haue no delight in anie good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the god, and such as be quiet in the land. Their mouths are full of varighteousnesse, and their tongues speake nothing but cursewordes. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their hands imbrued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in the paths of righteousness they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie vpon among them. Their queene and soueraigne they obeye not, and his gouernment they allow not: but as much as in them lieth do resist his imperiall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much about a yeare past, that capitaine Gilbert with the sword so persecuted them, and in iustice so executed them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselves, craved pardon, and swoore to be for ever true and obedient: which, so long as he mastered and kept them vnder, so long they performed it; but the cat was no longer gone, but the mice were at play; and he no longer departed from them, but forthwith they slipped out, and cast from themselves the obedience and dutifullnesse of true subjects. For such a peruerse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obedient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebellous. Such is their stubbornnesse and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be bydeled; and such is the hardnesse of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer feare, no longer obedience; and no longer than they be ruled with lenitie, no longer will they be dutifull and in subiection; but will be as they were before, false, trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much unlike to spercurie called quicke siluer, which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire consumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while vntouched nor medled with, it will returne againe to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And euen so dallie experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For withstanding the sword, and forbeare correction, deale with them in courtesie, and intreat them gentle, if they can take anie aduantage, they will surely slip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the swine to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolence, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishie and sauage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obedience; the more they are vnder their vniuersall gouernment, the lesse dutifull to their naturall soueraigne and prince. But concern-

p. j.

ing

The battan-  
nes in service,  
and the wife  
dome in go-  
uernement of  
sir Hamfrise  
Gilbert.

lug the inhabitants in the English pale, and all cities and towns, the contrarie (God be praised) is dailye sene.

The gouernment of Sir John Perot.

His seruice against the rebelles.

James Fitzmorris seeketh for peace, and submitteth himselfe.

The ciuill gouernement of Sir John Perot.

The quietnes and safetie in Mounster.

Sir John Perots assistants.

George Bourchier his birth and seruices.

Well, this worthy knight knowing that he should haue to doe with a sort of netles, whose nature is, that being handled gentlie, they will sting; but being hard crushed together, they will doe no harme: men so he began with them. The sword and the law he made to be the foundation of his gouernement, by the one he persecuted the rebell and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and gouerned in iustice and indgement. Great troubles he had in both, but little he did peneale in the latter, before he had ouercome the first: and therefore minding to chastise the rebelles, and to bring them to obedience, he followed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plaines he fought with them, and in their castles and holds he besieged them, and would neuer suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, untill he had tired and wearied them out, and at length enforced James Fitzmorris and his complices to come vnto Ballinaclocke vnto him, and there simple to submit himselfe, and vpon his knees in the open sight of all the people to confesse his disloyalties, and in all humble manner to craue mercie and pardon. Whome though untill his maiesties pleasure knowne he did forsbeare, yet the residue he spared not; but after their deaths he executed in infinit numbers. And hauing thus rid the garden from these weeds, and rooted by the fields from these thornes, he entred into the gouernement by order of law, and from place to place throughout all Mounster he trauelled and kept his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans complaints, and redresseth their græses, and in short time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could passe through the countrie, but was in danger to be murdered and robbed, and no man durst to turne his castell into the fields without watch, and to keepe them in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with a white sticke onelie in his hands, and with great treasures might and did trauell without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof first all knew it to be true) and the white shepe did keepe the blacke, and all the beasts laie continuallie in the fields, without anie stealing or pteing.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and settled all things in good order, then he beginneth to reforme their maners in life and common conuersation and apparell, suffering no gibes nor like vlagges of the Irishie to be vsed among the men, nor the Egyptianall rolles vpon womens heads to be worn. Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat græued, yet they yielded: and giuing the same ouer, did weare hats after the English manner. In this his seruice he had two verie good & notable assistants, the one concerning the martiall affaires, and the other for his gouernement by the course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires martiall George Bourchier esquier was ioined with him in commission, and did him notable good seruice, he was the third sonne to John carle of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loines of kings, and men of great honor and nobilitie; and they were no more noble of blood than valiant, wise and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices of chivalrie and matters of policies, and whereof the histories of England in manie places doe make mention and report. And this gentleman, hauing some motion of the value and valiantnesse of his ancestors deriued and descended vpon him, was affected and giuen to all feats of chivalrie, and especially to the seruice in the warres, wherein he pced

a verie good souldior, and an expert capteine, both as an horsleman, and as a footeman, both which waies he serued, as the seruice and time required. If he serued vpon foot, he was apparelled in the manner of a Kerne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as no Kerne swiftier: for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in passes, and in streits what soeuer; and neuer leaue them, untill he did performe the charge and seruice committed vnto him. If he were to serue vpon his horsebacke, his daile seruice can witnes sufficientlie how much, and how often he pced against the enimie, and appalled their courages, and with whome he would encounter if he might by anie meanes.

Notwithstanding, as couragious and circumspet as he was, that he would not be lightlie intrapied in the field, yet was he deceived in the house. For vnder the colour of a parlie, and vpon a truce taken, he was invited to a supper: and little thinking that anie breach of the truce should be made, he went into the castell whereas he was bidden. But in his being there, he was taken prisoner, and handfasted, and so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was restored and set at libertie. Concerning his other assistant, his name was George Welsh borne in Wiltshir, and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he was brought vp in learning, and was a student in the innes of court at London, and prospered verie well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yong, yet his knowledge, grauitie, and sinceritie counteruailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all matters he was vpright and iust, being not affected nor knowne to be corrupted for anie mans pleasure. In iudgement vpright, in iustice seuer, and without respect of persons would minister what the law had prescribed, he spared neither partie, nor would be affected to anie; by which meanes he did marvellous much good in that seruice, and hapie was that gouernor that had so good a counsellor.

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouernement in Mounster, Sir Henrie Sidneie had libertie and licence to returne ouer into England, and received his maiesties letters dated the thirtieth of December one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, & in the thirtieth yere of his maiesties reigne, for the placing of Sir William Fitzwilliams to be lord deputie in his place. Which when he had done, he passed ouer the seas, and by fournetes came to the court. He was verie honorable receiued, and by his highnesse well commended, there being sundrie noblemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him before he came to Whitehall, where his maiestie then late, who (as time conuenient serued) did recount vnto his the whole estate in all things of the realme of Ireland, which his maiestie liked verie well.

But this Sir John Perot president of Mounster continued still in his office, and there remained for certeine yeares untill he was reuoked, which was so sone for that countrie. For neuer man was more fit gouernour for that effrenated and hardnecked people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same vnto. Hapie was that prouince, and hapie were those people, which being eaten out, consumed and deuoured with caterpillers, he had brought and reformed to a most hapie, peaceable, and quiet estate; and he left it euen in the same maner. Which if it had bene continued by the like, to haue followed him in the gouernement, the same would so haue continued: but the want of the one was in short time the default of the other, and that reformed countrie brought to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may

The point of Sir Will Fitzwilliams lord deputie gouernement.

The fault of expence.

Lowers & executed.

Souldier he kept in their discipline.

William Fitzwilliams made lord deputie.

William Fitzwilliams the bid the women.

Thom Fitzwilliams.

George Fitzwilliams chier tabernacle.

George Welsh a lawyer, well learned, and vpright.

1571 Sir William Fitzwilliams made lord deputie.



may appeere.

Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a speciall care and respect to his charge and office, disposed all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the counsell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, faining Mounster, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he being a wise and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he draue the plot of his gouernement into certeine speciall points and articles. First, that the religion established according to Gods holie word, should haue a free passage through the whole land, and by euery man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, embraced and followed. Then that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutinies and diuisions to be cut off. Thirdlie, that his maiesties great and excessive charges to the confirming of his treasure might be shortned, and his reuenues well husbanded and looked vnto, according to his sundrie commandements tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should vprightly minister iustice to each man according to his desert, and that all the souldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them apperteineth.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole counsell, and well liked of euery good subject, because the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons: yet it took not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irishie, in whom was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to his maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuerfation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best opportunitie and time to breake out into their wonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places began to plaie their pagents. The first was Brian Mac Bahir of Knocking in the countie of Catherlough Cauenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Browne of Malenkam, he tyrannized ouer the whole countie, committed manie outrages and spoiles, preyed the countie, & burned sundrie townes. Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Wexford, and namelie sir Nicholas Deuereux knight, being grieved with the death of Robert Browne, who was his nephew, being his sisters sonne, were as vnquiet in their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Bahir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole countie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Wexford men following their matters verie earlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they fought out Brian Mac Bahir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and took them at that aduantage, that although he and his companie were but small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the foile and ouerthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about or about thirtie persons.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drunken of the same cup, was driuen to leape vp on horsebacke behind another man, and so escaped, or else he had neuer bene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge vnto sought, yet by little and little it quailed. About two

yeares after, Brian Mac Bahir made humble notes to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, confessing in writing his foule disorders and outrages; and yet firmly auouching that the quarrell did not begin by him no: by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obtained the same. And according to his promise then made, he did the next month use and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Cauenagh, and the sonne of Charls, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the countie of Wexford & Catherlough. And this Brian Mac Bahir Mac Arthur was a younger sonne to Charls, but the chiefe for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisdomie; and none of all the sept of the Cauenaghs, though they were manie and valiant men, to be compared vnto him euery waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place.

Now he being assured of them, and also being allied by marriage vnto Iohann Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the Wexford and of the Omeroughs, & so a man of great strength and abilitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer brake his promise, but stood him in great stead aswell in matters of counsell, as of anie seruice to be done in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfully he serued, and so much he honoured sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awaie, and died in peace.

The Omeroughs, notwithstanding the earle of Kildare was waged by his maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without anie resistance or impediment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They invaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie townes and villages, and carried the preies and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh was altogether in actual rebellion by the earle Clauricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irishie were of diuerse nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogether giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their hearts were altogether imbued in blood and murder. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made sute to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would undertake to bring in his sons, and to quiet the countie.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the counsell enlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectually performe in deed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgot his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the Omeroughs and the Omeroughs, accompanied with a rabble of like rebels, fell into open rebellion, spoiled the countie, deuoured the people, and make all wast and desolate. Wexford enough in Ulster was ready to revolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Essex, who lieng vpon the fynes and marches in Ulster, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set O'Donnelle in open warres against him. Mounster was likewise in open rebellion. But sir John Perrot then president so coursed and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league

Brian Mac Bahir his submission.

Brian Mac Bahir what he was.

The strength of Brian Mac Bahir.

Brian Mac Bahir is a follower to sir Peter Carew.

The Omeroughs rebell.

All Connagh in actual rebellion.

The false dissembling of the earle of Clauricard.

The Omeroughs and the Omeroughs rebell.

The points of sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputies gouernement. Religion. The common peace.

The saving of expenses.

Lawes to be executed.

Souldiers to be kept in their discipline.

Brian Mac Bahir his warres in Wexford.

Brian Mac Bahir hath the victory of the Wexford men.

Thomas Mounster.

George Wexford a lawyer, well learned, and vpright.

George Wexford a lawyer, well learned, and vpright.

1571 Sir William Fitzwilliams was made lord deputie.

The distress  
sed mind of  
the lord de-  
putie.

The death of  
Robert Weston  
lord chancel-  
lor.

was betwene James Fitzmoris and all the rebels in Connagh and Leinster, yet he kept them asunder and so Tharpele pursued James, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor anie followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue apalled the best and wisest gouernour, these three things increased his griefe and sorow. First the losse of a most faithfull counsellor and one of his chiefeest and trustiest assistants doctor Weston then lord chancelor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, byright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currentes of yeares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of counsell most sound and perfect, in iustice most byright and incorrupt, in hospitalitie verie bountious and liberal, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his household, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings appertained. Then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in prayers and exhortations.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his household and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the counsell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the counsell, perswading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie, and lastlie remembryng their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to performe the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honoꝝ to the queene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie & effectualle, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this done he bid them farewell, and not long after he being seruent in his prayers, he died most godlie, vertuouslie, and christian like.

The earle of  
Desmond  
breaketh  
prison.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing giuen his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being done in so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would issue thereof. Wherefore not onelie in that land, but in England also, hir maiestie vpon knowledge did cause musters to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if anie occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatlie doubted what would follow of that his breach, sauing that the president in Hounster was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt anie disorder that waie.

The reuoca-  
tion of the earle  
of Ulster.

The third was the reuocation of the earle of Ulster, who had taken vpon him to recouer the whole province of Ulster to obedience, with hir maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was cashed, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterprize dissolued. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed vpon anie man in the gulfes of despair, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and hir maiestie most gratioussie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his reuocation, which hir highnes by hir letters vnto him granted; and immediatlie there vpon he (after foure yeares painfull seruice)

Sir William  
Fitzwilliams

was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Manie good & notable things were done in the time of this mans deputation: worthy to be remembred, and for euer to be chronicled. But forsomuch as the records and presidents of the same cannot be had, and the imprinter cannot staie his impression anie longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of this honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserved well and honourable of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment. After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was deliuered vnto sir Henrie Sidneie, who now the third time entered into the gouernment of this cursed land, and arrived at the Shkries the twelue of September 1575, who at his coming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispected, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardlie find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And euen as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the notherne Ulsterians brake out. For he was no sooner knowne to be entred into the land, but for a bien vnen to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make pzeie of the towne, & so proude lie assailed the same, that he due a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortie of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whome some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuertheless by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the pzeie was rescued, and the Scots perforce driuen awaie.

The lord deputie, considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the events and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand preuented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delates be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old saying *Principijs obsta, sero medicina paratur*, &c.) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of hir maiesties priuate counsell, as could in that queste time be assembled, he toke order for the safe keeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his absence, to certelne gentlemen of best account and wisdom, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him hir maiesties armie, which was then about six hundred horsemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and counsellors as he had appointed for that seruice, toke his iourneie towards Ulster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, sauing the fewe, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Glins and Kouts which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killultagh.

Now in all that iourneie few came to submit themselves, sauing Mac Mahon, and Mac Gwier, & Tir-lough Lenough, who first sent his wife; and she being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue hir husband to liue like a good subiect, and to be nobilitated. Tir-lough himselfe followed verie shortly after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostage, and simple & without anie condition did submit himselfe in all humbleness and reuerence to his lordship, making the like suites as his wife before his coming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuertheless to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, vising himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifullnesse, subiection,

discharged of  
the deputie.

1575  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
deputie the  
third time.

The pestilence  
great in the  
English pale.

Serlo Boie  
assaulteth  
Knockfergus

The town  
of the lord  
putte in  
Leinster

Boie of  
on the  
the earle  
Dymoni  
vnto the  
deputie,  
submitte  
himselfe

The lord  
putte in  
ned der  
in Kilt

Sir D  
Carow  
death.

The lord de-  
putie maketh  
a iourneie in  
to Ulster.

Sir:  
Care  
Roff  
burie  
terfo  
hono

Sir  
Car  
lone  
his  
B  
Ca

Tir-lough  
Lenough sub-  
mitteth him  
in all humilitie

for discharge of  
the deputyship.

1575  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
deputie the  
third time.

The pestilence  
great in the  
English pale.

Sherlo Bote  
assaulteth  
Knockfergus

The lord de-  
putie maketh  
a iourneie in-  
to Ulster.

1575  
Sir Peter  
Carew his  
life, birth and  
conditions.  
His descent.  
Son of  
Carew.  
1575  
Sir Peter  
Carew his  
life, birth and  
conditions.  
His descent.  
Son of  
Carew.  
1575  
Sir Peter  
Carew his  
life, birth and  
conditions.  
His descent.  
Son of  
Carew.

The iourneie  
of the lord de-  
putie in  
Leinster.

Kopie of the  
word of  
Diamond came  
unto the lord  
deputie, and  
submitted  
himselfe.

The lord de-  
putie interre-  
ned verie well  
in Kilkennie.

Sir Peter  
Carew his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carew died at  
Kilke, & was  
buried at wa-  
terford verie  
honourable.

Sir Peter  
Carew his  
life, birth and  
conditions.  
His descent.  
Son of  
Carew.

and reuerence, did in like maner take his leane, and returned to his owne home. And as for Odonell lord of Tirconell, and Mac Whier lord of Farmanagh, albeit they came not in persons, yet they wrote their most humble letters of submission, and offered all such rents and seruices, as to them appertained to yeld, making request that they might onelie serue under hir highnesse, and be discharged from the exactions of all others.

After that the lord deputie had performed this iourneie, and was returned to Dublin, then he made the like iourneies towards the other parts of the land. And beginning in Leinster, he found the whole countie of Kildare, and the baronie of Carbertie, extreamlie impouerished by the Omeries, both in the time of the late rebellion, and also since, when they were vnder protection. The kings and queenes countie were all spoiled & wasted by the Donners and the Omeries, the old native inhabitants of the same, and of them Kopie Dy had gotten the possession and the selling of himselfe in sundrie lands there, whether the tenants will or no, and as a prince occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. Neuertheless, upon the word of the earle of Omond, he came to the lord deputie at his being in Kilkennie; and in the cathedrall church there he submitted himselfe: and in outward appearance repented his former faults, and promised amendment: but how well he kept and performed it, his rebellions in the yeare following can witness.

The lord deputie at his comming to Kilkennie was receiued by the townsmen in all the best maner they could, and the earle of Omond himselfe feasted and intreated him most honourable, and had great care that his lordship and all his traine should not want any thing. At this tyme the two cousins and kinsmen of sir Peter Carew late deceased, that is, Peter Carew, and George Carew, and the gentle man who had bene his agent in all his causes with in that land, came before the lord deputie, and there communicated with his lordship the state of the deceased knight, and of his countie; submitted the same to his order and direction, as also made humble sute unto his lordship for his presence at the funerals at Waterford, where it was appointed he should be buried. Whose lordship as upon the first newes of this knights death, so now also upon the new recital thereof, maruellouslie lamented and bewailed the losse of so worthie a knight, and the want of so wise and faithfull an assistant and counsellor. And then he toke order therein, shewing most honourable not onelie the offices of a faithfull and good friend to the dead; but also the like good will to the two yong gentlemen, of which one was then his heire, and to inioy his baronie. And according as things were determined, the corpes was removed from Kille where he died, and caried to Waterford against his comming thither, where it was buried in verie honourable maner, as shall hereafter appeare, being not impertinent to the historie to set downe some short discourse of this most worthie gentleman and of his life.

Sir Peter Carew was descended of noble and high parentage, whose first ancestor was named Montgomerie, and in the time of king Henrie the second he married the ladie Elisabeth daughter to Hoelius prince of Southwales, by which marriage he was aduanced to honour, and made baron of the castell of Carew, whereof his posteritie in time toke their surnames, being called Carews. And some of them passing into Ireland did grow to be mightie men, and of great honor and possessions in that land, being marqueses of Corke, barons of Hydron and Lerneu, lords of Spaffon, and inheritors to sundrie great lordships and seignories in that land. And

likewise in England they were men of great credit, seruise, and honour, and by waie of marriages matched and combined with honourable and great houses.

This foresaid sir Peter, who was lineallie descended from them, was of stature meane, but verie stronglie and well compacted; of complexion cholericke, from his childehood upwards bent and giuen to an honest disposition, and in his tender yeares he seruied under, and was page to the prince of Orange beyond the seas, and by that means had the greater delight & skill in martiall affaires, wherein he had good knowledge, as did well appeare in the manifold seruices he did under king Henrie the eight, king Edward the sixt, and quene Elisabeth, in sundrie places beyond as also on this side the seas. He was in his yonger yeares a great traueiler, and had bene at Constantinople in the Turkes court, at Vienna in the emperours palace, at Venice, and in the French kings court, and in the houses of the most of all christian princes; in euery of which places he left some tokens of his value. He was blessed of God with manie singular good gifts, as well of the mind as of the bodie, being vertuouslie disposed euen from his verie infancie, sincere in religion (and for which he was partlie an exiled man in the Sparian daies) dutifull to his prince, and faithfull to his countie, by right in iustice, politike in gouernement, and valiant in armes, skillfull in the Italian and French tongues, and a great student in such booke as those tongues did yeld; and by that means some knowledge loined with his pregnancie of wit, he would discourse verie substantiallie in any matter concerning policie or religion, peace or warres, good to euery man, but full to no man; bountifull & liberall, abhorring couetousnesse and vborndome: a great housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie. And if any fault were in him, it was rather of too much spending, than in reasonable sauing; he would be some warlike, but without gall, and against his enemie most stout and valiant: finally such was his bright dealing, honest conversation, and zeale to the commonwealth, as no man was more honoured nor vniuersallie beloued than was he.

When he had spent the greater part of his age, he be thought himselfe upon such lands as his ancestors had in Ireland, and which in right did descend unto him: and finding his title to be good, he acquainted hir highnesse therewith; and obtained hir fauour and good will to passe ouer into Ireland, to follow the recouerie thereof. Which he did, and made such good proofes of his title, as well by records as by evidences, that he recovered so much as he did then put in sute, namelie the lordship of Spaffon, of which he had bene dispossessed of about seauen score yeares, which he departed with unto sir Christopher Chivers knight, then tenant to the same, and the baronie of Hydron then in the possession of the Caenaghys, the ancient enemies of the English government, and who had expelled his ancestors about two hundred yeares past. But being put once in possession, he dealt in such good order with them, and so honourable bled himselfe, that they all voluntarilie yielded by their lands, and submitted themselves to his deuotion; and finding him to be a verie rare man in manie and sundrie respects, as of the like they had not heard nor knowne, they much reioiced of him, and counted themselves hapie and blessed to be vnder his gouernment. At his first comming he resumed the whole baronie into his owne hands, and thereof he gaue some peeces in free hold, to such gentlemen as he thought good; and for the residue enerie of them that he had before, he toke it againe under writing by lease. He diuided the baronie into cer-

His stature.

His disposition.

His skill and seruise in the warres.

His traueils.

His religion.

His qualitties.

His learning.

His conditions.

His anger without malice.

His zeale.

His title to his lands in Ireland.

He recouered some part of his lands in Ireland.

His good dealing with his tenants.

teine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betwene them were ended and determined after the English manner, according to iustice & truth. He would not suffer anie wrong to be done vnto them, neither would he beare with anie of them doing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifference he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a verie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not bene to fore knowne among them; and for which he was maruellouslie beloued, and his fame spred through out that land.

He kept continuallie of his owne priuat familie, aboue or nere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse for tie householders well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred kerns, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as late vpon the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselves simple to his mercie: & the residue willing to serue him at all needs. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first staied and was interteined according to his calling, for his cellar doore was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all comers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them interteinment, and bittelled them at his owne charges, and paid readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present payment he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning his maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for his highnesse, and so profitable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselves hapie to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumspect, and in martiall affaires verie ballant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experience: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first serue at Cloghgreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Spalbeie, and capteine Balsnet, and Henrie Danels, and their bands, assaulted the castell, took it, and gaue the price to the soldiers. Then they went to Kilkennie where they issued out and made a sallie vpon the whole arme of sir Edmund Butler: which being about three miles from the towne, gaue them the overthrow, and put all the Gallloglassies and the rest to the sword, sauing the householders and kernes which fled into the woods: and then meeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres untill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to his maiestie. Likewise in Ulster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Essex, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe.

The same and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisdome, balliantnesse, experience, brightness, housekeeping, bountifullnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spred through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all

men. And certeine gentlemen in Dounster, knowledging and confessing that he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending lineallie from the marquesse of Cozke) was their lawfull lord, and to whom they ought to yeld their lands; some of them made their repaite, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelie true lie to instruct and to aduertise him throughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Cozke, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselves, and yeld vp their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his friends, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, because he had made his highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obtained his letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir John Barret then lord president of Dounster, that they should assist him in his sutes, and to call the contrarie parts, and to persuaade them with all quietnesse to yeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the wister hereof to Cozke, where and before whom there came spac Artie Kioch, Corman spac Aege, Warrie Og, the Omalions, the Odriscots, the Odallies, & sundrie others, who of their owne freewill offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, three thousand kine; and so manie sheepe and hogs and cozne, as according to that proportion; and would also yecelie giue him in the like manner such a portion as should be to his contentation and good liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Cozke for him: the said sir Peter did set the house of Leighlin to his kinsman and consine Peter Carew, who afterward was his heire, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his household stuffe to Cozke. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sicke at the towne of Kille, he died the seauen and twentieth of Nouember 1575, and was buried verie honourable and in warlike manner at Waterford, the fifteenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honoz as to his degree appertained, there being then present sir Henrie Sidnere lord deputie, and the councill. And thus much concerning that worthy knight sir Peter Carew.

The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Desmond vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honourable receiued at his entrie into the citie, by the mayo: & his brethren, and an oration congratulatorye made vnto him in the Latine tong by a yong scholar clad in white attire, verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of iote and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And whiles he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing meet and conuenient for the interteinment of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in god part; as also aduertised it to the lords of his maiesties honourable priuie councill in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Sitiracus one of the three brethren, which came out of Portugal, called Easterlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the riuer of Suire, which riseth in the hill or mount Blandina, named in Irish Slough blome:

His housekeeping and hospitalitie.

Readie payment for all things.

His seruice in the Irish wars.

Sir Peter Carews seruice in Ulster.

His title to his lands in Dounster.

The offer of the gentlemen to be his tenants.

A controuersie betwene the earle of Morda and the Waterfordians. The Waterfordians refuse to acknowledge Perkins to be their king. The Waterfordians in fauour with the kings of England.

The commitment of the uer.

Large ports.

The riuer waterford.

The death of sir Peter Carew 1575. His buriall.

The receiving of the lord deputie at Waterford.

A controuersie betwene the waterfordians and towne of Kille for riuer of Barrow.

A berbid sed in the halfe of a waterfordians.

The priuies of the lord vpon water.

The description of the citie of Waterford. The situation.

blome: and steeeth by Thurles in Tipozarie, where of the earles of Desmond are vicounts: from thence to the Isolie crosse, Ardmale, Cahir Dolweske, Ard-finan, Anisouagh, Clonnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterford.

It was of it selfe a verie little pile, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares (upon occasion of warres) enlarged in the time of king Henrie the seventh and inclosed with a strong wall: when Lambert (named Perkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great controuersies betwene them and Gilbert erle of Bilsdare. For the said erle being then lord deputie sent his letters to the said maior & his citizens, requiring them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other good cities had done: who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he threatened them that he would take their citie perforce and hang the maior. Whereupon hot wordes grew on euerie side, & the same like to haue growne to hand fight: the Waterfordians offering to wage the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their truth at that time auailed them much afterwards, and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the seventh and king Henrie the eight, by whome their liberties and franchises were enlarged.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hils and rocks, and the lesse profitable for lacke of good manurance and husbandrie: but what faileth in the land, is recompensed with the sundrie commodities which the riuer yeeldeth, which is not onlie plentiful and abundant of all sorts and kinds of fishes, but also it is a goodlie haueu and a receptacle for all sorts of ships: & for this it is called *Larga porta*, The great or large haueu. The resort of merchants from out of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie populous and rich, & is the chiefest *Emporium* of that yonaine. Great be the priuileges which the kings of England gaue to the maior & citizens, as well concerning the riuer as the citie, by king John, king Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The riuer was bounded and limited from the mouth of the seas, betwene Kindowlan where Hoke tower standeth vpon the east side, and Rodthanke vpon the west side, and from thence vnto Caricke vpon Suire: and so farre beyond, as the said riuer ebbeth and floweth that waie: & from the said mouth vnto the Inostage vpon the riuer of Dure, and so far as the same water ebbeth and floweth; and likewise from the said mouth, vnto saint Polins vpon the riuer of Barrow; and so farre beyond the same, as the water ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great controuersies haue bene betwene this citie and the towne of Kofse, which lieth vpon the riuer of Barrow, concerning the bounds and limits that waie, because they of Kofse doe claime a priuilege vpon that riuer as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigod earle marshall: who married Isabell the eldest daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in his right was lord of Kofse and of the riuer of the Barrow.

Whereupon certeine inquisitions were taken in the time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard the second: and then at Clonnell vpon the othes of six knights and eightene esquiers, it was found for the citie of Waterford. And these are the bounds of the port or haueu of Waterford: within the which bounds and limits the citie of Waterford, by the grants of sundrie kings vnder their charters, haue these priuileges: That no ship shall be laden nor vnladen, but at the citie of Waterford, and there to paie all such customes and duties as belong and are due for their merchandize: Also that they haue the pilsage wines and the iurisdiction of the admeraltie, within the limits of the said riuer.

The citie it selfe was first incorpozated by king Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king John, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with augmentations. The maior hath the sword borne before him by the gift of king Edward the fourth, and king Henrie the seventh, by the name of the sword of iustice. They haue cognisance of all manner of pleas as well reall, personall, & mixt. They are iustices of oier and determiner, & maie sit vpon trial of treasons, murders, and felonies, without anie speciall commission to be sued out for the same. Also that no officer nor officers of the kings or quenees of England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor exercise anie authoritie nor iurisdiction, within the citie and liberties, but onelie the maior & officers of the same. Also they haue a maior and officers of the Staple yearelie to be chosen, who haue the liberties for taking of statutes and recognisances Staple, not onelie within their owne towne & concerning themselves, but also of sundrie townes in Leinster and Mounster, and the counties of Waterford, Kilkennie, Wexford, and Tipozarie. Also they haue libertie from time to time to transport, lade, and carrie a waie cozne, vittels, woll, horses, & hawks; and to licence anie other within the limits of their iurisdiction to do the like. Also all forfeitures, americiaments, fines, felons goods, and deadens goods, they haue to their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the wordes of their charters should be expounded to the best sence, and if then there were anie further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king or his counsell in the realme of England. Also that they should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue in anie hosting, except the king himselfe or anie of his sonnes were present in person.

These and manie other like priuileges of the kings of England from time to time, of their bounteous liberalitie, and in consideration of their dutifull and good seruices, did giue and bestow vpon them. All which, & you the inhabitants of Waterford, the offspring of so good ancestors, ought to be lessons and presidents vnto you, for your continuance in the like offices and duties: that you maie thereby shew your felues to be as were your pdecessors, faithfull, loiall, and obedient: and that your apothegme maie be for euer found true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*. And therwise bzag neuer so much of your worthinesse, & glorie neuer so much of your values (as the Jewes did of their father Abraham) yet it shall so little auaille you, that their honour shall be your reproch, and their glorie your shame, if you do not also the like; and in the end your vtter confusion. For as the holie scripture saith: If you be the children of light, then as children walke you in the light; otherwile that light which is in you shall be darkened. If you be the children of Abraham, then do you the workes of Abraham: otherwile God, who is able and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to Abraham, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a people which shall bring forth the fruits of dutie and obedience. For so did he with his owne peculiar people, the Jewes, whom for their disobedience against himselfe, and against his annointed princes, did after sundrie punishments and no amendment giue them ouer vnto their enemies hands: who put their young men to the sword, & their priests to slaughter, their virgins were deflowred, their widows defiled, their citie vtterlie destroyed, and not one stone left vpon an other; and all the people which escaped the sword, carried a waie captiues, & made bagabonds, euen to this daie vpon the face of the earth. If he did this to his owne peculiar people, do not you of Waterford, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke

The incorpo-  
ration of the  
citie.  
The priuile-  
ges of the ci-  
tie of Water-  
ford.  
The sword of  
iustice.

A controuer-  
sie betwene  
the earle of  
Bilsdare and  
the waterfor-  
dians.

The water-  
fordians re-  
fuse to ac-  
knowledge  
Perkin to be  
their king.  
The water-  
fordians in  
fauor with  
the kings of  
England.

The commo-  
dity of the ri-  
uer.

*Larga porta*.

The riuer at  
waterford.

The death of  
sir Peter  
Carew 1575.

His buriall.

The retel-  
ling of the  
lord deputie at  
waterford.

A controuer-  
sie betwene  
the waterfor-  
dians and the  
towne of  
Kofse for the  
riuer of  
Barrow.

A verdict pas-  
sed in the be-  
half of the  
waterfordi-  
ans.

The priuile-  
ges of water-  
ford vpon the  
water.

The descrip-  
tion of the ci-  
tie of water-  
ford.  
The situa-  
tion.

An admoni-  
tion to the citi-  
zens of wa-  
terford.

*Waterfordia  
semper manet  
intacta.*



An exhortation to the citizens of Waterford.

The princes prerogative.

The earle of Desmond humble offereth his service to the lord deputie. The lord deputie received honorable into Cork.

All the noblemen in Hounster repaire to the lord deputie.

Executions at Cork.

Everie noble man and gentleman to answer for his men.

The lord deputie honorable received at Limerike.

that you doing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements. Wherefore if you will eschew the wrath to come, beware by their examples, and humble your selues in all dutifullnes & obedience to God and to your prince. Examine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your privileges with his authoritie, nor do you dispute your liberties with his prerogative. For notwithstanding your privileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugn the least part of the princes prerogative: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods otone ordinances, when he first created and established a king, who gave him so high and so absolute authoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humblenesse obied: because he is Gods minister especiallie when it concerneth the interest of his maiesties imperiall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the delivrie of your selues and that realme from the enemies and rebels.

And do not you thinke that this digression is impertinent to the historie. For as your ancestors good doings are set downe to their praises and commendations; so the same shall be done of yours, either to your praises for your well doings, or for your reproch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had given thanks to the maior and his brethren for his good intertainment, he departed thence by iournies towards Cork, and by the waie at Dungarvon the earle of Desmond came unto him, and verie humble offered him all the service he was able to do to his maiestie, and did accompanie him from thence unto the citie of Cork, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of god will and dutifullnesse as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townesmen or of the souldiers. To this towne resorted unto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancarr, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Hounster, and their wives, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, murders, spoiles, and thefts done throughout that province; whereupon daillie sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which thre and twentie verie notable and notorious offenders were executed and put to death.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarms and clousters of the idlers, which like waspes troubled the whole land, and liued onelie by spoile and rapine; that everie noble man and gentleman should giue and deliuer in the names of euerie seruant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found unbooked and not registred, that he should be used as a felon where so ever he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gaue their full contents, and forthwith the same was openlie proclaimed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all joy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatlie they gaue in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts settled in god and quiet order, he toke his iourne towards Limerike, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in ante place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in keeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of more mens complaints, and toke the like order for registring of euerie noble and gentlemans follower, as he had done at Cork. Which

when he had done, he rode thence unto Thomond, where he was complained unto of manie great murders, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, at er of he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed thoroughlie to do iustice and iudgement therein; he referred the same to certeine commissioners appointed for the purpose: saying that he committed the principall offenders to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, until further order were taken for them.

From thence he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallewaie, where he found the towne much decayed and almost desolated, summe of the good houtholders having sought new habitations vnder Spar William Cughter, and the countie thorough out altogether spoiled and denoured by the Spar an Charles, the hopeles (but much better if they had bene hopeles) sonnes of the earle of Clancarr, whose outrages were most heinous and horrible. But when these graces impes perceived of the great complaints made against them, and doubting what would be the sequels if some waie were not taken, they voluntarilie went to Gallewaie towne, and came to the church vpon a fundae at the publicke seruice, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knees confessed their faults, submitted themselves, and most lamentable craved pardon, promising vnfeinedlie amendment, and neuer to reuolt more from their dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes. The deputie moued herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduise of his maiesties counsell thinke it good, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he toke his iourne towards Dublin, where he came the thirtieth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed through the countie, and placed his garrisons in places convenient.

In this his iourne he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a speedie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill government were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the parish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no seruice said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministrif. And therefore it appeared, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbezelled. A lamentable case, for a more desoynd and a more ouerthrowne church there could not be among christians. The deputie considering and bethinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in store some wrath and indignation for this defiling of his holie sanctuarie, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to his highnesse, and most earnestlie praised his princelie authoritie for redresse thereof; and therewith most humble requested, that the commonwealth being destitute of a chancelor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the gouernement, might likewise with all speed be sent ouer. When his maiestie and counsell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a redresse was taken forthwith: and the masters concerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to archbishops and certeine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the government one William Gerard esquier a professor of the lawes was sent to be lord chancelor, & Sir William Dwyer to be president of Hounster, which arrived at Dublin,

Thomond to cleane out of order.

The towne of Gallewaie in great decay.

The earle of Clancarrs sonnes submit themselves.

1576

The ruine of the ecclesiasticall state.

Manie in Ireland not christened.

The spoile of the churches.

An order for the reformation of religion.

William Gerard to be lord chancelor. Sir William Dwyer to be lord president.

1576

The earle of Clancarrs sonnes by out into rebellion.

The earle consented to his sonnes disoluitie.

Therrie spoiled.

Selfe cause of rebellion

Dwight of the h maiestie quiet cc wealth.

The diamond is  
cleane out of  
theber.

1576

The towne of  
Sallewaite in  
reat decaye.

The earle of  
Clanricard  
sinnis by his  
our into re-  
bellion.

The earle of  
Clanricard  
sinnes sub-  
nit them-  
selves.

The earle  
consented to  
his sinnes  
disobedience.

Athenrie  
spoiled.

1576

The ruine of  
the ecclesiast-  
all state.

Wante in Ire-  
land not  
hysened.

The spoile of  
the churchen.

In order for  
the reforma-  
tion of reli-  
gion.

William Ge-  
rard to be lord  
chancellor.  
Sir William  
Dunne to be  
lord president.

Selfewill  
cause of the  
rebellion.

Punishment  
of the wicked  
maketh a  
quiet common  
wealth.

Dublin, the one the fiftenth of June, and the other the thre and twentieth of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his home. And then his lordship preparereth to take a journey towards Waterford, to do the like with sir William Dunne. But when he was passed a daies journey, word was brought unto him from the bishop of Deth, who laie then upon the confines of Deth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties, and the like from the maiors of Gallewaite, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crying out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that baserlie had, which not scarce two moneths past had humbled themselves to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craved pardon, and had most firmelie protested and sware most dutifull and continuall obedience.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stolen ouer the river of Shennon, and there cast awaie their English apparell, and clothed themselves in their old wanted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come awaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglasse, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met together, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenrie, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat awaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the quenes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set up. And and wicked they were before, but now ten times worse than ever they were; being come, euen as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returneth unto the house from whence he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other seuen wicked spirits, and entreth and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. And if a man should aske of these baserlie boies, and of their fier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie reuolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing bene so courtesouslie used, so gentlie interteined, so friendly countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pithilie perswaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surely nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a litle of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For baserlie stips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the god tre onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, & which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and byers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman be slow neuer so much husbandrie upon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so good a peare upon him, the same shall be but a stonie peare; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will reuolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clenfed from thornes, byambles & byers, prepared for the fire: euen so shall the magistrate intoie the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and iudgement is executed; when the good are preferred and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallows) according to their deserts are punished.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is sweet, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the disoord of that one marreth and disgraceth

all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subject is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and lieth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be unpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden ouergrowne with weeds) in perill and danger to be ouerthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good conserued. And experience teacheth, that a theefe, murderer, a traitor, & such malefactors doe neuer better seruice to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallows, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie upon these aduertisements, finding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altereth his intended journey, and returneth to Dublin, using such expedition, that within thre daies following he was entered into Connagh. The hate thereof when it was blowne abroad, it was scarce credited by the rebels, because it was so sudden and with such speed. But finding it to be true, and they afraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mountains, saving certaine gentlemen of the earls countrie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castles were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and craving of pardons, he was sent to the castell of Dublin, and there kept in close prison. But the lord deputie he passed thence to Gallewaite, and after he had there staied a few daies, for the comforting of the townesmen, who stood much dismayed of their estate, and in feare to be surprisid and taken for pledges: he passed through Thomond, and came to Limerike, where he settled sir William Dunne (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thence being accompanied and attended upon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Corke, & there the lord president remained.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernment of that prouince, did beare himselfe so byrightlie, and in so honourable a sort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and manners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the euill men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subjects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be done upon the enimie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer cease to pursue him, untill he had either taken him, or diuened him out of the countrie. If anie matters were in variance betwene man and man, or anie bills of complaints exhibited unto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuilitie, & their manners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did maruellouslie reforme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, saving the countie palatine in Berie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse any iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the

The lord deputie altereth his course, and entereth into Connagh.

The earle of Clanricard is sent to the castell of Dublin and kept in close prison.

Sir William Dunne placed to be lord president in Munster.

The gouernment of sir William Dunne.

The earle of Desmond will haue no officer to intermeddle in his countie palatine.

The countie palatine a sanctuary of sinne and wickednesse.

The lord president purposeth to do justice in Kerrie.

The lord president cometh entirely into Kerrie.

The treacherous practise of the earle to haue intrapied the lord president.

The lord president giveth the charge vpon the earle of Desmond.

most loose and dissolute life there used, and that it was a sanctuary for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of justice was now become a cloke and a shield for all licentiousness: he purposed and was fully determined to make a journey into that privileged place, to make a passage for law and justice to be there exercised, even as he had before done in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leave a scabbed shepe, nor good for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The earle, when he perceived this, he was in a great furie and agonie, and used all the waies he could to dissuade the lord president from the same. Which when he by no means could compass, then according to his accustomed dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the service he could do to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to use his house and countie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waie; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissimblingly and in secret devised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing mistrusting anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granteth the earles request; and when he saw time, he taketh his journey into Kerrie, having no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of six score, or seven score persons; and as he passed through the countie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard everie mans complaint: and at length as his journey laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earle. The earle having the gouernor (as he thought) within his clothes, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had devised secretly; had appointed in a readinesse seven hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intrapied his lordship; and in sted of a bien venu into the countie, to haue cut him off for ever comming more there. Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship saw and understood; and considering that he was so nere vpon them, as that he was either to adventure vpon them, or with dishonour to hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his companie together, and with verie good and pithie words incourageth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forthwards, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, notwithstanding they were all well armed, and seven to one of the other: yet being as it were affronted at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & thorough all that land: both the earle and his companie turned their heeles, forsooke the field, and dispersed themselves into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorrow and heavinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigaell went and met the lord president, fell vpon his knees, held by his hands, and with trilling teares prayed his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could hir husbands follie, saying that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting, nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men seeing his lordship could not be persuaded to make anie state: and so prayed his lordship to take it. And herein she so wiselye and in such modestie did behaue hir selfe, that his lordship granted hir request, and temporized with the earle. But he followed his determination, and used his authority to decide matters in and throughout the palatine of Kerrie. This grieved the earle to the hart, who having no a-

ther waie to be reuenged, he deuised certaine articles against the president, which he with great clamours exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Cork, he returned to Dublin, where he was advertised that the Mac an Carles in Connagh had hired a new supply of two thousand Scots, and were in actual rebellion. Wherevpon he prepared a new journey thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were by in campe and in outrageous manner spoiling the countie. But before his comming they had besieged Ballie Kioagh which was the earles their fathers house, and for his treacherous dealings confiscated.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thence, had placed Thomas le Strange, and capteine Colier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsemen to lie in garrison; but the earls sons, thinking themselves of sufficient strength to recover the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and intrenched it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not preuaile; but the garrison with in did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and due at sundrie times sir of their principall capteins, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they saw they could not preuaile, they raised the siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countie; but especially vpon Mac William Cughtier, from whome they took sundrie of his castles, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not slackening nor forgetting his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who skipped to and fro in such sort, that in no case could he find them at any advantage. Wherefore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursue to be made vpon them. And by that means, although he could not mete with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full advantage vpon them; yet manie times he met with some of them, due them, hanged and executed them, took their prizes from them, and gained a waie their holds and castles. And at length having good espials, it was advertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confines and marches of Mac William Cughtiers countie: and therevpon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie manie of them fell into his lap, who had their rewards. Vnto whose lordship resorted the said Mac William with all the force he had, & could make; who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of power in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew himselfe most loiall, and did the best service that was done vpon the rebels: and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recovered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castles, which in this rebellion had bene taken from him.

The Scots, when they heard of the approaching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenly dispersed themselves, and the most of them, being werte of their abode and intertainment, fled into the rout in Ulster. The residue like vnto the bare armed rebels sculked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the gales of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by journeyes returned towards Dublin, and having a little before received hir maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Malbie hir servant, whome he commended for his sufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes: and as well for the encouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; hir pleasure was to commit vnto him the chiefe charge and government

The earle cometh against the lord president.

The Mac an Carles in Connagh rise in rebellion.

The earls sons besiege Ballie Kioagh.

Mac William Cughtier his countie spoiled.

The lord deputie followeth the rebels.

The Scots incamped in Connagh.

Mac William Cughtier cometh with all the forces he could make vnto the lord deputie.

The Scots forsake Connagh and returne home.

Sir Nicholas Malbie appointed gouernor of Connagh.

The de the earle.

Dysmen

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Shorro griece

Shorro against his mind.

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uerneement vnder the said deputie in Connagh, and willed that he should be forthwith established in that office, & to be sworn one of his private counsell, & to haue that countenance, authoritie, & intertainment as was meet, conuenient & agreeable for the place, office, & person. Which the said deputie most willingly & glablie performed, dubbed him knight, and made him gouernor by the name of a colonell of Connagh: thinking himselfe most hapie, that he was assisted with such a man, as who for his experience in iudgement, his discretion in gouernement, and his painefulnesse and skill in martiall seruice was sufficient and compleat; and best able, partly by force, partly by perswasion, and chieflie by ministering of iustice, was (I saie) best able, and would frame the rude and barbarous people of that province to ciuilitie and good order. And thus much he aduertised vnto his maiestie by his letters, with thanks for his choise of so meete and apt a man. During the time of this seruice and being of the lord deputie in Connagh, the earle of Essex, a man of great nobilitie and parentage died in Dublin. Great doubts were made of his death; some thinking that he should be poisoned, because he was then in the best time of his age, of a verie good constitution of bodie, and not knowne to haue bene sicke anie time before his death. But the matter examined by all the meanes that could be deuised, there was no such thing then found: but supposed, that for so much as he had a flux, which was a spile of a *Dysenteria*, and wherewith he had bene oftentimes before troubled, by the inspection and iudgement of such physicians & others who were present, it was iudged and found that it was some cause of his death. Some thought rather that he should be bewitched, as that countie is much giuen to such diuillie practises. But how far is that from all christianitie, all wisse and godlie do know, and euerie good christian should vnderstand. It is against the word of the Lord and all christian religion; and therefore not to be credited. It was thought and so affirmed by the most part of all men, that some inward griefe of the mind and secret sorrow of the hart had hastened that, which no infirmities of the bodie nor anie other deuises extraordinary could compasse. For where that maladie is once entered, and hath seized and taken possession, and which by no physike can be relieved or cured: it is but in vaine to minister the same to the bodie, which can not indure when the other faileth, no more than can an accident remaine, when the substance is gone; or else as the imbers of albes giue heat, when the wood is burned and consumed.

He was no more honorable of birth and parentage by his ancestozs, of whome some descended out of kings loines; but as singular a man for all the gifts both of mind and bodie, as that age had not manie better. Towards God he was most deuout and religious, whome he serued according to his holie word in all truth and sinceritie, and his whole life according to his vocation he framed after the same; being not spotted with drunkennesse, couetousnesse, whozesome, incontinencie, or anie other notorious crime: a great fauourer of the goodlie, a friend to the professors of the gospell, & an extreame enemy to the papists & enemies of the true religion: to his prince & soueraigne most dutifull and humble, faithfull & obedient: his superiours he honored, his elders he reuerenced, his equals he loued, his inferiours he fauored: to his countie trustie, to the commonwealth zealous, to all men courteous, and to the poore and oppressed bounteous and liberall.

In matters of policie he was verie prudent, and of a great reach; in causes of counsell sound, and of a

deepe iudgement: in martiall affaires most valiant and of great courage, and of so herocall a mind, that if his abilitie had answered his good will, he had not bin a second, neither to Lacie, nor to Courcie, nor to anie the first conquerors of Ulster to the crowne of England. For such a plot he had laid for the regaining thereof, that it could not be denied, but if the same had bene followed, great good would haue ensued in proceesse of time to his maiestie, in obedience and reuenues, and a great succie to that estate, and the like increase of benefit to the whole commonwealth. The more noble were his good and worthy attempts, the more he was crossed and contraried: but by such secret meanes, as which he did rather for the most part coniecture amisse, than hit aright: but yet such was the great valour of his mind, and the magnanimitie of his stomach, that his good meanings & attempts, for the honor of his prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth, being so contraried and ouerthwarted, he was whome no trauels, no paines, no seruice, no hardnesse could breake; the verie griefe of mind and sorrow of heart (as it was thought) did onelie consume and ouerthrow. He was also verie learned, and of great reading, and sometimes a scholar in the vniuersitie, and had verie good knowledge in all kind of letters, as well theologicall as humane, and of a verie quicke wit to conceiue, of a good capacite to vnderstand, and of a readie tongue to utter and deliuer in a verie good order what he had conceiued; and so well he would discourse and argue anie matter, as few scholars better, and not manie so skilfull in anie one, as he was generallie in all good vertues. A more noble man euerie waie, not England, nor anie other nation hath lightlie afforded. And certeinlie, if it had pleased God that Lachess had bene idle, or had spun a longer threed, that he might haue liued to haue bene imployed according to his excellent vertues, either in matters of counsell, of policie, or martiall, no doubt he would haue proued a most worthy and beneficall member vnto his maiestie, and his whole commonwealth. As his life was, so also was his death most godlie, comfortable, and vertuous, the one answerable to the other, euen as *S. Augustine* writeth; *Vix male moritur qui bene vixit*. In all the time of his sicknesse, which was about twentie or one and twentie daies, although he were manie times tormented with greuous pangs in the bellie: yet was he neuer heard to grudge or murmur, nor to speake anie angrie or idle word, but most patientlie and meekelie toke all things in good part. After he perceived that nature began to faile and defect, he yielded himselfe to die, and was verie desirous that his friends and wellwillers should haue access vnto him, and to abide by him at their pleasure. And by that meanes he had continuallie about him diuerse men of all degrees, as well of the clergie, as of the laitie, both men and women, gentlemen & seruants, before whom he did shew most apparant arguments of a godlie and vnfeined repentance of his life past, and of a most christian and perfect charitie with all the world, fraklie forgiving euerie offense done vnto him, and asking the like of all others. His faith he openly confessed, and witnessed a most vndoubted assurance of his saluation in Christ Iesus, purchased for him in his blood and death: and manie times he would with a loud voice saie; *Cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo*. He spent most part of the time, when the extremities of his sicknesse did not let him, in prayers, and in hearing the word read vnto him, and would vse such godlie admonitions, such pittie perswasions, & so graue instructions, as he neuer did, nor thought he could do in all his life time: for he neuer seemed in all his daies to be halfe so wisse, learned, and eloquent. The nearer that death drew, the more seruent

A plot for the regaining of Ulster.

The earle of Essex contraried in all his attempts.

The earle bewell learned.

A godlie life hath a godlie end.

His patience in his sickness.

His repentance and charitie.

He confessed his faith.

His praising and hearing the word.

The earle came plainely against the lord president.

The earle was an earle in Connagh rise in rebellion.

The earle was a verie sage and able knight.

William Coughter his countie spoiled.

The lord deputie followed the rebels.

The Scots incamped in Connagh.

William Coughter cometh with all the force he could make vnto the lord deputie.

The Scots forsaue Connagh and returned home.

Sir Nicholas was appointed gouernor of Connagh.

he was in prayer, and requested all his companie to do the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Jesus. And when his tong gaue ouer to speake anie more, he lifted vp his hands & eyes to the Lord his God, vntill most sweetlie, mildlie, and goodlie he did yield vp his ghost, which manie times before he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man vpon the two and twentieth daie of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred fentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his friends, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaine of himselfe, who by all apparant arguments and testimonies of his vndoubted faith, doth assure vs of his everlasting ioye, and eternall felicitie.

See more of this earle of Essex in the chronicles of England, pag. 1263.

His letters to the lord deputie.

The effect of the earles letters to the deputie.

About three daies before his death, he wrote his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good friendshipes past betwene them, and wished that the god and faithfull dealings betwene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. Then he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a speciall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselfe should die to his friends, yet his sonne the earle of Essex might liue to the seruice of his prince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his buriall, and herewith he sent vnto his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memorie of the loue and goodwill past betwene them. And now leauing this honorable earle in his heauenlie ioye and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this efferre and efferrenated nation.

The disagreements betwene the earls of Desmond and Thomond.

The psonice of Spounser was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betwene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which vpon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeye, vntill *Volens nolens* he were pressed therevnto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie willfull man, notwithstanding he had at Corker yielded himselfe (of his owne free consent) to abide the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countrie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered followers, he would not be withstanding from his wonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie celsse; and wrote his letters to the lords of hir maiesties princie counsell in England, complaining much, and prouing nothing, and aggravating the taking of the celsse, with most manifest vntruths. And so far he was carried in mistaking the gouernment, because he saw his owne wonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie faine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiration with the forlorne sonnes of the earle of Clancicard, as was his brother sir John of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue joined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Spounser, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which carried the more likelihood, because his intention was to put awaie his owne wife, & to haue matched himselfe in marriage with Shanes sister, who was Sheswaches wife, & of late forfaken by him. Neuertheless, the earle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to espye out both him and all the rest of their doings, and in such a readinesse to be at inches with them, and vpon their bones if they started out neuer so little, that he kept

Sir John of Desmond committed to ward.

Sir D. Desmond putteth away his wife and marryeth another mans wife.

himselfe quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which before he denied, being verie notorious malefactors and poadifiers of vniquietnesse.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward shew more quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whose least suspicion of anie euill was thought, they begin verie inconsideratlie to repine against the celsse: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue maintained it: because that the same was procured for the defense of themselves, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdom, knowledge, and experience, when he considered the sickle state of that waivering and rebellious nation of the Irishie, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmly promised, sworn, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to hir maiestie: yet vpon euerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and dutie, would sling out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appeasing thereof, and the preservation of hir god subiects, hir highnesse was driven to enlarge hir garrisons, and to increase hir armie to hir exorbitant charges, and all which companies were bittelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributozie to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and priuileges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the more grieved, & the greater burthened, to their impouering, & the hinderance of their seruice: the lord deputie caused a thorough search to be made in hir highnesse court of the exchequer in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and all manner of liberties which at anie time had tofore bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoeuer: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were usurped, or by statute repealed.

The gentlemen in the pale begin to repine against the celsse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the celsse.

The records searched for liberties.

Wherevpon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be borne more vniuersallie, and so more indifferentlie; and for the better furtherance of hir highnesse seruice: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and freedoms to be dissolved, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are grieved, and therefore doe repine against celsse; and with open mouths crie out, that they were so poore that they could not beare anie celsse, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what celsse is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogative of the prince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the queens price, to all and euerie such souldiours as the is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be yeerelie rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the counsell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices as the souldiours may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his intertainment.

Liberties dissolved by proclamation.

What celsse is.

These things although they were orderlie done, yet certeine malecontents, finding the selues grieved, because they should also now beare a portion, and

lord deputie counsell to be discharged of the celsse.

The prerogative of prince by law of God.

The malecontents make their supplication to the



lord deputie & council to be discharged of the celsse.

The gentle- men in the pale begin to repine against the celsse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the celsse.

The records searched for liberties.

Liberties still claimed by proclamation.

What celsse is;

The malecontents make their supplication to the

be contributaries: first they draw their heads together, and make there supplication to the lord deputie and counsell, which was receiued verie willingly, and offer made that conference should be had with them, how and what waie it might best be deuised to ease there griefes, & not to charge the quene. Whereupon at a time appointed they all met, and came in persons before the deputie and counsell, where the said malecontents first opened their griefes, that they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and liberties which were taken from them; then that they were compelled to yeld to an unreasonable celsse, which they were not able to beare, and that was will and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and reason, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon them without a parlement or grand counsell.

When the lord deputie and counsell heard them at full, they appointed a date, when they should come and receiue their answer. In the meane time the lord deputie and counsell consulted and considered of the matter, and resolued themselves vpon an answer. And when the date came and they appeared, answer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord chancellor, that they had no charters nor liberties at all to be found in hir highnesse records, other than such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for the greatnesse of the celsse, the burden whereof they had alleged to be unreasonable and not to be borne, because they said & auouched that it was ten pounds & twelve pounds of ech plough land; it was offered that they should be discharged, if they would paie but five markes for euerie plough land. And whatsoeuer they said in deniall of the paines of the celsse, it was and is to be proued, that it was not onlie hir maiesties prerogative which may not be impeached; but also to be proued by most ancient records, that euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the like charges imposed by the name of celsse by the deputie and counsell, and such nobilitie as were sent for and did come to the same, now in question and by them repined at. After the celsse, they repined and flatlie denied that they would yeld to anie celsse, saying and alledging as before, that it was against reason and law, and therefore prayed that they might haue his lordships libertie to make their repaire ouer into England, and to acquaint hir highnesse with their case. Wherevnto he answered, that he would neither giue any such leaue nor denie them to go. Whereupon they assembled themselves together againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie headed lawyers and malecontented gentlemen, who had stirred and set them a worke to conioine themselves to follow this sute, and contributed a masse of monie amongst themselves, for the charge of the said lawyers, namely Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard Peteruill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing bene sometimes students in the ins of the court in London, & acquainted with littletons tenures, thought themselves so well fraughted with knowledge in the laws, as they were able to waide in all matters of the deepest points of the law. But if they had first (as it becommeth dutifull subjects) to haue looked in the booke of God, they should haue found it written there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings and established their thrones, and gaue them most excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogative, that all inferiours and subiects should and ought in all humblenesse and dutifullnesse submit themselves vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake: because so is it the will of God, without sitting of his

The prerogative of a prince by the law of God.

authoritie or examining his gouernment. For the re is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God, & they are ordeined of God; wherefore who so resisteth them, resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences the Lord himselfe hath reuenged oftentimes on the disobedient. Wherefore euerie man is to be subiect in all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all maner of ordinances, being not against God, not onlie because of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especiallie in matters being well considered, & which doe concerne their one benefit and safetie. If this be the infallible truth, how farre were these men ouershot, that thus would dispute the princes prerogative with their littletons tenures; and measure the same with their owne rules and deuises: It had bin much better for them, & more to their commendations, if they had (as the scholars of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held their peace, vntill such time as they had bene better studied in their owne lawes: and then they should haue found it written that the prince or king is the head and most excellent part of the bodie of the commonwealth; and through his gouernance the preseruer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the prophet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which causes the lawes doe attribute vnto him all honor, dignitie, prerogative, and preeminence aboue all others; and which his prerogative doth not onelie extend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of his owne, but also to all his subiects. And the law pers themselves doe so far stretch this for a *Maxime*, that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established either for the benefit of holic church or common profit, it is alwaies implied *salua in omnibus regis prerogativa*; and that nothing shall be intended to be prejudiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likelihood these men were not so farre read; or if they had, their malice or desire of some pelting lucre, which blindeth manie of that profession, had made them forgetfull of themselves & of their duties. Well, these great lawyers beare the malecontented lords & gentlemen in hand, that their cause & sute was good and reasonable, and by the law to be warranted, & not to be doubted but the same would haue good successe. Whereupon they made by their supplication and letters to hir maiestie, with the like letters to hir honorable priue counsell, dated the tenth of Januarie, 1576, and vnder the hands of Rowland vicount of Balinglas, Ch. of Deluin, Christopher of Both, Peter of Trimleston, James of Kellew, and Patrike Paugle barons; sir Oliuer Plunket, sir Thomas Pugeat, sir Christopher Chiucers, and sir William Searefield knights; Edward Plunket, Patrike Paugle, Patrike Hulseie, George Plunket, Francis Pugeat, Laurence Pugeat, Nicholas Tasse, James Pugeat, and William Talbot, in the names of all the inhabitants within the English pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered in the like order their letters of attorneie vnto their said agents, and so much monie for their expenses as was thought sufficient, with their order and promise to supplie what soeuer they should need. And thus being furnished with all things to their contentments, they past ouer the seas, and made their repaire vnto the court of England, and there at time convenient did exhibit their supplications and letters to hir maiestie and the lords of the counsell, which in effect consisted in these points.

First, that where there was a celsse imposed by the lord deputie and counsell vpon the English pale for hir maiesties garrisons, they finding themselves grieved therewith, made their complaint thereof vnto the said lord deputie and counsell for redresse, and could not be heard.

The kings prerogative by the lawes of the realme.

The impeled gentlemen send into England their agents to complain.

The effect of the letters & complaints exhibited to hir maiestie and counsell.

D. J.

Secunda

2 Secondarilie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or anie other like to be imposed vpon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vsages of that realme.

3 Thirdlie, that the cesse was a most intolerable and greivous burden, there being exacted out of euerie plough land ten and twelue pounds.

4 Fourthlie, that in the leuieng and exacting, there were manie and sundrie abuses done and committed.

The matter is referred to the counsell.

When hir maiestie had throughlie read both the complaints and letters, the forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lords of hir priue counsell to be considered, and the same to be throughlie examined; who forthwith assembled themselves, and hauing read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lords & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and counsell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of the matter, that they might the better proue and vnderstand the greatnesse thereof, did by hir highnesse commandement call before them the earles of Kildare and Dymond, the viscount of Formanstone, and the baron of Dunfanie, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the manner of these mens proceedings both here and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie deed, vnder color to seeke some reliefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of anie cesse, and so consequentie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogative, which hir maiestie & predecessors haue alwaies inioied, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselves preferred.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, seemed to be forie, and to mislike of their vnadvised proceedings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath bene alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subject, who would denie or impugn the same: although they wished and did praye, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarcitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lords of the counsell had proceeded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered by their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the dowings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: because he had written otherwise.

The answers of the counsell to the articles of the complainers.

So the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogative, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath bene vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecessors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vntil hir highnesse would lose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne purse: neither which extremities could or might in anie wise be tolerated.

So the third, that the cesse was intolerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounds and twelue pounds should be demanded out of euerie plough land, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and counsell the contrarie, & that they were offered at five marks the plough land: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

So the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were done, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redresse thereof

to be ordered.

When hir highnesse had read and thoroughlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vnadvisable to be handled by hir subjects, commanded by the aduise of hir counsell the said agents which followed their sute, to be committed to the flēt, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and counsell, finding hir selfe grieved with the said hir subjects of the pale, that the relieving of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse, should be auouched to be a matter against law, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie bene imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed therevnto, in prejudice of hir prerogative, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therefore the did not onelie mislike, & was greatly offended with these their presumptuous and vndutifull manner of proceeding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir counsell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogative in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which means the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue bene remedied. And therefore as hir highnesse had alreadye giuen order for committing them to the flēt, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their insubing and mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore seeking to impeach hir prerogative and roiall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole counsell to send for those lords and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and auouch the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogative, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and auouching to be likewise committed.

Hir maiestie offended with the complainers.

The agents of the complainers sent to the flēt.

Hir maiestie offended with the lord deputie and counsell for suffering the complainers unpunished.

The malcontents are all committed to prison.

The agents for their forwardnesse sent to the Tower.

The lord chancellor of Ireland sent into England.

The agents submit themselves.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the manner of the leuieng the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoever were culpable therein, he should be punished with all severity. And herewith also the was contented, and had giuen order for some qualification to be yielded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and counsell should be thought meet: considering the scarcitie and the dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lords and gentlemen vpon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselves simple, and vnder their handwritings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbear (contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in maintenance against the said prerogative, to be displayed and discharged out of hir fauour, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought meet. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the counsell, the lord deputie and counsell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and counsell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were speciallie noted to be counsellors, ringleaders, and procurors of these letters to hir maiestie and the lords of hir counsell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of freedom from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogative, and affirming boldlie in plaine speeches and without anie sticking, that no

The complainers which subscribed to be sent and committed to ward.

The complainers acknowledging their faults to be gentlie bled.

The lawiers of hir maiesties for maintaining the complaints, to be displayed.

The malcontents & their abbettors sent to prison.

The proud answers of the malcontents.

The false accusations made against the lord deputie.

esse

Hir maiestie  
offended with  
the com-  
plainers.

The agents  
of the com-  
plainers sent  
to the flat.

Hir maiestie  
offended with  
the lord depu-  
tie and coun-  
cill for suffer-  
ing the com-  
plainers unpunished.

The malcon-  
tents are all  
committed to  
prison.

The agents  
for their pro-  
wardness  
sent to the  
Tower.

The lord  
chancellor of  
Ireland sent  
to Eng-  
land.

The agents  
submit them-  
selves.

The complai-  
ners which  
submitted to  
be sent and  
committed to  
ward.

The agents  
were released  
upon their  
bonds to ap-  
peare before  
the lord depu-  
tie and coun-  
cill.

The complai-  
ners acknow-  
ledging their  
faults to be  
gentle & d.

The lawyers  
of hir mai-  
esties for main-  
taining the  
complaints,  
to be displa-  
ced.

The malcon-  
tents & their  
abettors sent  
for.

The proud  
answers of  
the malcon-  
tents.

celle could be imposed but by parlement or a grand councell; and whatsoeuer was otherwise set downe, was against the law: and so stubbornlie they were bent therein, that they would not yeld to anie conference: whereupon they were all committed to the castell of Dublin, notwithstanding some of them (after they had better aduised themselves) yelded a submission and prayed mercie.

Which doings when the lord deputie and coun- cell had forthwith aduertised to hir highnesse & the councell in England; they nothing liking these arrogant and dissolall parts of these impaled males contents, sent for their agents; and hauing the like conference with them, found them of like disposition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie forward, arrogant, and wilfull: whereupon they were removed from the flat to the Tower: a place appointed for the offenders in capital causes, and for such (being impugnors of hir prerogative) as be supposed to offend in the next degree to the highest. These things when they were notified unto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were maruellouslie grieved; but not the one nor the other would giue ouer, untill their arrogancies and insolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie conuinc- ed, and condemned: for which the lord chancellor of verie purpose was sent ouer into England, who so fullie, effectually, and discretely did resolute hir maiestie and councell in euery point, which the parties agents could not denie.

Now in the end they considered better of themselves, and sent their humble submission in writing vnder their hands to the said lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, confessing that they had dissolallie and insolentlie, both in words and writings offend- ed most grieuouslie; professing yet that their intent was neuer to denie hir roiall prerogative, to vse the same as occasion should serue, but onelie to redresse certeine abuses; and therefore most humble- ly prayed they might find some mercie, and that the hard and painfull imprisonment which they had sustained, might be a sufficient punishment for the same. Whereupon they were released, putting in bonds of one thousand pounds, that within five daies they should depart homewards into Ireland; and after their transportation & arrivall thither, should make their immediat repaire, without staie or lingering, to the lord deputie and councell, and there to giue their attendance, untill by them they should be licen- ced to depart. At their coming home they performed the conditions of their obligations, and most humble in like order submitted themselves to the lord deputie and councell, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the councell in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and councell in Ireland) the same was after long traueise ended and determined. But here to set downe what practises, informations, & deuises were made against the said deputie, by the said malecon- tents, and some (by their means) of no small calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the subiects from loiall obedience, that he had farmed all the whole reime, that he had wasted hir maiesties treasures and reuenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he should for this dealing with hir subiects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduise of others, contrarie to the course of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the inuolde- ring of manie which offended the more.

These and manie such other like vntruths they spied. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifest it to the whole world, that their overthrow was his credit, and his prouaile was to their reproch

and shame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward græues, which for a time by the means of their false suggestions he sustained, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great ioy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offense should fall into the consideration of this their resistance, and repining against the cels, which was then enterprised and taken in hand; when the whole land stood in a broken and doubtful state, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Desmond forwardlie kicked at the like, and all the lords in Hounster had contrarie to their owne orders and promises, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the English pale, to pale anie cels; when James Fitzmoris being furni- shed with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was daile looked for to come and innade the land; and when the great ones ha- uing hollow hearts, and addicted to papistrice, did da- lie gape and expect for the same; when the dissolall Irishie in Hounster and Connaugh were combin- ed and ioined in these conspiracies; when Kozie Dg, Dmore, Conno, Mac Coymake, Conno, & others, animated by the foresaid conspiracies, were by in open rebellion, and vied most execrable outrages; when some of the best townes in Leinster did aid, comfort, and mainteine these rebels, and besides manie other circumstances concurring herewith: might it not be well presumed (and as it was so doubted) that the cause being like, they should also be combined and linked alike: And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better her- ring: And yet notwithstanding it fell in the end to a better effect. For the lords and inhabitants in the English pale, since the time of the conquest by king Henrie the second, and since their first arri- uall into this land, it hath not bene lightlie knowne that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in anie warres against the crowne of England, and the kings of the same; sauing as now in respect to saue their purses, rather than me- aning anie breach of dutie, had ouer shot themselves: which vpon a further consideration of the truth they repented, and vpon their submission were pardoned, in hope and vpon their promise that they would ne- uer thenceforth offend, nor be found faultie with the like. During the traueise about the cels, manie things happened in the land worthe to be reprehend- ed (as great and sundrie were the aduertisements from out of France by such Englishmen as were there imployed) of an intention of James Fitzmoris to innade Ireland, who had bene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and re- turned from thence with a good masse of treasure, making his retourne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furnished with men, munitions, & treasures, and all things necessarie. Which things were by letters from him signified unto the cheefest of all Hounster his secret confederats, and the be- ing papists both in bodie & soule, desirous of change of gouernement, and to be vnder a prince of their owne superstition, did daile languish and expect his coming. Wherefore hir maiestie and councell, ha- uing the like intelligences, did also prepare monie, munitions, & vittels, and men, and all other things necessarie for the withstanding of him.

Kozie Dg, Dmore, and Conno, Mac Coymake, Conno, and their coparteners, contrarie to their othes, submissions, and promises, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began ane to gather their friends and confederats out of seuerall places, to the num- ber of a hundred swords, which with his owne made aboute leauin score; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerse mens baggards,

The fidelittie  
of the Eng-  
lish pale to the  
crown.

The burning  
of the Haas  
by Rorie Dg.

haggards, poore mens houses, and sundrie villages, and committed manie outrages: and being not resisted, he took such encouragement of his successe, that leaving poore villages, he went to great towne, as to the Haas, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same daie that he came thither at night, was the patrone daie of the said towne, commonly called the church holie daie, which daie after the maner of that countrie, and not much unlike the festiual daies which the Celts and Pagans were wont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and Venus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkenness, and surfetting. And after they had so filled their panches, and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, having forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put any watch to ward them. Which thing Rorie Dg when he knew, and having intelligence that euerie man was in his bed asleep, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who like vnto a sort of furies and diuels new come out of hell, carried vpon the ends of their poles flanks of fier, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house took fier of another, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the towne supposed to be five hundred persons in outward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but they being in their dead sleeps, suddenly awaked, were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the fier was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enimie they were altogether vnsurrounded, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they could tell which way to follow him. For he taried verie little in the towne, saying that he sat a little while vpon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and triumph, that he had done and exploited so diuelish an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed vsage in all his euill actions, but yet contrarie to his vsage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he returned he preyed and spoiled the countrie, and ranging to and fro, as his wavering head carried him, he came verie shortly vnto the towne at Leighlin bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

Rorie Dg  
burneth the  
towne at  
Leighlin  
bridge.

George Carew  
few with  
twelve per-  
sons against  
240 setteth  
vpon them &  
duneth them  
to die.

The castell  
in danger to  
be taken.

But George Carew brother vnto Peter Carew, then constable of the said towne and fort, hauing then but a small ward to defend the violence of the enimie, and yet thinking it should be too great a dishonour vnto him to be bearded with a traitor, and to let him depart vnought withall: he issued out vpon him, hauing with him onelie seven horsemen and five shot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels, being two hundred and fortie, with such a courage and valiantnesse (and they asstonied because it was so sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of them: and then they with the losse of those men began to flee. But at last when they perceived his force to be but small, and too weak to resist their great number, they returned and chased him to the verie walles of the castell; where if he and his small companie had not like valiant and good souldiers acquitted themselves, the rebels had entred into the house; for they were within the gate and there fought, but driven out and the gate shut. At this bickering they lost fiftene men, and one of their chiefe capteines named Piers Poinagh, who died verie shortly after of his hurt. Capteine Carew lost but two men and one horse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie was hurt.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this intertainment, presently retired and departed, by

which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saved. After their returne from hence, they spoiled sundrie townes and villages vpon the confines & borders of the English pale. And albeit they were verie eagerly followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse of his companie, yet he was so maintained, and his watch and spall was so good, that partly by the helpe of his acquaintance, and partly by meanes of the water bogs and fastnesse in euerie place, he was in safegard and safetie. In this pursue made vpon him, it happened that a parlie was appointed betwene capteine Harington and him: vnto whom Rorie Dg swoore and promised most faithfullie to yield himselfe to some conformentie and order. The capteine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much credit to his subtil promises, and did so open himselfe vnto him, that through his owne follie Rorie took advantage, and perforce took him and Alexander Cosbie, who was with him in hand, both which he handfasted together, and caried them along with him as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs, threatening them still to kill them. This thing being knowne, great sorrow and græfe was conceived of the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and daily practises were deuised for their deliueres; and at length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a manner concluded. But before the same was fully perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught vpon Rorie: for he knowing where the said Rorie was wont to haunt, and by good espials learning where his coach and cabine was, he being accompanied with Parker lieutenant to capteine Hurle and fiftie of his band, earelie in the morning, about two houres before daie, he went and marched to the verie place where Rorie late, and beset the same. Rorie hearing an vnwonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddenly vpon Harington and Cosbie, thinking to haue slaine them, and gelling in the darke to the place where they lay, gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open the doore of the cabin, he took as manie as were within prisoners: but Rorie himselfe and one other priuie in the darke stole awaie and crept among the bushes: so that he could not be found. The souldiers in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there, but saved capteine Harington and Cosbie.

Rorie Dg albeit he was glad that he was so escaped, yet in a great griefe for the losse of his prisoners, and minding to be reuenged, priuie with all the companies which he could get, besides them which Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh, he went to Catherlough earelie in the morning, and burned a few haggards of coirne and a few houses, and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hereof, forthwith followeth them with ten or twelue horses which he had in a readinesse, and at a foze not far off he overtok them, and killed fiftene or seuentene of his best men, and Rorie himselfe escaped verie narrowlie; and so continued still in his former outrages, untill he was intraped and taken by a deuisse of his owne to intrap others, which was in this manner. Vpon the nine and twentieth of June 1578, he set forth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cunningly framed, and made apt for the purpose to go to Sir Barnard Fitzpatrick lord of Upper Osserie, and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and in secrecie, that Rorie Dg had bene of late in the countie of Kilkenie, and there had taken a great preie and spoile of pots, pans, and other household stuffe, which he might easilie take if he would aduen-  
ture

The enimie  
is driven to  
retire and the  
awaie.

Rorie Dg by  
sight and de-  
ceipt taketh  
capteine Ha-  
rington pri-  
soner.

Rorie Dg  
slaine.

A draught  
made vpon  
Rorie Dg by  
Harepole.

The lo-  
gic mi-  
a iourne  
Rorie Dg

Capteine Ha-  
rington is  
hurt.

Rorie Dg  
escapeth.

Capteine Ha-  
rington is  
deliuered.

Rorie Dg  
burneth Ca-  
therlough.

1578

A bait laid for  
the lord of Up-  
per Osserie.

The en-  
demi  
for the  
the logi-  
tic to  
me.

The en-  
demi  
the lo-  
demi  
the en-  
demi

The en-  
demi  
the en-  
demi

He enim  
is driven to  
retire and lie  
awake.

Rozie Dg by  
sight and de-  
script taken  
captaine Ha-  
rington pris-  
oner.

It brought  
made upon  
Rozie Dg by  
Harcepoie.

Captaine Ha-  
rington is  
hurt.

Rozie Dg  
escapeth.

Captaine Ha-  
rington is  
delivered.

Rozie Dg  
burneth Co-  
therlough.

1578

A bait laid for  
the lord of Up-  
per Dierie.

ture the matter; and if he did wiselie h made it, he might also take Rozie himselfe and all his companie, which as he said (but vnturlic) that they were but few in number. The lord of Upper Dierie, neither believing nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet forecasting the worst, did put himselfe in readinesse to follow the occasion that was offered; and taking with him a good companie of horsemen and footmen, went towards the place where the bait was laid; and being come nere vnto it made staie, or else he had bene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his men into the woods to serch for Rozie. But the baron himselfe with certeine of his horsemen and footmen staid in the plaines, to attend the issue of the matter. The companie were no sooner entered into the woods, but Rozie the rebell shewed himselfe with a thirtie persons, the rest lieng in ambush; and he was of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so great, and of such value among the Irishie, that no man durst to adventure vpon him if he once saw his presence. But he was deceived. For at the first sight and view of him, the lord of Dierie's Kerne gaue the charge vpon him, and at their encounter one of them lighted vpon him, and with his sword presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was no sooner done, but two or thre hacked vpon him, & gaue him such deadly wounds that he fell downe and died, the same being the last daie of June beforeforesaid; and so this bloudie cattie, belittling all in blood, perished and died in his owne blood.

But before Rozie Dg was thus brought to destruction, the lord deputie made a iourne to the borders of Dierie and Ler, to haue met with the foresaid Rozie Dg & his companions the Donnoys for the suppressing of their insolencie, who were grown into such a pride by taking of captaine Harington, and their strength so increased, that with most vndutifull termes they breathed out slanderous speeches against hir maiestie, as which were not to be indured. Wherefore he beset the whole countrie & confines as he thought best, to stop their passage and to annoie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and there by sundrie examinations found people of all degrees in that towne to haue relieued the said Rozie with vittells and all other necessaries, for his feeding and defense, with whome he took order according to their deserts. At his being there he sent for the earle of Desmond to come vnto him, bicause he had refused to come to the lord president when he sent for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said lord president was there to complaine vpon him, as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without anie warrant, gathered together a rabble of lewd and vncultie followers, which harried by and downe the countrie, eating and spending vpon the same, contrary to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered.

Which earle forthwith, vpon the receipt of the said letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and there being examined of those his vncemelic parts, confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and much mistrusted and doubted the president, least he would haue staied him, and haue vied him hardlie, for which he was blam'd and reprim'd by the lord deputie. But in the end, when they came together, they were reconciled and made good friends, and then he promised vpon his returne home to disperse abroad his companions, and to obey the president as hir maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to come vnto him at all commandements, and which things he performed. For not long after he uttered and beliaied to the said lord president the practices of James Fitzmorris, who by the arrivall of certeine Frenchmen and Irishmen vnto Sligo, in a ship of

saint Malowes, did what he could to stirre & make a rebellion in Downe and Connaugh, whereby a plot was laid for the staie of those Frenchmen, and the apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good demonstrations to the utter shew of the obedience and loialtie of the said earle, but in truth more dissimulation, as afterwards it appeared.

Connaugh was in some part troubled, by means of Dwarke captaine of his surname; in whose countrie there were certeine coiners of monie, and maintained by him. The coronell understanding hereof, he sent vnto Dwarke for them, and who denied to deliuer anie of them: wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a priuat band of footmen, who distressed Dwarke, and his men, took his castell, and put all the ward to the sword. Whereupon he came with all humilitie, and submitted himselfe, and craved pardon. All the residue of Connaugh was verie quiet, and increased hir maiesties revenues to the yearelie summe of eighteene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good contentation. And now when it was thought that all things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold sudden aduertisements were given both vnto hir maiestie and counsell in England, and to the lord deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukeleie was arrested out of Italie vnto Cadis in Spaine, with certeine men, ships, and munitions assigned vnto him by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine strangers attending vpon him, he was come to the seas, to land vpon some part of the realme of Ireland, in traitorous manner to invade the same, and to pzoouke the people to ioine with him in rebellion. All things, as well men, munitions, monie, vittells, and all other things necessarie were provided and prepared for the preventing of them, as well by sea as by land: but in the end, aduertisement was given from out of Portugall, that his enterprize was diuerted another waie, and to another purpose, and so all things were quiet. Peruerthelesse, it appeared that he was in great fauour with the pope, and was appointed to some spectall seruice against hir maiestie, if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the incouraging of him, the pope besides great treasures liberallie bestowed vpon him, he gaue him sundrie titles of honour, and made him knight, baron of Kossle and Foron, vicount of the Brough & Kenthelagh, and earle of Welford and Catherlough, and marquisse of Leinster, and generall to the most holie father Gregorie the seventh Pontifici maximo.

In the middle of these boyles, the vicount Baltinglasse, one of the chiefe impugnors and malecontents against the celsie, wrote his letters to the earle of Dymond, then attendant at the court of England, and complaineth of great iniuries and spoiles to the value of two hundred pounds in monie, besides numbers of sheepe and kine, done vpon him and his tenants by the English souldiers, vnder sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Baltinglasse, in the time that they serued vpon the rebell Rozie Dg. Which letter was by the said earle shewed to hir maiestie, and to the lords of hir most honourable priuie counsell. Vpon which complaint, bicause it seemed somewhat pittious and lamentable, and hir maiestie partly persuaded (as a matter verie likelie to be true) that such greuous extortions suffered vncorrected, made hir gouernement more hateful to that nation, than did anie of the Irish exactions: letters were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all diligence, that the pope oppressed might be satisfied, and the offenders also be punished, according to the quantities and qualities of their offenses.

D.ij.

The

lord president  
James Fitz-  
morris his  
practices.

Coiners in  
Connaugh.

Dwarke re-  
fusing to deli-  
uer & coiners  
his castell is  
taken, and he  
submitteth  
himselfe.

Tho. Stukeleie  
suspected  
to come into  
Ireland.

Great prepa-  
ration made  
against  
Stukeleie.

The pope his  
fauour to  
Stukeleie.

Stukeleie his  
honour and  
titles.

The vicount  
Baltinglasse  
complaineth  
to the earle of  
Dymond a-  
gainst sir Ni-  
cholas Bag-  
noll.

The earle of  
Dymond ad-  
uerteth the  
complaint of  
the vicount to  
hir maiestie  
and counsell.  
Hir maiestie  
senteth letters  
in the behalfe  
of the vicount  
Baltinglasse.



The vicount  
Walsingham  
complained  
to the lord de-  
putie against  
sir Nicholas  
Bagnoll.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained unto by the said vicount, and sir Nicholas Bagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were objected against him. And upon the replication of the vicount, sir Lucas Dillon and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for proofe of the surmises, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be proved to anie purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first coming to that towne, had giuen great charge to euerie capteine, to foresee that no iniurie should be offered, no spoiles committed, nor anie thing to be taken by anie souldier or other person without present payment, protesting and proclaiming execution according to marshall law, upon such as should do the contrarie.

The vicount  
Walsingham  
complains  
are untrue.

Likewise at his departure from thence, he made the like proclamation, that if there were anie which had anie cause of complaint for anie wrong or iniurie done, or that anie thing were taken and not paid for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it doth appeare, that the surmises were made rather to aggrauat his greafe conceiued against the imposition of the cesse, than for anie good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices preuailed little in the one, no more had he successe or credit in the other. For the matter was fullie certified unto the lords of the counsell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said vicount might be repproued, and also terrified to profer or practise any such untrue and indirect dealings. By these and other like practises of the said vicount, that because he did not bryoke nor like of the cesse, he thought by waie of exclames to aggrauat his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of hir maiestie, and be out of fauour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne repprofe and discredit.

The whole  
land in peace

When the lord deputie had ended and finished all his businesse, and had set the whole realme in order and peace, being now deliuered from inward and ciuill warre, and from the feare of Stukelies inuasion, he prepared (according to hir maiesties former letters of the fir and twentieth of March last past) to take his passage for England, and to make his repaite to hir highnesse. And so when all things were accordingly prepared, and the wind & weather so seruing, he deliuered by the sword according to hir maiesties commandement, the fir & twentieth of Aprill 1578, unto sir William Darnie, then lord president of Spounser. And then being conducted by the said now lord iustice and counsell, and all the nobilitie, citizens & people to the waters side, he imbarcked himselfe, taking his leaue in most honourable, louing, and courteous maner of euerie man. And at his verie entring into the ship for his farewell unto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the 114 psalme, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro*: alluding thereby to the trouble some state of sholes in the land of Aegypt, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwithstanding he had in great wisdom, care, and policie gouerned the stiffnecked people of Israell, had done many miracles and wondrous works to their comfort, had deliuered them from manie great perills and dangers, had preferred and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pharaao, and from out of the land of Aegypt, and had giuen them the sight of the land of promise: yet he found them alwaies a froward and peruerse genera-

The depar-  
ture of sir  
Henrie Sid-  
neie, and of his  
last sayings.

The notable  
works of  
sholes, & yet  
he not ac-  
cepted.

tion, a stiffnecked and an ingratefull people: euen no lesse as this noble man, and most worthy gouernour hath found of the people of this most cursed nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie painfull trauelier both by daie and night, in toyle and in faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in troubles and in dangers, in scarcitie and in penurie, in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet continuallie studieng, deuising, traueiling, toiling, and labouring to do them good (as he did full manie and often times) which so long as they felt the ease & comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but otherwise most vngatefull and vnthankfull. And offering unto him the like reward as Licurgus received of the most vnthankfull Lacedemonians, who when he had recovered that sauage nation to a ciuill life, and a politike gouernement, and in the end reduced them to that order and maner, as they became to be feared of all their neighbors, they in recompense euill intreated him in verie bad speeches, and strake out one of Licurgus his eyes. But these men for thousands and infinit commodities, would not one lie haue bereft his lordship of both his eyes, but also done him a further inconuenience (if successe had happened) according to their malice.

And now here by the waie, let it not be offensive to set downe somewhat of much concerning this worthy and noble man for the course of his life. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, his father named sir William Sidneie, a knight of great reputation and credit in the countie of Kent, and in great fauour with king Henrie the eight, in whose time, and with his great good liking, he and others lustie yong gentlemen of the court trauelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and to see the maner of the emperours and other princes courts: his mother descended of the house of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, unto whom she was verie nere allied. This yong gentleman, his father being deceased, and he of verie tender and yong yeeres, was brought vp in the court under the same maister as was king Edward the first, and profited verie well, both in the Latine and French tongues, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie forward in all good actions, and whereof was conceiued some good things would come of him: his countenance was verie amiable, and his behauiour verie gentle and courteous, in whome king Henrie the eight (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaiesfellow with prince Edward.

This prince fell in such a good familiaritie and good liking of him, that he vsed him not onelie as a companion; but manie times as a bedfellow, and so delighted in his companie, that for the most part they would neuer be asunder, neither in health, nor in sicknesse, vntill the dieng daie of the prince: who then departed his life in this gentlemen armes. Somewhat before his death, the king gaue the order of knighthood to this gentleman, for a memorie and a recompense of his good will and loue: vpon which daie also he did the like unto sir William Cicill, now lord Burghlie and lord high treasurer of all England: by meanes of which their conioined aduancement, there entred a verie seruent affection and good will betwene them, with a reciproke answering of beneuolence each one to the other, vntill their dieng daies. This noble gentleman for his forwardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the pillar of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts which God had bestowed vpon him euerie waie. For concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and well compact, and well becomen; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and

The painful  
travels of the  
lord deputie  
not considered.

Sir Hen-  
Sidneie  
ambassador  
to Rome

Sir Hen-  
Sidneie  
president  
wailes a  
knight &  
garter.

Sir Hen-  
Sidneie  
treasurer  
armes.  
He was  
iustice fi-  
times.  
The ph  
Sir Hen-  
Sidneie  
uerneu

Religi-

The paren-  
tage of sir  
Henrie  
Sidneie.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie was  
brought vp in  
the court.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie the  
king his com-  
panion and  
bedfellow.

The king be-  
lieved in sir Hen-  
rie Sidneie  
armes.

The king  
dubbed sir  
Henrie Sid-  
neie and sir  
William Ci-  
cill knights in  
one daie.

Edm. Moli-  
neux.

She  
netie

of so good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so vertuous and so goodlie, so discret and so sober, as he was another Script; being but young in years, and old in behauiour, and finally so rare a man, as that age had not afforded manie better. This man for his excellent good gifts, he was made ambassado: into France, being but about one and twentie yeares of age; and thus in one yeare after that into Scotland: and by queene Marie joined in commission with others to attend king Hilip his coming into England, for the marriage betwene their maiesties. And now in this his maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassado: into France, to treat a peace or pacification betwene the prince of Condie and the duke of Guise.

Sir Henrie Sidneie an ambassado: manye times.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord treasurer at armes. He was lord iustice foure times. The plot of Sir Henrie Sidneies gouernement.

Religion.

Shane bozne in Ireland neuer christened.

Shane O'neale name.

In the beginning and about the second or third yeare of his maiesties reigne, he was made knight of the garter, and lord president of Wales; and after one of his maiesties most honorable priuee councill. But before this, immediatlie upon his returne from out of Spaine, he accompanied the lord Thomas lord Fitzwaters his brother in law into Ireland: where he was made treasurer at the wars, one of the principall offices in the land: and in course of time & yeares for his excellencie in knowledge and experience in that land, he was made lord iustice foure times, and was lord deputie thre times. In which offices, how he did most honorablie acquitte himselfe, his acts doe declare, and the summarie recitall shall partly discouer and set downe. He was no sooner placed in gouernement, but first and forthwith he laid downe his plot, whereupon he would ground & laie the foundation of his gouernement, and according to it would he frame and direct all his actions: which plot and deuise consisteth in these points; religion towards God, obedience to the prince, the peace of the people, and the well gouernement in all things concerning the commonwealth, either in causes ciuill or martiall.

Concerning religion, he was no more carefull in his owne person, but the like also in his priuate familie, where he had daily exercises of prayers, both earlie and late, morning & evening, neither would he haue anye to serue him, who was not affected to religion, and of an honest conuersation. Atheists and papists he detested, drunkards and aduicaters he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide. And at his first being in authoritie in Ireland, & finding the whole land generallie (a few priuate places excepted) to be either of no religion, or of papistall religion; and being openlie by a preacher out of a pulpit aduertised, that in the remote places of that land, manie a soule was bozne which neuer receiued baptisme, nor knew anye christening; great was his griefe, and much was he troubled, untill he had found the redresse thereof. Wherefore he aduertised his maiestie, & most earnestlie sued & prayed for redresse & reformation, which in the end was granted, & a commission sent to him for the same: which forthwith he committed to the archbishops & bishops to execute, with whom he joined, furthered and holpe them accordingly to the uttermost. But yet it toke not that good effect as he wished and wilked it might. And as for ecclesiasticall linings which were of his gift and disposition, he would neuer bestow, but upon such, as of whom he conceived a good opinion, both for his religion and honestie.

The prince, who was scarce knowne in manie places in that land, he brought both to knowledge and obedience. He wold he tamed, the froward he reformed, the disobedient he punished, the traitors he persecuted, the rebels he chastised, the proud he made to stoop, and that arrogant and most insolent Shane O'neale, who could abide no equal, nor acknowledge

a superior, by a draught was brought to his desired confusion: & whose head for a trophie, & for the example of Gods iustice laied upon him, was set upon a pole upon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Ulster, with all the mightie personages of the same, he brought to the queenes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he took and imprisoned, and his vntamed springalls he brake to submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The unconstant earle of Desmond and all his Stralaines and followers, and the proud and ingratefull earle of Clancar, and all the Irish of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselves, and to craue pardon. The Catiaghys, the Atoles, the O'birnes, the Dromozes, the Amozes, and a rabble of other like septes, together with Harie Og, Theon Mac Hew, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare loialtie and subiection. Lastly, the malecontents against his maiesties prerogative for the cesse in the end cried *Pecuni*, and conformed themselves in all dutifolnesse. And when he had travelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, vnlesse they by some other means might be kept vnder gouernement: he by pitie persuasions, sound arguments, great reasons, and continuall sutes to his maiestie and councill, obtained to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces and sound, learned, and upright iust lawiers out of England to be sent ouer, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end his maiestie most gratioussly granted, and he most iustlicie obtained.

In Shounser therefore first he placed a coronell to breake the ice; namelye sir Humfreie Gilbert, a valiant, a worthie, and a notable man, both for his martiall seruice, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthie gentleman sir John Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Durre, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a verie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasurer at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Spalbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and verie wise and of good knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie exactlie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he

(I saie) was made coronell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their capitaines, and how brightlie they ministered law and iustice by the aduise of the counsellors in their severall prouinces, the records and registers of their doings doe at large witness and set forth. The like order he took also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are his maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all sutors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of himred, affinity, and priuate affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest sutes to his maiestie, procured them to be remoued, and their places to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, atturnies, and collectors. And further also, whereas there were manie good lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid by and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and bitterlie unknowne to the most part of the whole land, and euerie man ignorant

All Ulster brought to obedience.

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned. The mightie earles in Shounser brought to submission.

The rebels in Leinster tamed.

The malecontents against his maiesties the cesse reformed.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert coronell in Shounser. Sir John Perot, Sir William Durre lord presidents in Shounser.

Sir Edward Fitton and sir Nicholas Spalbie gouernors in Connagh.

English lawes placed to be iustices in the courts.

The statutes to be reformed and printed.

notant

noztant in the lawes of his owne native countrie, he caused a thorough view, and a revieue to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in use and execution: which being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

The records searched and set by in places convenient.

The castell chamber built kept.

Edm. Molineux.

The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires.

The castell of Dublin repaired.

The towne of Carigfergus fortified.

A gale at Molengar builded.

The towne of Athlone repaired.

The bridge of Athlone new builded.

And likewise for the records, which were verie well kept, not fenced or defended from raine and foule weather, but laid all in a chaos and a confused heape, without anie regard; he caused to be viewed and sorted, and then prepared more rooms, presses, and places for the keeping of them in safetie, and did appoint a speciall officer with a yearelie fee for the keeping of them: and for all such matters as were to be heard and determined in the castell chamber, before the lords, as it is in the starchamber in England; he would be for the most part present at euerie court, and alwaies would haue the assistants and persons of his maiesties learned counsellors. Peruerthelasse, he himselfe had a marvellous head to conceiue, a deepe iudgement to vnderstand, and a most eloquent tong to utter whatsoeuer was requisite to be spoken, either in that place, or in anie other assembly; which he would deliuer in such an eloquent phrase, and so pleasantlie it would flow from him, with such pitthe reasons, sound arguments, and effectuall discourses, as that the lesse learned he was, the more strange it was that such great good things could come out of his mouth. And such was his amiable countenance, his comelie behauior, his commendable personage, that he would and did conquer their hearts, and gaine the loue of euerie man; and the people of all sorts would and did fall in loue with him for his brightnesse, indifferencie, and iustice, in determining of euerie mans cause. And he knowing the nature and disposition of that people, who could not abide anie long sutes in law, he was so affable and courteous, that euerie sutor should haue access vnto him, and forthwith he would heare his cause, and with such expedition would cause the same to be determined, that he perchased to himselfe the vniuersall loue of all the Irishie, who thought themselves the more happie, if their causes might be once brought to his hearing, & the more willing to leaue their *Druidian* law, & to embrace the course of the English lawes. Whereupon he deuised, and consequentlie with great policie and wisdom executed the diuision and distribution of the wild, sauage, and Irish grounds into shire grounds and counties, appointing in euerie of them shiriffes, constables, and all such kind of officers as are vfed to be in all other counties: by which meanes his maiesties writ had passage amongst them, and they brought to the order of the English lawes a gouernement, which neuer before was heard or knowne among them.

When he had done all such things as are before recited, for and concerning the due course of gouernment by order of law: then also he bethought himselfe vpon such other things as were necessarie in sundrie respects to be done, as the castell and house of Dublin, which before his comming was ruinous, foule, filthy, and greatlie decayed. This he repaired, and reedified, and made a verie faire house for the lord deputie or the chiefe gouernor to reside & dwell in. The towne of Carigfergus, being open to the northerne rebelles, he began to inclose with a wall and to fortifie, which for shortnesse of time he could not finish. A gale at Molengar he builded, a verie necessarie thing in those parties, for restraining and safe keeping of malefactors. The towne of Athlone in Connagh he caused to be reedified, & the faire bridge of Athlone vpon the deepe and great riuier of the Shenin he builded with masonrie and free stone, and raised by the walles & battlements verie faire.

By building of which bridge a passage (neuer before had) was made open & free betwene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, appalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had done. Sundrie like common woordes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his foresaid doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to his maiestie. And for causing thereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also promised and deuised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and his highnesse be relieved of the great and intollerable charges which the daillie was at in that land, he did by good means enlarge and increase his revenues and yearelie receipts to about eleuen thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he haue done, if he had staied there but a short time longer than he did.

Thus much brieflie of his generall actions, and concerning his priuat dealings and conuersation. He was goodlie disposed, & a zealous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent speeches, such pitthe sentences, such persualorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor attaine vnto. He had some sight in good letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, seldome or neuer in anie dis tempered or extraordinary choler, vpright in iustice, free from corruption, and liberal to euerie deserving person, a bounteous housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a louer of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, whom he would honor and esteeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most loving master to all such as serued him, whom he loved full dearelie. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not do anie thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were pitthe to all or most part of his actions; sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawier, and yet not ignorant in anie thing pertaining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a deepe iudgement and experience in all matters of policies. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Mens fidelis Lucas*, and the other *Mens fidus Achates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinit respects, as partlie by the course of this historie it doth appeare, he hath deserued most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for euer amongst them: yet most vnaturallie and vngreatfullie they haue requited and recompensed him. Not much vnlike the viper, who when he hath done the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturallies saie) it is done by the mouth, the immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroyeth him; and likewise the yong, conceived with the death of their fire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and readie now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most vnaturallie doe gnaw out his wombe and bellie to his confusion; and so they are conceived with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This vngreatfull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the daillie purchasing of their wealth, preferuation, and safetie,

This is the trouble of parliament

The castle pugged.

The court and barge full natural the Irish men.

The good temper and disposition of sir Henry Shidmore.

Religious, eloquent.

Affable.

Temperat.

Liberal. A housekeeper.

How more of this sir Henry Shidmore in the English chronicles, An. Dom. 1586, noted by Edm. Molineux.

The ingratitude of Ireland.

The nature of the viper.

The fall time by gouern in Ireland

The fall time by

This was a  
troublesome  
parliament.

The quenes  
great charges  
to be releued.

Hir maiesties  
reuenues in-  
creased.

The good ber-  
ues and dis-  
solution of sir  
Henrie Shid-  
wicke.  
Religious,  
Eloquent.

Effable.

Temperat.

Liberall.  
A household  
ier.

Not more of  
his sir Hen-  
rie Shidwicke in  
the English  
chronicles,  
in Dom.  
1586, noted  
p Edm. Mo-  
new.

The ingratia-  
de of Ire-  
nd.

The nature of  
a viper.

The cesse im-  
pugned.

The corrupt  
and ingrat-  
full nature of  
the Irish-  
men.

The fatal de-  
stinie upon all  
gouernors  
in Ireland.

The death of  
sir Henrie  
Shidwicke.

saferie, could ne would be ener thankfull. As besides  
manie examles it appeared at the parlement hol-  
den in the eleventh yeare of hir maiesties reigne,  
where when lawes were to be established for their be-  
nefit, and the abolishing of certeine wicked and  
letw vsages, which were among the Irishie, they  
not onelie did impugne and resist that assemblie, as  
much as in them laie: but recompensed the good  
things (for) their benefits established) with open war  
and rebellion against hir maiestie. Also, when a rea-  
sonable and a used cesse was to be set and lenied for  
the benefit of the inhabitants and dwellers in the  
English pale; and for the repesse of their enemies  
which thirsted after their confusion: they immediatly  
repine and do resist the same. For this is their cor-  
rupt nature, that if he did at anie time pursue the e-  
ntinie for their peace and quietnesse, and did aduen-  
ture neuer so great dangers for them, were his suc-  
cesse neuer so good, yet would they enuie at him. If  
he by the aduise of the counsell did determine anie  
thing for their behoufe, yet would they mislike it. If  
anie thing well meant had euill successe, they would  
like it; and upon neuer so little occasion offered they  
would make their complaints, libels should daile  
be exhibited, and accusations be deuised, with open  
mouths they would exclaime, and nothing would  
they leaue vndone which might turne to his discredit  
and impediment of his gouernement. But truth the  
daughter of time, which in the end was manifested;  
and when he had yeldeo before hir highnesse and  
counsell a true and a perfect account of all his do-  
ings, and had trulie manifested the course of his go-  
uernement, then their glittering gold was found to  
be worse than copper, not abiding the hammer; he ac-  
cording to his desert receiued thanks, and they re-  
poych and ignominie. Wherefore great god cause  
had he to be glad and ioyfull, that he was to be deli-  
uered from so ingratfull a people and vnthankfull a  
nation. But shall a man saie the truth? It is a fa-  
tall and an ineuitable destinie incident to that na-  
tion, that they cannot bryoke anie English gouernor;  
for he be neuer so iust, byright, & carefull for their be-  
nefit, they care not for it: let him be neuer so bene-  
ficiall to their commonwealth, they account not of  
it; let him be neuer so circumspect in his gouerne-  
ment and aduised in his doings, they will discredit  
and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then  
like a sort of nettles they will sting him; if he be se-  
uere, they will curle him; and let him do the best he  
can, he shall neuer auoid no escape their malice and  
spite.

This noble and worthy man, who aboue all o-  
thers had best triall thereof, thought himselfe most  
happy when he was deliuered from them, and gone  
out of their Egypt, and now returned to his owne  
natiue countrie of Chanaan, who therefore some-  
times attended the court, and serued hir maiestie as  
a most faithfull, graue, and wise counsellor: some-  
times he followed his charge and calling of president  
in Wales, which office he did most honorablie vse  
and discharge. In the end, when Lachesis had spun  
out the thread of his life, and Atropos readie to exe-  
cute hir office, he fell sicke at Worcester: and fe-  
eling a decate of nature, and that he did daile war-  
weaker and weaker, he yeldeo and humbled him-  
selfe to die; and holding vp his hands, and lifting  
vp his eyes, he continued in most hartie and inces-  
sant praiers vnto God, crauing with a most penitent  
hart, pardon for his sins, and commending his soule  
into the hands and mercie of God, thorough the  
bloud of Iesus Christ. And when his hands gaue o-  
uer, his tong ceased, and his sight failed, he yeldeo  
vp his spirit, and departed this life in a most goodlie  
and chrystian manner the first daie of Maie, one thou-

sand five hundred eightie and six. His bodie was im-  
bowelled, and his entrails were buried in the deans  
chappell of the cathedrall church in Worcester: his  
hart was carried to Ludlow, & there intomed in the  
tome that his welbeloued daughter Ambrosia was  
buried, which he had builded in the collegiat church of  
the same towne; wherein he had created a certeine mo-  
nument for a perpetuall remembrance to that towne  
& to Eikenhill, to which he was verie much affected,  
& made his most abode during the time of his presi-  
dencie. And from thence his bodie by easie iourneys  
was verie honorablie caried to his house of Bene-  
thurst in Kent, & in his parish church there he was in-  
terred in all honorable maner, as to his estate did a-  
gree vpon the one and twentieth of June, in the yeare  
one thousand five hundred eightie and six, he being  
then about the age of seauen and fiftie yeares. And  
thus this noble and worthy knight, who had spent  
the whole course of his life in the dutifull seruice of  
his prince, and to the great benefit of the common-  
wealth, is now deliuered vnto the euerlasting ser-  
uice of the eternall God, in whose celestiaall heauens  
he resteth in blisse and ioy with the foure and twentie  
elders, who there are now beholding the face of God,  
and praising his holie name for ever.

But to returne to the lord iustice, who being en-  
tered into the gouernement, and finding it in some  
quiet state, did by the aduise of the counsell follow  
that course as nere as he could, as which was left  
vnto him; and by that meanes kept the whole land  
verie quiet and in peace. For almost a yeare after his  
entrie into that office and gouernement, vntill that  
Romish cockatrice, which a long time had set abroad  
vpon hir eggs, had now hatched hir chickens; which be-  
ing venemous as were their sire, raised, wrought,  
and bred great treasons, open warres, and hostilitie  
throughout that land. For James Fitzmoris a Ci-  
raldine & conline germane to the earle of Desmond,  
who not manie yeares before had bene an archtrai-  
tor, and a principall capteine of the warres and re-  
bellion in Spounser; and wherein he was then so fo-  
lowed at inches and pursued by sir John Perot, then  
lord president of Spounser; that after manie and  
sundrie condits, he was in the end compelled and  
inforced to yeld and submit himselfe, and to craue  
hir maiesties gracious pardon: insomuch that he  
came in simple into the towne of Kilmallocke, and  
there in the church before all the people did humble  
and prostrate himselfe before the said lord president,  
and asked pardon, swearing and promising then all  
dutifulnesse, truth, & obedience for ever to hir high-  
nesse, and to the crowne of England.

Euen this perjured caitife, who for his treasons  
and great outrages, villanies, and bloudsheds, had  
deserued a thousand deaths, and yet in hope of a  
mendement hir maiestie gaue him his pardon, and  
sent it vnto him by hir seruant Francis Agard es-  
quier: euen this man (I saie) most traitorouslie fled  
into France, and there comming into the kings pre-  
sence, did offer to deliuer into his hands the whole  
realme and land of Ireland, if that his maiestie  
would giue him aid, and furnish him with men and  
monie, and such furniture as he should haue need of  
in such an action. The king at the first gaue him good  
countenance, great rewards, & liberall intertaine-  
ment, and accepted his offer: but when he had well  
considered the matter, and had further looked into  
the same, he changed his mind. James Fitzmoris,  
who had staid there in the French court about two  
yeares, and saw nothing go forward, & the French  
king wared cold; who in the end gaue him no other  
answer, but that he would commend him by his let-  
ters to his sister the quene of England, for obtai-  
ning of a pardon for him, and for hir good counte-  
nance

Edm. Mo-  
lineux.

Sir William  
Dunne the  
lord iustice for  
lowered the  
course of his  
predecessor to  
rule in peace.

James Fitz-  
moris an  
archtrai-  
tor.

James Fitz-  
moris submit-  
teth himselfe  
and sweareth  
obedience.

James Fitz-  
moris hath  
his pardon  
sent vnto him.

James Fitz-  
moris fleeth  
into France  
and offereth  
the crowne of  
Ireland to the  
French king.

The French  
king misdis-  
beth to deale  
in Ireland  
matters.





folow  
resent  
antes  
e had  
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tued,  
t wic

recdi- The erle hea-  
es of ring at the  
heard landing of  
s, he James Fitz-  
com moia guich  
ng in over his built  
as to dings.

The erle of  
Desmond  
pretending  
some service  
against the  
rebels sendeth  
to the erle of  
Clancar to  
come with  
him.

The erle of  
Clancar at-  
tendeth the  
erle of Des-  
mond.

Desmond is  
both not  
Clancars  
readiness.

Clancar de-  
parteth from  
Desmond.

Clancar de-  
parteth from  
Desmond.

The lord in-  
dice prepareth  
to march into  
Mounster.

Henrie Da-  
uels leat to  
the erle of  
Desmond.

Henrie Da-  
uels most  
cruellie mur-  
thered.

Henrie Da-  
uels perha-  
sely Desmond  
to serve as-  
gainst the  
rebels.

The faithfu-  
ness of a boie  
to his maister.

Henrie Da-  
uels what he  
was, and of  
his conditions

Henrie Da-  
uels what he  
was, and of  
his conditions

Henrie Da-  
uels what he  
was, and of  
his conditions

and persuaded them to advise their brother the erle,  
either to do that service which would be to his great  
honour and commendation, or else that they would  
take it in hand; which if they would also refuse it, that  
then the erle would spare to him a companie of his  
Gallowglasses, and about three scores of his shot, and  
he would joine with capitaine Courtneie who late  
then within the baie with his mariners, & he would  
give the assault by land, and the other should do the  
like by sea.

The erle re-  
solutely to do  
some service.

Henrie Da-  
uels depar-  
teth from  
Desmond.

Sir John of  
Desmond fol-  
loweth Da-  
uels and co-  
rroperly the  
poetter.

Henrie Da-  
uels most  
cruellie mur-  
thered.

The faithfu-  
ness of a boie  
to his maister.

Henrie Da-  
uels what he  
was, and of  
his conditions

But the erle, being moved hereof, would not  
yeeld to this motion, but answered that his shot was  
more meet to shot at foule than fit to adventure such  
a pece of service, and his Gallowglasses were good  
men to encounter with Gallowglasses, and not to  
answer old souldiers. Whereupon when he saw the  
bent and disposition of the erle, that he minded not  
to annoie, but rather to joine, aid, and helpe the tra-  
sors: he together with the prouost marshall toke  
their leave of the erle, and minded to returne backe  
unto the lord iustice, to giue his lordship to under-  
stand how all things stood, & what successe he had had  
in his message. And by the waie they laie that night  
at Traleigh, which is about five miles from castell  
Daine, and late that night in one Rices house, who  
kept a vittelling house and a wine fauerne, the  
house being both strong and defensible, but so little  
that their companies and servants were dispersed,  
and late abroad in other places where they might  
haue lodging. But sir John of Desmond, whose bart  
was imbued with a blonde intent, followed him,  
but somewhat late, and came to the towne of Tra-  
leigh, and immediatlie set spies upon Dauels, as also  
had corrupted the man of the house which kept the  
gate, that he should leave the dores open. Henrie  
Dauels mistrusting no hurt, and least doubting of  
that tragedie which was so nere at hand, especiallie  
to be done by him, whom of all the men borne in that  
land he least doubted, & best trusted, gat him to his  
bed; & Arthur Carter the prouost marshall with him.  
Now about the dead of the night, when they were  
in their deepe sleepes, sir John according to his wis-  
hed deuise came to the house, the castell doore being  
left open for the purpose, with all his companie, eue-  
rie one being armed and their swords drawn, and  
went forthwith up into the chamber where Dauels &  
his companie were in their beds fast asleep, but  
with the noise they were suddenlie awakend. When  
Dauels saw sir John of Desmond armed and his  
sword drawn, he was somewhat affonied at that sight,  
and rising up in his bed said unto him (as he was  
cuer wont to saie verie familiarlie) What sonne!  
what is the matter? But he answered him; No more  
sonne, no more father, but make thy selfe readie,  
for die thou shalt. And forthwith he & his companie  
strake at him & his companion, both naked in their  
shirts, and most cruellie murdered them both. Then  
they searched the whole house & spared none, but put  
all to the sword, saving a boie named Smolkin, who  
laie in the chamber, and had bene a continuall mes-  
senger betwene Dauels and this John Desmond.  
This boie seeing his maister to be thus murdered  
rant upon John of Desmond, and held him by the  
armes as well as he could, crying; What wilt thou  
kill my maister? But he answered; Go thy waies  
Smolkin, thou shalt haue no harme. But the boie  
seeing blowes still to be giuen, cast himselfe downe  
upon his maister, crying; If thou wilt kill him, then  
kill me also. And so saved him as well, and so long  
as he could. But it auailed not, for slaine and most  
cruellie he was there murdered.

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, borne in  
Deuon, and descended of a verie ancient and a wo-  
thyfull house, and being but a yonger brother, and

having but a verie small portion left vnto him, when  
he came to some yeares and knowledge, he gaue  
himselfe to serue in the warres. And king Henrie  
the eight, having then warres against the French  
king, he entred into France to seeke his aduenture;  
and there he had verie good intertainment, and pro-  
ued to be a verie good souldiour. After whose warres  
he serued in Scotland, and was in garrison at War-  
twike: and from thence he was removed into Ire-  
land, where he serued vnder sir Nicholas Herne  
knight constable of Leighlin, and seneschall of  
Waterford; and so well he behaued himselfe there, that  
he was commended for his good service towards the  
prince, well beloued of his countreimen, and in mar-  
uelous fauour of the Irish people; for no service was  
too hard for him in the kings causes: and so well he  
was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better  
knew and had the skill to serue than he could there.  
As for his countreimen, he was so deere and louing  
towards them, as he was more like a father than a  
friend, and more like a friend than an vnacquainted  
countreiman: for he was an host and a harborer to  
euerie one of them, of what estate and condition so  
euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentle-  
man or a begger, he was frendlie to euerie one; and  
no man did or coulde lacke that intertainment, that  
he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and af-  
ford: which a number of Englishmen tried and  
found to their great comfort, and to his everlasting  
fame.

And as for the Irishmen, the longer he liued the  
better beloued among them: for as he would not  
inurie them, no more would he suffer them to be op-  
pressed or inured: a great housekeeper amongst  
them, which they maruelously esteemed. When he  
was in office among them, he was upright and  
iudged righteously; if out of office, louing & frendlie  
to euerie man, and by that means so well (as no man  
better) beloued and trusted. For what he had once  
said and promised, that would he surelie keepe and  
performe, and thereof it came into a big-woord in the  
countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of them had  
spoken the woord, which was assuredlie looked to be  
performed, they would saie; Dauels hath said it: as  
who saith, it shall be performed. For the nature of the  
Irishman is, that albeit he keepeth faith for the most  
part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to  
breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was so  
carefull of his woord, that if he once promised, he  
would not breake it for anie mans pleasure; and by  
that means he was so well beloued, that his verie  
hoiweboies had free passage euery where through the en-  
emies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And  
that which is more, as the writer hereof speaketh vpon  
knowledge, that if anie Englishman had anie  
occasion to trauell in that countrie throughout  
Leinster or Mounster, if he had but a hoiweboie of  
his, he should not onelie passe freeie throughout the  
countries without impeachment, but should haue  
also verie good and frendlie intertainment. Among  
the noblemen he was greatlie esteemed, and was in  
great fauour with the earles of Desmond and Des-  
mond: who although they were for the most part at  
sarras and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was  
in such fauour, as he could and did passe to and fro  
in the greatest matters of importance betwene  
them: whereat he bare so indifferent a hand, as both  
parties embraced him for his vprightness and in-  
differencie. The erle of Desmond himselfe loued him  
so well, as no Englishman better; and all his bre-  
thren found such a friend of him, and such intertei-  
ment with him and especiallie sir Edmund Butler,  
that at all times and in all distresses they were sure  
to haue him to their friend; and manie times it stood  
them

The loue of  
Dauels to  
his countri-  
men.

The credit of  
Dauels woord

them in good stead.

Henrie Da-  
uels alwaies  
a fast friend  
to sir John of  
Desmond.

And as for the earle of Desmond, though he were a verie uncerteine and a mutable man, yet Henrie Dauels could preuaile with him; and were his furie neuer so hot, and he neuer so hastic, yet could he appease and quiet him. And as for sir John of Desmond the earles brother, such was his profession and outward affection towards him, of a most firme friendship; that it was thought to be impossible, that the loue and goodwill betwene them could by any means be dissolved. For in what distresse so euer sir John of Desmond was (as he was in manie) Henrie Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at sundrie times redeemed him out of prison, pra out of the castle of Dublin, when he was committed for capital crimes, and became suretie for him in great sums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie for him; Dauels purse was at his commandement, his house at his deuotion, and what he had at his disposition. And so farre this god will grew betwene them, that John of Desmond, as one knowledging himselfe most bounden to him, did call him father; euen as the other called him sonne. And now see, when treason and treacherie was entred into him, how contrarie to all faith, friendship, and humanitie, the sonne most unnaturalie bereft the father of his life, and most cruellie murdered him. Who wozth to so wicked a villaine, that so bereft the prince of so faithfull a subiect, the gouernours of so trustie a seruitor, the commonwealth of so good a member, of a man most outfull to his superiours, bright in iustice, trustie in seruice, expert in the warres, faithfull vnto his friend, loving to his countrie, fauoured of all men, hurtfull to no man, of great hospitalitie to all god men, god to all men, a father vnto the distressed, and a succourer of the oppressed; finally such a rare man of his degree and calling, as few like haue bene found in that land; and yet against all pittie and mercie, most cruellie murdered by a traitor to God and his prince, euen to the greefe of the traitors of his owne blood. But here it falleth out that is of old said; Saue a murderer or a theefe from the gallowes, and he shall be the first that shall cut thy throte.

The brags of  
John Des-  
mond for kil-  
ling of Da-  
uels.

His crueltie  
mistaken.

The popes  
doctors doe  
allow and  
commend the  
murder.

When this bloudie murderer had executed this crueltie vpon his god friend, he forthwith made his repaire to James Fitzmozis, and to his doctors and companie in great bzauerie, recompting vnto them that a noble act and a valiant seruice he had done in murdering of an honest, faithfull, & friendlie gentleman, saying; I haue now killed an English churle (for so maliciouslie the Irishmen terme all Englishmen) & said to his consine James; Now thou maist be assured of me and trust me, for now that I haue begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now stand to the matter with thee to my uttermost. James Fitzmozis when he had heard him at full, although both he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the Spaniards did reioice and were glad of his death, yet James did blame and abhorre the manner of his death, blaming and reprouing him verie much, that he should murder him in his bed, being naked and scarce awaked out of his sleeps, which he said was too cruell, because he might otherwise haue had advantage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwise to his commendation. Howbeit, doctor Sanders terming his bloudie murder to be a sweet sacrifice before God, did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie remission of all his finnes. The earle himselfe likewise, when he heard hereof, he was maruelouslie grieved and offended with his brother and gaue him such sharpe speeches and reproches, as it was thought they would not so faine haue bene friends againe; but wicked doings amongst the wicked establish

and confirme them in their wickednesse. At this present time, there was with the earle (as verie often he had bene) one Appelleie an English captaine, who could doe verie much with him, and vpon the hearing of the death of his good friend Henrie Dauels, he began to doubt and mistrust of himselfe and of his owne assurance. Wherefore he goeth to the earle, and dissembling his grieffe, perswaded him to drake his companie togither, and to remoue from thence to his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike, and there to abide the coming of the lord iustice, and to loine with him in this seruice against the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing lesse than so to serue, dissembled the matter, and followed this counsell, and remoued from thence to Asketten, where he laie close and did nothing, but still seemed in speeches and outward shewes to mislike with James Fitzmozis and all his companie; and yet daile his best followers and soldiers flocked and repaired to James Fitzmozis, manie of them for zeale to the popish religion, wherein they were as deuout as the popes legates and the Spaniards: but manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for feare and auoiding of his displeasure. The Spaniards, who had continued there in the fort and elsewhere, and not finding the repaire of the soldiers, nor yet any other thing answerable to that seruice as it was promised them, began to mislike it; and distrust- ing of any god successe, did repent and were soe, wishing themselves at home againe: but such was their case, that they could not shift for themselves to escape neither by sea nor by land; and therefore necessity so compelling, they resolved themselves to abide the hurt.

The earle of  
Desmond re-  
moueth to  
Asketten.

The earles  
chiefe men  
turne to the  
enimie.

The Spanie  
ardent not  
their coming.

James Fitzmozis, perceiuing their discontented minds, had conference with them, & perswaded them to be of a good comfort, for they should verie shortly haue a greater supplie and companie which he daile looked for, and all things should be had according to their owne minds: aduertising them that in the meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of thre or foure daies iournie from thence, called the holie road or crosse in Tipozarie, and there to performe a vow which he had before made when he was in Spaine, praeng their patience. But in verie trust his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into Ulster, and in both his waies, his nearest waie was through Tipozarie, and there to focke and draw vnto him all and so manie of the rebels as he could wage to loine with him, whereof he made no doubt, but assured himselfe to find as manie ready to go as he willing to haue. And so taking his iournie with thre or foure horsemen, and a dozen hernes, he passed through the countie of Limerike, & came into the countie of sir William Burke his verie nere consine and kinsman, and who before in the last rebellion did loine with him, to the great danger of his life and losse of all his goods.

James Fitz-  
mozis persua-  
deth the Span-  
iards to per-  
seuerance.

James Fitz-  
mozis pictureth  
a pilgrimage.

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And when he came so farre in his iournie, being now about thre score miles from S. Marie weake, his cariage horses (which they terme garons) wared faint, and could not trauell any further: wherefore he commanded some of his men to go before, & loke what garons they first found in the fields, they should take them and bring them vnto him. And as it fell out they espied a plot of garons plowing in the field, which they forthwith took perforce from the poore husbandmen two of them, and caried them away. Wherevpon according to the custome of the countie, the hobnob or the hue and crie was raised. Some of the people followed the tract, & some went to their lordes house, which was sir William Burke being nere at hand to aduertise the matter, who hauing thre or foure of his sonnes and verie tall gen- tlemen

James Fitz-  
mozis stealthy  
garrons.

The Burkes  
follow the  
hue.

This was a  
draught mai-  
ed by the lord  
president.

James Fitz-  
mozis make  
head to resist

James Fitz-  
mozis persua-  
deth the  
Burkes to  
rebellion.

Some thinke  
that this se-  
rvice was  
a draught  
made by Sir  
William  
Burke lord  
iustice.

The condi-  
tions of Jam-  
es Fitzmozis

James Fitz-  
mozis his  
quarters se-  
t by the ga-  
rd of Kilmal-  
locke.

At this  
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captaine,  
n the hea-  
Daniels,  
and of his  
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The carle of  
Desmond re-  
moueth to  
Alketten.

The carles  
chiefe men  
turne to the  
craune.

The Spanie  
ards like not  
their coming.

James Fitz-  
morris persua-  
beth the Spa-  
niards to pa-  
tience.

James Fitz-  
morris preten-  
deth a pigri-  
mage.

James Fitz-  
morris stealthy  
garrons.

The Burkes  
follow the  
gare.

This was a  
draught made  
by the lord  
president.

James Fitz-  
morris maketh  
head to resist.

James Fitz-  
morris persua-  
beth the  
Burkes to  
rebellion.

James Fitz-  
morris flaine.

Some thinke  
that this piece  
of service was  
a draught  
made by Sir  
William  
Dunne lord  
iustice.

The conditi-  
ons of James  
Fitzmorris.

James Fitz-  
morris his  
quarters set  
bpo the gates  
of Kilmal-  
locke.

them in at home with him, they took their horses  
and a few hernes and two shot with them, and fol-  
lowed the tract, and overtook them at a fastenes fast  
by the woods side, where they found James Fitzmor-  
ris, whom before they knew not to be come into  
those parties, to make head to answer them. But  
when he saw that it was his cousin Theobald  
Burke and his brother and his companie, who had  
bene his companions in the late rebellion when  
sir John Perot was lord president of Mounster, he  
spake ouer vnto them, and said; Cousine Theobald  
(who was the eldest son to his father) two carriage  
horses shall be no breach betwene vs two; and I  
hope that you which do know the cause that I haue  
now in hand, you will take my part therein, and do  
as I and others will do: and so continuing some  
speeches, did that he could to draw him and all his  
companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he  
answered that he and his father had already dealt  
too much that waie with him, and that he will neuer  
do the like againe: for his father, he, and all his bre-  
thren, had sworn to be true, obedient, and faithfull to  
the quenes maiestie, and which oth they would ne-  
uer breake: cursing the date and time that euer they  
joined with him in so bad a cause against hir maie-  
stie, and therefore required to haue his garrons a-  
gaine, or else he would come by them aswell as he  
could.

James Fitzmorris standing vpon his reputation,  
thought it too much dishonorable vnto him to depart  
with that which he had in hand; and therefore vtterlie  
denied the deliuerie, and therevpon each partie set  
spurre to the horses and incountered the one the o-  
ther. The skirmish was verie hot and cruell, and  
Theobald Burke & one of his yonger brethren were  
slaine, & some of their men. James Fitzmorris like-  
wise and his companie had the like successe, for he  
himselfe was first hurt and wounded, and then  
with a shot stricken thorough the head, and so was  
slaine, with sundrie of his companions: wherein he  
found that the popes blessings and warrant, his  
*Agnus Dei*, and his graines had not those vertues to  
saue him, as an Irish staffe or a bullet had to kill  
him. Thus was hir highnesse most happy, and that  
whole land most happie, that they were deliuered  
from so wicked and bloude a traitour, and that the  
great & venemous hydra was thus shortened of one  
of his heads. For other wise it was to be doubted that  
if he had liued, he would haue bin the cause of much  
bloudshed, and all the rebels in that land would haue  
joined with him. For he was of verie good credit &  
estimation thorough the whole land, he was of a verie  
good gouernement, and of a great reach; but a deepe  
dissembler, passing subtil, and able to compasse anie  
matter which he took in hand, familiar to all men,  
and verie courteous, valiant, and verie expert in  
martiall affaires, but so addicted to poperie and that  
baggage religion, that he became a most horrible  
traitour to hir maiestie, and a mortall enemie to e-  
uerie god man: and so far he was imbued herein,  
that a man might saie that he was borne to the  
same end, euen to be a traitor and a rebell to God,  
to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

After that he was thus dead, and the same made  
known to the lord iustice, he gaue order that he  
should be hanged in the open market of Kilmal-  
locke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to  
be set vpon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a  
perpetuall memorie to his reproch for his treasons  
and perjuries, contrarie to his solenne oth taken in  
that errour. Hir maiestie, when she was aquertified  
of this piece of god service of sir William Burke  
and the losse of his eldest sonne, she wrote hir letters  
of the god acceptation of his service, comforted him

for the losse of his son, and in recompense did create  
him baron of the castell of Connell by hir letters  
patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentieth yeare  
of hir reigne, & gaue him the pearelie pension of a  
hundred marks, to be paid at hir maiesties erchequer  
pearelie during his life, wherof he took so sudden ioy  
that he solowed, and seemed to be dead.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmorris  
was brought to the fort at S. Marie weke, great so-  
row was amongst them all, they being all amazed  
and wist not what to do, especially the Spaniards  
who depart could not, and to submit themselves they  
would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue o-  
uer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which pur-  
pose they would haue followed, if that sir John of  
Desmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he  
hauing imbued himselfe so unnaturalie in blood,  
and doubting the same would neuer be pardoned,  
did follow the matter. The lord iustice (as is afore-  
said) immediatlie vpon the newes of the arrivall of  
these Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Da-  
uels, made his preparation of all the forces which hir  
maiestie had in that land, which was but foure hun-  
dred footmen and two hundred horsemen, a verie  
small companie for so great service towards: yet  
considering that the victorie consisteth not in the  
arme of man, nor in horse or mule, but onlie in the  
good gift of God; he marcheth forth in his iourne,  
hauing in his companie of Englishmen sir Nicho-  
las Bagnoll knight marshall, sir Nicholas Pablie  
colonell of Copnagh, Jaques Wingfield master of  
the ordinance, and Edward Waterhouse one of hir  
maiesties seruants, Edward Fitton, Thomas Pa-  
rerson, and others. And of the Irish lords he was ac-  
companied with the earle of Bilsbare, sir Lucas Wil-  
lon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the ba-  
ron of Upper Osserie, and the baron of Dunboine,  
who had of themselves two hundred horsemen, be-  
sides footmen and hernes: and so they marched for-  
ward by iourneis untill they came to Kilmallocke,  
where not farre from the towne they all incamped:  
& then he sent from thence a messenger to the earle  
of Desmond, and so likewise to all the principall  
gentlemen of the best accompt in those parties, to  
come vnto him.

The earle in outward apperance seemed verie  
willing to come, but untill he had receiued some pro-  
mise of fauour from the lord iustice, he still lingered  
and trised the time and came not. But in the end his  
lordship being verie well accompanied with horse-  
men and footmen, he went to the campe, and presen-  
ted himselfe before the lord iustice, and made a shew  
of all dutifullnesse, obedience, & fidelitie, whereas in-  
ded no such thing was ment. For though his bodie  
were there, his mind was elsewhere; for whiles he  
was in the campe, sundrie trecheries were practised  
by him; yet they were not so secretlie done but they  
came to light, & were discovered to the lord iustice.  
Wherevpon he was committed to the custodie of the  
knight marshall. Whiles he was in his ward, and  
feearing least some greater matters would be re-  
uealed against him, he praied access to the lord ius-  
tice; and then he humbled himselfe verie much, and  
promised and swore vpon his honour & allegiance,  
that he would faithfullie and to the vttermost of his  
power serue hir highnesse against the rebels. Whose  
humblenesse and promise the lord iustice by the ad-  
uise of the counsell did accept, and so enlarged him:  
which was in the end the vtter confusion of the earle  
himselfe and all his familie, and in the meane time  
great troubles, causes of much bloudshed, and vndo-  
ing of all Mounster.

Whiles the lord iustice laie thus in campe about  
Kilmallocke, newes was brought vnto him, that sir

Sir William  
Burke being  
made a baron  
sowned for  
iop & hostlie  
after died.

The Spani-  
ards amazed  
with the death  
of Fitzmorris.

Sir John of  
Desmond sup-  
plieth James  
Fitzmorris  
roume.

Sir William  
Dunne lord  
iustice ma-  
keth a iourne  
into Moun-  
ster.

The lord ius-  
tice incam-  
peth nere to  
Kilmallocke.

The earle of  
Desmond com-  
meth to the  
lord iustice to  
the campe.

The earle of  
Desmond is  
committed to  
ward.

The earle of  
Desmond:  
deth humble  
himselfe and  
swearch to  
serue tratie.

John of Desmond  
incamped  
with his  
lougher.

John of Desmond was incamped with a great companie of the rebels upon the borders of Slewo-lougher. Whereupon his lordship remoued and marched thitherwards, the earle then promising that he would in person incounter and fight hand to hand with his brother. Now when they were come to the place of seruice, the earle being best acquainted with the countrie, gaue aduise to the lord iustice, that he should diuide the armie into two parts, and the lord iustice should take one waie, and he the earle would take another waie: which aduise was followed. But because that place of the present seruice is adioining to a great wood, and wherein were manie fastnesse, the lord iustice did diuide the rest of his companie into two other parts, and so euerie of these three companie toke waie into the wood & serched it thorough out, but there they found no bodie. For sir John had some secret knowledge of the lord iustices comming, and so was gone before.

The daie being spent to small purpose, & the night drawe towards, he incamped that night in the same places where the rebels had lien before, & there he remained somewhat longer than he thought: because he would spend and waste the forrage of that countrie, which was one of the chiefest places of reliefe that the enemies had. And from thence he went backe againe towards Kilmallocke, where he incamped himselfe at a place called Gibbons towne, which lieth in the plaines betwene Limerike and Kilmallocke towards Cmeleie and Harlo; & there he continued about nine weekes in continuall toiling and traueilling to and fro, in all such seruices as was daile offered to be done vpon the enemie, from which he had no rest neither day nor night. Whereupon for the better seruice he diuided his bands, and toke out of the Irish companie one hundred, and deliuered them to the guiding of capteine John Herbert, a man of verie good seruice, and one other hundred to capteine Dulse.

These two capteins had made spall vpon certeine rebels, which shrowded themselves in the great wood called the blacke wood, vpon whom they made a sallie, and did verie good seruice vpon them. But as they were to returne to the campe, which late before October castell, the said John of Desmond, who late in ambush for them, met and incountered them, where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two capteins with the most part of their companie slaine: & John of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men was a great weakening to the lord iustice his armie; his enemies being strong and manie: and his companie weake and few, sauing at that time the soldiers sent out of Deuon and Cornewall arrived at Waterford to the number of six hundred men, vnder the leading of capteine George Bourchier, capteine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose comming at so present a distresse was both iollfull and also glad some.

And nere about this time, it was aduertised vnto the lord iustice, that John of Desmond was at Connell, which was about sixtene miles from the campe; and his lordship being well furnished & prepared, and he minding to do some peece of seruice vpon him, made verie secretlie a iourneie thither: but Desmond wanting not his good espials, had an inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so thifted himselfe awaie, whereupon the lord iustice returned to his campe. The queens maiestie and counsell, being alwaies mindfull of his Ireland, and by reason of the newes that the enemies were daile stronger and stronger, the sent ouer sir John Perot late president of Mounster, with six ships well furnished and ap-

pointed, whereof he was admerall; and William George master porter of the tower and a pensioner, viceadmerall: and all these arrived vnto the citie of Cork. Whereof the lord iustice being aduertised, was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred vnto sir William Stanleie, who before was capteine of certeine hoisemen, and one other hundred he assigned vnto capteine Hind. And seeing now some good seruice towards, and to incourage certeine gentle men to be the more willing to follow the same, called before him George Bourchier, William Stanleie, Peter Carew, and Edward Poze, and vsing vnto them verie good speeches, to incourage and persuade them to do his maiestie good seruice in these his affaires, and in hope they would performe the same, he dubbed them knights: who accordingly did acquit themselves, and some of them with the losse of their liues ended their daies in this seruice.

And he further also for his owne part, the more he bethought himselfe of the great seruice and charge laid vpon him, the more careful he was to do what the same required: where, in his owne person he so toiled and trauelled, and so ouercame himselfe with studieng, watching, labouring and traueilling, that he ouerthrew his owne health, and was no longer able to indure the same: but being ouercome by sicknesse, and giuen to yeld therevnto, was determined to haue dissolved his campe, and so to haue returned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time. But the capteins seeing the necessitie of the present seruice, persuaded him not to dissolve the armie, but to take some order herein for his highnesse seruice, and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health. Vpon whose aduises he prepared himselfe to trauell towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the seruice did commit the gouernement to sir Nicholas Malbie, who was then gouernour by the name of corone! of Connagh; and then by easie iourneies he came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe euerie daie more weaker than other, and in the end did distrust his owne recouerie.

And yet mindfull of his maiesties seruice, he to incourage other therein, sent & called before him William Delham esquier, William George esquier viceadmerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and heire to sir John Perot, and Patrike Welch maior of the citie of Waterford, and gaue vnto them the order of knightthod, vsing the like persuasions as heretofore he had done vnto others in the like case. And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet that was no sufficient physicke to recover his helth of bodie, but that still decayed. And doubting verie much of his reconerie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chancellor, and to the ladie Thame his wife, for their speedie comming vnto him, who accordingly satisfied his request. But he intoided their companie a verie short time: for he died within two daies after their comming, being the last of September 1579, and after his death his bodie was caried vnto Dublin, where it was buried.

But here by the waie (which should before haue bene said) as he came towards Waterford through Tipperarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him, and brought with hir hir onelie sonne and heire to the earle; and being a sutor in the behalfe of his husband, presented him to the lord iustice to be a pledge for the truth and fidelitie of the earle his husband. For after the time that he was set at libertie in the campe nere Kilmallocke, he neuer repaired any more to the lord iustice, but stode vpon his owne keeping; notwithstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie and obedience, which he neuer meant. For in verie truth he was (notwithstanding his dissembling) a verie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie shottlie

The comment  
dation of sir  
Nicholas  
Malbie.

Knights dub-  
bed in f. field.

Sir William  
Dunne fallth  
sicke & goeth  
to waterford.

The gouernoz  
sendeth for  
the earle of  
Desmond.

Sir Nicholas  
Malbie  
made gouernoz  
of Mounster.

The earle gi-  
ueth onelie  
sonne and  
heire.

Knights dub-  
bed at wa-  
terford.

The gouernoz  
remaieth in  
Limerike to  
Connoie.

Sir William  
Dunne lord  
iustice dieth.

The countesse  
of Desmond  
giueth her son  
to be a pledge  
for his father.

The gouernoz  
marcheth to  
incounter  
with John of  
Desmond.

Sir John of  
Desmond lieth  
in an ambush  
for the Eng-  
lish capteins  
and discomfi-  
teth them.

The Deuon  
shire soldiers  
arrive at wa-  
terford.

Sir John  
Perot sent to  
serue on sea.

thortlie appeare, to his owne deferred confusion.

The comment  
of sir  
Nicholas  
Halibie.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Halibie, who immediately vpon the departure of sir William Daurie vnto Waterford, according to the office & charge laid vpon him, he set in hand forthwith to follow and performe the same. For he was able to do it being of great experience in martiall affaires, hauing bene seruitor that waite vnder sundrie kings, & in strange nations; as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great knowledge in matters of policie, hauing bene a student in good letters, and a great traveller in sundrie nations, and therein did obserue the maner of the severall governments in euerie such place as where he travelled. He had vnder him in the whole an hundred and fiftie horsemen, and nine hundred footmen, to command; and diuiding them according to the seruice then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, capitaine Dowball, and capitaine Sentleger, vnto Kilmallocke with three hundred footmen, and twofiftie horsemen, there to lie in garison, and a speciall place meet for the same, & which the enimie most specially coveted to possesse. But the more his care was that waite, the like was their diligence, vigilancie, & care of the other waite to keepe the same. When with the residue of the companie he marched himselfe to the citie of Limerike, where he staid and remained for a time to restreffe his souldiours.

The gouernour  
sunderly for  
the earle of  
Desmond.

During his abode and being there, it was thought good by him and his capitaine, to send vnto the earle of Desmond for his repaire vnto him, and to haue conference with him, to vnderstand his bent and aduise for his maiesties seruice against the enimies. The earle hauing receiued the gouernours letters, gaue verie good wordes, & promised much, but performed nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe sent for from time to time, but he came not, but late still at his house of Acketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike. For albeit as yet he was not in anie actuall rebellion, yet it was not vnknowne but that he was secretlie combined with his two brethren, which as open traitors were in open rebellion and in armes against his maiestie. Which the earle, suspecting the same might be laid vnto his charge, would not aduenture himselfe to come in person to the gouernour; but still fed him with faire wordes and frivolous answers. Wherefore the gouernour thought good to spend no more time in vaine to looke for him, but left Limerike, and went into the fields, where he incamped himselfe, and so set forthwards to doe some seruice vpon the enimie, hauing then in his companie six hundred footmen vnder the ensignes of sir William Stanleie, capitaine George Carew, capitaine Fisher, capitaine Furle, capitaine Piers, & capitaine Windz; and he himselfe and capitaine Apellie referued one hundred horsemen betwene them. Now being aduertised that a great companie of the rebels were incamped in Connello vnder their capitaine John of Desmond, he marched towards them. And being come nere to an abbey or monasterie called Spouagher, seven miles from Limerike, there appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of horsemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand or thereabouts, marching in battell araiie, and had cast out their wings of shot, and placed euerie thing verie well and orderlie.

The gouernour  
marcheth to  
counter  
with John of  
Desmond.

When the gouernour perceived and beheld this, being verie glad that some peece of seruice was towards, he likewise conferreth with his capitaine, and by their aduises setteth his companie in like good order, and brought them into a quadrant proportion, setting out his flankers in severall places according to the seruices, & appointed verie good leaders for the same: but his carriages he placed in the reerward, with shot sufficient for their safeguard. Now when all

things were thus ordered, he marched forthwards to the enimies. John of Desmond, when he saw that he must fight or die, and that brags would not beare out the matter, by the counsell of doctor Allen, who had the holie ghost at commandement, to giue them the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displayed; and then marching forthwards in verie good order, he took a plaine ditch in the open field: and minding to abide the fight, disposeth his horsemen, footmen, Calonglades, and his shot for his best strength and advantage.

The popes  
banner dis-  
played.

The gouernour setteth on wards, & giueth the onset vpon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the first & second volles, & answered the fight verie well, euen to the couching of the pikes, that the matter stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fiercely & desperatlie set vpon them afresh with the third volle, that they were discomfited and had the ouerthrow giuen them, and fled. John of Desmond, as a worthy Herres, who (as the historiographers write of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat vpon his horse all this while and gaue the looking: who sooner turned first, he was the first that was gone: for he put spur to the horse & fled awaie as fast as he could, shewing a faire paire of heels, which was better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one, and three score others of good account. And in the chase, there were slaine and hurt, which died thortlie after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen was an Irish man bozne, and the chiefest cause of this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom he knew to be verie skillfull, and also dreaming the victorie by his enchantments to be at his commandement, encouraged John of Desmond forthwards: and in the campe in the waite of good speed would needs saie masse, and as the prophets of Baal in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God Hazim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come; for his God was asleepe and could not heare. Notwithstanding, he stood so much vpon the credit of his offerings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a victorie, and that he himselfe would be the first that should that daie giue the first blow; but whether he so did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the full reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and dissolualie forsake the dutie and allegiance, which by the word of God he did owe vnto his highnesse, and deuoted himselfe a professed Jesuit to the Romish antichrist, and an open traitor vnto his lawfull prince. The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of Lerne stood in the view & sight of it, vpon a little hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thence: but the whole companies were there, and had part of the breakefast.

The battell  
betwene the  
gouernour and  
sir John of  
Desmond.

The Irish  
lost the field.

Doctor Allen  
is slaine.

Doctor Allen  
incouraged  
the campe to  
fight.

The earle of  
Desmond  
was in view  
of the fight.

This baron of Lerne's eldest sonne, named Patrick, was seruant to his maiestie and sworne, and serued in the court; but had leaue of his maiestie to come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no sooner come, and entred into his fathers house and home, but he forsake his faith and oth to his highnesse, and became a wicked rebell, and most traitorouslie bare armes against his father, and so continued a ranke traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth the nature of himselfe, and of the word of that cursed generation, among whom there is neither faith, nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well resembled to an ape, which (as the common proverbe is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple and beluet: euen so this wicked impe. For notwithstanding he was trained vp in the court of England, sworne seruant vnto his maiestie, in good fauour and countenance in the court, and apparelled

The baron of  
Lerne's son,  
seruant to the  
quene and  
sworne, be-  
cometh armes  
against his  
father.

No faith nor  
regard of an  
oth among the  
Irish.



led according to his degree, and dailie nurtured and brought up in all civillitie: he was no sooner come home, but abate with his English attires, and on with his bryggs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knave of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as dailie experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Jupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well esteemed and honored: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the historie.

Jupiters cat.

The earle of Desmond dissembling, & his counsell.

The earle of Desmond sheweth himselfe to be an open rebell.

The gouernour remoneth to Kekeil.

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

The earle of Desmond secretlie in the night stealth to the gouernours campe to the trappe.

A garison placed at Kekeil.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernour incamped himselfe fast by the river side of the monasterie aforesaid, and there laie that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: euen then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation vnto the gouernour, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and full of his god successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to hir maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of hir great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernour answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference together, and ioine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraue himselfe and his companie from thence, vnlesse he could giue him a god reason, he would not yeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantise. And therefore he remained thenceforth in the same place thre or foure daies, expecting still the earles coming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that thenceforth he became a rebell in open adion, and in armes against the gouernour, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to be delates and faire speeches to gaine time to serue his turne, removed from thence to a towne of the earles named Kekeil, and there incamped himselfe. They were no longer settled, but the scoutmaster, hauing bene abroad, declareth to the gouernour that he had discovered a great companie of horsemen and footmen which were within a mile of the campe, & therewith was the alarm made, & sundrie horsemen & foot according to the direction of the gouernour issued out, & met with the enemies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and toke some prisoners.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had bene euer since the last ouerthrow of his brother John of Desmond; and likewise declareth the whole bent of the earle and his brother. This peece of seruice being done, and the night drawing nere, the watch was charged, and euerie man toke his rest. But the earle and his brother minding to do some mischief, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking aduantage of the time, when men were wearie and in their sleepes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too thort and missed of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernour considering the intent of the enemies was to do what they could to remove him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enemies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enemies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water,

they had a continuall recourse to & fro that waie: he before his departure from thence did plant & place a ward in the castell adioining to the bridge, which did from that time annoy the enemies verie much; and then from thence he marched towards the earles house of Asketten, and by the waie he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the river, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother John were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the river, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernour hoping of some good seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbies house of Asketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the capitains that were best to be done, it was agreed and thought good, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to persuade him to submission. The gouernour, who was a verie god secretarie, and could pen a letter verie excellentie well, did draw a letter, vnting manie god words, termes, and reasons to persuade him to conformitie and obedience to hir maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the bitter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Roellus the great prince of South-wales by his mother Bessa, daughter vnto the said Roellus, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And herewith by the waie of a parenthesis, it doth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Giraldines came out of Itallie; but perhaps out of pormandie: and the first of them placed in England had some interteinement and kuing at Windesore, and thereof was called Giraldus de Windesore: and he gaue not the armes of Richard Strangbols earle of Chepflow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancestors were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and persuading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie; that he would reclaime himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancestors might not be buried in his treacheries and follies. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pishie, true, and effectuall reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue persuaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Iha-raos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yeld and relent: but leauing his former and wanted dissimulations, returneth the messenger with a flat deniall that he will not yeld anie further obedience to hir highnesse. And forthwith to confirm the same, he fortifieth his strongest and best houses and castels: as namelie Asketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castels of Carigofosse and Strangicullie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernour, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordingly; newes was brought him that sir William Daurie lord iustice was dead, who deceased at Waterford, vpon the third of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto hir highnesse seruice.

Asketten the earle of Desmonds chiefest house.

A letter sent to the earle of Desmond to persuade him to submission.

The house of Desmond.

The earle of Desmond will not be persuaded.

The earle of Desmond fortifieth his castles.

Sir William Daurie death.

This

The condit-  
ons and man-  
ners of sir  
William  
Daurie.

his seruice at  
Wallingue.

He is taken  
prisoner.

He serueth at  
seas.

His seruice at  
the commoti-  
on in Devon.

His seruice at  
Berwick.  
He is prouost  
marshall.  
He is dubbed  
knight.

He is generall  
of the armie,  
and doth a  
good peece of  
seruice in  
Scotland.

He beliegeth  
and taketh  
Clenborough  
castell.

Sir William  
Daurie sent  
into Ireland  
to be lord pre-  
sident of  
Mounster.

The condit-  
ions and man-  
ners of Sir  
William  
Dunne.

This Sir William Dunne was verie valiant, wise, and a gentleman of great experience, descended of a verie ancient and a worshipfull house, being a younger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferior to his elder brother in kind of waite in the gifts of wisdom, valiantnesse, knowledge, and experience of matters politike or martiall. In his youth he was a page, and serued in the court; and as in yeares, so in knowledge of all courtlie seruices he did grow and increase, and became to be as gallant a courtier as none lightly excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord Russell lord priue seale, and after earle of Bedford, who gaue him good countenance and intertinement:

His seruice at  
Bullongne.

For vnder him he serued in France at Puttrel and Bullongne, and after the warres ended, he went to Calis, and oftentimes being there he issued out, and did manie good seruices about Cambaie and in Artois: and in the end about Buzelles he was taken prisoner. Not long after he was redeemed and

He is taken  
prisoner.

ransomed, and then he would needs serue at the seas, and hauing gotten a ship well appointed for the purpose, he aduentured that seruice. The beginning of it was so hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall storme, and in great despair for euer to recover: neuertheless, whom the sword could not make afraid, the seas could not dismaye; but was euer one and the same man, of a good mind and great courage:

He serueth at  
seas.

and the storme being past, he followed the seruice which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maritall man, and verie expert in all seruices at the seas. When the time of this his seruice was expired, he returned into England; attending vpon the earle of Bedford, he accompanied him in the seruice against the rebels of Deuon, at the com-  
motion of rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first one thousand five hundred fortie and nine, and did there verie good seruice. After which in course of time, he went to serue at Ber-  
wick, where his valor and behauior was such, that he was made prouost marshall vnder the earle of Souther being lord lieutenant, and for his sundrie notable good seruices he rewarded him with the degree of knighthood.

His seruice at  
the commoti-  
on in Deuon.

His seruice at  
Berwicke,  
He is prouost  
marshall.  
He is dubbed  
knight.

Not long after that, there was a pece of necessitie seruice to be done in Scotland by the said earle vpon the quenes commandement; but he was verie sicke, and at that time he could not performe the same: wherefore he deputed in his place this wor-  
thy knight, whom he then made generall of the ar-  
mie: and with such forces as were thought meet he  
entred into the seruices appointed vnto him, being  
accompanied with the earle of Lennox, Sir Thomas  
Spanner, Sir George Carew, and Sir Robert Con-  
stable, with sundrie other capitaines, to the number of  
twelue hundred footmen. And his commission be-  
ing to serue at Edenborough, which then by the rea-  
son of the diuision among the noblemen, about the  
murdering of the earle of Surreie, he took, spoiled,  
and burned sundrie forts and castles: and in the end  
besieged and took the towne and castell of Edenbo-  
rough, and deliuered the same, according as he was  
commanded, to the vse of the king: and so he retur-  
ned againe to his old charge, with great praise and  
commendation, as in the chronicles of England  
and Scotland is at large recorded.

He is generall  
of the arme,  
and doth a  
good pece of  
seruice in  
Scotland.

He besiegeth  
and taketh  
Edenborough  
castell.

In verie short time after, his maiestie hauing good experience of the valor of this knight euere waile, as well for his valiantnes in martiall affaires, as for his wisdom in ciuill gouernement, the cal-  
leth and draweth him from his office and charge at  
Berwicke, and remoueth him into Ireland, there to  
be imployed in the office of a lord president, and as-  
signeth vnto him the gouernement of the whole pro-  
uince of Mounster, where he shall haue sufficient  
matter and occasion to vse both the sword & the law,  
iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued his  
highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh  
his voyage & repaire into Ireland: & being now set-  
tled in his roome and office by the right honorable Sir  
Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, he acquitteth him-  
selfe verie well euere waile, being as secure a iudge  
and earnest persecutor of the wicked and rebell-  
ous, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedi-  
ent, to the great good liking of his maiestie, the ter-  
ror of the wicked, the comfort of the good, and the be-  
nefit of the commonwealth. After some time of his  
triall in this office, and Sir Henrie Sidneie lord de-  
putie being reuoked into England, he who had ser-  
ued well in part, is called now to serue in all: and  
from a particular president is called to be a generall  
gouernor: and is in place of the departed deputie  
made lord iustice. He was no sooner entred into the  
office, but forthwith the rebellion and warres of the  
Desmonds began in Mounster vnder James Fitz-  
morris, and the Italians lately come from the pope,  
and vnder the earle of Desmond and his brethren,  
who had long breathed and looked for this time. For  
the pacifying, or rather subduing of this wicked re-  
bellion, he took such continuall trauels and troubles,  
& so busied his bodie, that being not able to hold out  
any longer, he fell sicke & died (as is before said) in the  
cittie of Waterford, and from thence his corps was  
remoued to Dublin, and there buried; his bodie re-  
sting in peace, his soule in euerlasting blisse, and  
his fame in this world for euer immortall.

Sir William  
Dunne sent  
into Ireland  
to be lord pre-  
sident of  
Mounster.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, who was chiefe gouernor of Mounster, now that his commission by the death of Sir William Dunne was expired and ended, gaue  
ouer to followe and actually warres or ciuill adminis-  
tration in Mounster; but remoued himselfe and the  
whole campe vnto Lougher, and there dispersed them  
abrode in towne and villages to lie in garrison, and  
vpon their owne gards, vntill it were knowne who  
should haue the sword, and be the principall officer.  
Amongest the capitaines thus dispersed into severall  
places, Sir William Stanleie, and capitaine George  
Carew were assigned to lie at Adare. The traitors  
& rebels, hearing of the death of the worthy knight,  
of whose prowesse and valiantnesse by the sword, & of  
whose wisdom & brightness in gouernement, they  
had good trial; yet not abiding to be alienated from  
their old leauened and wicked vsage, they were not  
a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were  
most sorrowfull for the losse & lacke of him. Wherefore  
now they pull by their spirits, & confer together how  
they may in this inter-reigne win the spurs, and be  
utterlie deliuered from the English gouernement.  
Wherefore it is agreed among them, that vpon eue-  
rie severall garrison of the most principall capitaines,  
they would set severall companies to watch & keepe  
them in their holds, that they should not issue out,  
but to their peril. Some therefore are appointed at  
Kilmalocke, some at Carigafolle, some at Alketten,  
and some at one place, and some at another. And at  
Adare, where these two gentlemen Sir William  
Stanleie & George Carew late, Sir James of Des-  
mond brother to the earle with foure hundred Irish  
and fiftie horses was appointed to serue and watch;  
which he did so carefullie & narrowly, that none durst  
to peepe nor looke out but in danger of some perill.  
But when bittels waied short within doores, the soul,  
doyes, who could not be pined, gaue the aduenture  
to fetch that which was without doores: and as  
want of bittels did increase, so did their illings out  
vpon the enemies grow and increase. And so often  
were their sallies and incountrings with the eni-  
mies, that in the end they finding & feeling the con-  
rage

The campe is  
dissolued and  
dispersed into  
garrisons.

Sir William  
Dunne is  
made lord ius-  
tice of all  
Ireland.

The rebellion  
of the Des-  
monds in  
Mounster.

The death of  
Sir William  
Dunne.

The campe is  
dissolued and  
dispersed into  
garrisons.

Sir William  
Stanleie and  
capitaine  
George Ca-  
rew are assign-  
ed to Adare.

The garrisons  
are besieged and  
maimed by the  
Irish.

Sir James of  
Desmond be-  
siegeth Adare,

The Irish-  
men leave to  
inure the  
garrison.

The knight  
of the ballie  
his countrie  
spoiled.

The knight  
of the ballie a  
rebell.

Sir William  
Stanleie and  
capteine  
George Ca-  
rewe's service  
at Dore.

Sir William  
Delham cho-  
sen to be lord  
iustice.

1579

Sir William  
Delham ha-  
ving taken  
the sword,  
dubbed the  
lord chancel-  
lor knight.

rage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering euer lost some of their companie. Whereupon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a general gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captens were not to seeke, nor yet failed to do the seruice which vnto them did apperteyne, either for seruice or safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lieng in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to do a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the bycake of the daie, they tooke a bote or a cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their solloz vnto the other side of the riuer, which lieth betwene Adare and the Rerie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & apperteyning to the knight of the ballie, who then was in actuall rebellion against hir maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, where they then late at a castell named Ballilloghan, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two capteins had burned & spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoever they thought good: in their returne before they could reconer the riuer, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the ballie, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horsemen, gaue the charge vpon these two ensignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue sir scoze persons to the vttermost. These two capteins answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the pusch of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot andernes; and sir James himselfe with others grauouslie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, sauing sundrie were therewolue hurt and wounded. At length these two capteins recovered their bote, and caused all the souldiours to be transported; they themselues being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, stood afterwards vpon a better force.

The lords of the counsell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselves, and toke aduise for the chosse of some one wise man, meet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolved vpon sir William Delham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon sundae being the eleuenth of October 1579, he receiued the sword and toke his oth in Christ's church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancelor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Desmond and Kildare, and the whole counsell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whome sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As sone as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancelor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of counsell, and of his maiesties good acceptation of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degree of knight-hood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late tresuro: of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the counsell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate:

and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of arie countenance and calling, perswading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Desmond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the yong lord Gerald sonne and heire to the earle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Packworth, and he to bring or conueie him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the hode seale was sent to sir Warham Sentleger, to be knight or prouost marshall of all Mounster. These and other things done concerning the keeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who had a speciall eie to the troublesome state of Mounster, prepareth to make presentlie a iournie into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancelor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to his maiestie and counsell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships iournie towards against the rebels: who had also in commission to vtter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon his maiesties demands and counsels. When all things were prepared for his iournie, he appointed the earle of Kildare to defend the borders northward, and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three bands latelie come from Berwikke, vnder the leading of capteine Malher, capteine Case, and capteine Piheman: with so manie others as he thought meet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Peile a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betwene the earle of Desmond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, baron of upper Ossorie: betwixt whome was a most fall hatred. And bonds were taken betwene them for resozing ech one to the other the pzeies, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good intertainment.

From this towne he departed the two and twentieth of October, and by iournies he came to Cathell, where the earle of Desmond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the foure and twentieth of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaire vnto him, for the appeasing of the quarrell and controuersie betwene him & sir Nicholas Malbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cathell or to Limerike. And from this towne he rode to Limerike, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Malbie and sundrie other capteins & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a bzaue volée of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the maior in all dutifull maner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weaponed and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thence, and went to a towne named Fanings, where sir Nicholas Malbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Alike Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Alike, and with most pestilent reasons perswaded him to rebellion. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from her husband, with letters of her husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The lord iustice seeing the earle to vse but delays, toke aduise of the counsell which was with him, what

The earle  
of Desmond  
made gouernor  
of Mounster.

Sir Warham  
Sentleger  
made prouost  
marshall of  
Mounster.

The lord iustice  
made his iournie  
into  
Mounster.  
The lord  
chancelor  
sent into  
England.

The lord iustice  
kept sessions at  
Kilkennie.

The earle of  
Desmond and  
the baron of  
upper Ossorie  
reconciled and  
made friends.

The earle of  
Desmond is  
sent for to  
come to the  
lord iustice.

The lord iustice  
honorable  
receiued into  
Limerike.

Doctor Sanders  
wrote letters to  
Alike Burke.

The earle of  
Desmond is  
required to  
deliuer doctor  
Sanders  
and the Spaniards.  
The earle to  
deliuer one of  
his castles.

The earle  
to submit  
himselfe.

That he prosecute  
his brethren and  
rebels.

The earle  
sendeth letters  
to his countess  
which not.

The second  
letter sent to  
the earle of  
Desmond for  
his comming  
in.

The earle of  
Desmond's  
batter taken  
and gained.

The earle of  
Desmond  
proclaimed  
traitor.

that was best to do. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Desmond should go vnto him, and to conferre with him vpon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him vnto the said Desmond, and to requite his resolute answer.

The said articles were in summe  
as followeth.

**F**irst, that he should deliuer vnto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certeine strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countreies, and maintained by such traitors and in such castels, as be at his deuotion and commandement.

That he shall deliuer vp into his maiesties hands one of his castels of Carigofosse or Asketten, for the pledge of his good behauiour: which vpon fundrie and diuerse reasons is suspicious, and he for his disloyaltie greatlie suspected.

That he do forthwith come and simplie submit himselfe vnto his maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of his maiestie and counsell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and counsell in Ireland.

That he do forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and ioine with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Desmond, lord generall in this seruice.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errours past: but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Desmond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Crough the thirtieth of October 1579, vsing therein nothing but triflings and delates, requiring restitution for old wrongs and injuries, and iustifying himselfe to be a good subiect, though he do not yeld to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parley, the lord iustice was remoued to Crome, where he expected the returne of the earle of Desmond and to that place sir William Stanleie & capteine George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen.

The earle of Desmond being returned, & hauing little preuailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could preuaile; then it was thought good by the lord iustice & counsell to proceed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice remoued from Crome to Rathkill, and he was no sooner incamped, but alarm by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice & the earle of Desmond: & in that skirmish thre or foure of the traitors were slaine, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustification to be a good subiect, he daile accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice seeing that neither counsell nor delate of time could auale with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the counsell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in

the highest degree of treason at Rathkill the second of Nouember 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth.

The earle of Desmonds treasons  
articulated.

**T**hat the erle of Desmond hath praactised most vnnaturallie the subuerfion of the whole state.

2 That he praactised to bring in strangers, and praactised with forein princes to bring and allure in strangers to inuade this land.

3 That he fostered, and maintained doctor Sanders, James Fitzmoyses, and others beyond the seas to worke these feats.

4 That albeit to the offer shew of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie interteined by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrie.

5 That when his brethren most traitorously had murdered Henrie Dauels and others at Traleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reposing or blaming of them, and had also commehded speciallie the daughter of Edmund Duffe an Englishman, who at the said murdering laie in the next bed vnto Danel.

6 That when the strangers at Smerwike had no waie to escape by sea, at the coming of sir William Dacie, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commandement giuen vnto him by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Dingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there interteinements.

8 That he distributed the ordinances and artillery of the forts vnto the rebels, as both appere by a note found in the port mantieu of doctor Allen lately slaine in the encounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath let at libertie such strangers as he kept colourable as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castels.

10 That he hanged most abhominable Richard Cufface, Simon Brian, and others the quenes subiects, for whom he undertooke to the late lord iustice to be safely brought vnto him.

11 That he sent fundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his household seruants, as also his chiefe capteins, which vnder the popes banner displayed most traitorously in the fields, did assaulte sir Nicholas Malbie knight his maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Cuagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that daie carie.

12 That he hath utterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, fundrie messages, and all the good means vied and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onelie refused to deliuer vp doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which do daile accompanie him; but hath broken downe his castels, burned his towne, and desolated his countreies aforehand, to the intent his maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he daile looketh for a further aid and a new supplie of foyners, & daile solliciteth the chiefe men of the Irish countreies to ioin with him in this his most execrable and rebellious enterprize.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to

the earle of Desmond the power of Mounster.

the Warham entieger the power of Mounster.

the lord iustice the power of Mounster.

the lord iustice the power of Mounster.

the earle of Desmond and baron of Mounster.

the earle of Desmond and baron of Mounster.

the lord iustice the power of Mounster.

the lord iustice the power of Mounster.

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards.

The earle to submit himselfe.

That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

The earle sendeth letters but counteth not.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his coming in.

The earle of Desmond's butler taken and slaine.

The earle of Desmond proclaimed traitor.

the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherefore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against his maiesties crowne and dignitie, vntil within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submit himselfe. Vnto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Dymond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the viscount Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Malbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

The proclamation against Desmond is sent to all the cities in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dispersed to Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limericke, and other principall townes to be in like order proclaimed. Immediatlie and within an houre after this proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword could consume. From this place the lord iustice removed to Duple Brian, where upon the third of Nouember he took a generall muster of the whole armie: and then he deliuered to the erle of Dymond two hundred and fiftie horsemen, and also eight ensignes of footmen, of the which companie George Bourchier went to Kilmallocke, and sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew to Adare. And then he removed and took his iournie vnto Limericke, being accompanied with the earle of Dymond, who the next date left the lord iustice and returned to his charge. After which departure of the lord iustice, the proclaimed traitor of Desmond and his brothers, not able anie longer to throtle his treacheries, went with all his forces to the towne of Poughall, where against his comming the gates of the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but colourable: for verie shortly after, without deniall or resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels entered the towne and took it, and there remained about five daies, rifling and carrieng awaie the goods and household stuffe to the castell of Strangicallie and Liffinen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards.

The towne of Poughall taken & spoiled.

A barke well appointed at waterford is sent to Poughall.

The ordinances recovered from the rebels.

White, capteine of the barke is slain.

The earle of Dymond makes a rode into Connello, & killeth a number of the rebels.

The earle of Dymond, as soon as he was aduertised hereof, he caused a barke well appointed to be dispatched from Waterford, & to come to Poughall: the capteine of which barke was named White, a man of that countrie birth, verie ballant and of a stout stomach. As soon as he was come to the walls of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recovered from the rebels certaine ordinances of the said townes; and being put to vnderstand that the senehall of Imokellie was comming towards the towne, he set all his men on land; and setting his men in good order, he entered into the towne at the watergate, and marched in good order through the towne, till he came where the rebels were together, and then more rashly than consideratlie, gaue the charge and onfet upon them: but the number of them being great, and his but a hantfull to them, he was in verie shortly time inclosed and ouerlaid, and there slaine, and with much adoe did a few of his companie recover their ship againe. The lord generall and gouernour in the meane time, not slackeng his businesse, did assemble and muster all his companie, & being accompanied with sir George Bourchier, sir William Stanleie, capteine Dowdall, capteine Furle, and others, made a iournie into Connello, which was then the chiefe place of trust that the earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for vittells and forage, and there his greatest force and strength of his souldiours were seized in the townes and villa-

ges. And they then little thinking and lesse looking for anie such ghests, were vnawares and vpon a sudden intrapped and taken napping, and the most part of them taken and slaine, and the villages for the most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond at this present time was there, but not knowne in his castell called the New castell, and escaped verie narrowlie. This peece of seruice being done, the lord gouernour marched towards Mac Millies countrie, and being to go through a certeine passe, he met with the senehall, vpon whom he gaue the charge, who answered the same verie ballantlie, and the skirmish was verie hot, in which the senehalls brothers and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though not so manie, amongst whom capteine Zouches trumpeto was one; which so grieved the lord generall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and villages in that countrie and about Liffinen, which in anie waie did belong to the earle of Desmond, or of anie of his friends and followers, to be burned and spoiled.

The earle of Desmond in danger to be taken.

The earle of Desmond slain and buried.

The death seruice of earle of Dymond.

A sickness in the can

From this he took his iournie towards Cork, and in his waie at Dunsfening he took a prete of one thousand five hundred hinde or cotres, which were all driuen and sent vnto Cork, at which citie as soon as his lordship was come, and had rested a small time, then by the aduise of the capteins he distated and bestowed his companie into sundrie garrisons and places conuenient, as which might best answer the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furle, he went to Cashell, and by the waie he took the maior of Poughall, whom forthwith he examined, and for his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yeeld by the towne vnto Desmond, and had before refused a band of Englishmen, which was appointed to lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof, and had promised that he would keepe and defend the same against all men; he carried him along with him vnto Poughall, and there before his owne doore hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman or child therein, saving one strier, whom he spared, because he had fetched the corps of Henrie Dauels from Traleigh, and had caried it to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancell of the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pittie the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the reedifying of the walls and gates, and placed therein a garrison of three hundred footmen vnder capteine Spozgan and capteine Piers, who did verie good seruice in the countrie, and by good means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and impleopled the towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed thence, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and opportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the capteins for some speciall seruice, and remembryng that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hitherto nothing done or said vnto them; it was agreed betwene his lordship and the capteins, to do some seruice vpon them, and to trie their value: whereupon they marched thither and laid siege thereto.

The maior of Poughall hanged before his owne doore.

The towne of Poughall all desolate.

The inhabitants recovered to dwell and inhabit the towne.

All the cities &

Shir will winter g with prot stions.

The Spaniards, who kept alwaies good watch, and had also verie good espials abroad, they were forthwith aduertised that a companie of souldiers were drauing and marching towards the said castell, and when they themselves saw it to be true, and had discovered them, they began to distrust themselves, and to doubt of their abilitie both to withstand them. Wherefore abandoning & forsaking the castell, they passed ouer the water, thinking to recover the towne

The Spaniards lying in Strangicallie forsake their fort and in fleeing are slaine.

Shir will winter i with the



and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanleie, capteine Zouch, capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, capteine Roberts, and all their companies did so egerlie follow and pursue them, that in the end they overtook them, and slew all or the most part of them, and so took the castell, wherein the lord gouvernour placed a ward. Likewise when he laie at Adare, and understanding that the erle of Desmond was abroad, the garrison minding to do some service upon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing some intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their returne; and upon an aduantage he gaue the onset upon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they brake the most part of their pikes, and were enforced with their swords and with the stumps of their haues to stand to their defenses; which they did so valiantlie, that the earle in the end with the losse of his men was driuen to giue ouer and to flee.

The like seruice did sir Henrie Mallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bourghier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Holingworth, and all the residue of the capteins in their seuerall charges and garrisons, who though of themselves they were verie forward; yet the lord gouvernour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the for most, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he remoued and dislodged himselfe from Adare, and marched to Botenaut a house of the lord Barries, where a pece of seruice was appointed them to be done: but suddenlie such a sicknes came among the souldiers which took them in the head, that at one instant there were aboue three hundred of them sicke, and for three daies they laie as dead stockes, looking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recovered. This sicknesse not long after came into England, & was called the gentle correction. Now the companie being thus recovered, his lordship minding to follow a pece of seruice, diuideth his companie into two parts, the one he tooke himselfe, and toke the waie by the Island; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and diuided their companies into three parts, & so marched to Dingle a cuth. And as they went they drave the whole countrie before them vnto the Wentrice, & by that means they preyed and toke all the cattell in the countrie to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horses, garrons, sheepe, and goates, and all such people as they met they did without mercie put to the sword. By these meanes the whole countrie hauing no cattell nor kine left, they were driuen to such extremities, that for want of vittells they were either to die and perish for famine, or to die under the sword. Neuerthelesse, manie of them understanding that sir William Winter vice-admerall of England was newlie arrived with the queenes ships at the Wentrice, and that he had receiued a commission to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obtained protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat prejudiciall to his maiesties seruice: because they perswaded themselves, that if they had folowed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

Sir William vice-admerall of England, vpon the newes reported to him maicestie that a new supplie was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to keepe the seas and to attend their comming, and as occasion serued to do his best seruice vpon them. Who when he had so done certeine moneths, his vittells wared scant; and ser-

uing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing on wards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arrive thither, he hoised his sailes and returned into England. But he was misfaken & deceived: for not long after they came and landed at Smerwicke, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leaving the souldiers in their garrisons, let vs returne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the first of Nouember 1579, being accompanied with the Berwicke bands, he went into Thomond, where the earle and his sonne with two bad horsemen met his lordship; and from thence he travelled by Iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honorable receiued. And to the end to incourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the copozation certeine branches and articles, whereof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newlie set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

### The charter of Gallewaie with new liberties confirmed.

First, that no writ of *Sub poena* shall be awarded out of the chancerie against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, vntill the parties which sueth out the writ, haue put in good and sufficient suerties before the lord chancellor, or the maior of Gallewaie to prosecute the same with effect.

That no new office nor officer be erected in the towne of Gallewaie by anie deputie or gouvernour, otherwise than as they in times past haue vsed to do.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discret men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enemies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buie anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulie make payment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne do vse anie vndercent & vnrerent speech to the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall inioyn, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, vsages, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the parties condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called *Wleitgethe*.

That no dead bodie shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and haven, that the same be serched and victued for weapons and munitions, and that none aboue the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the bieto of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the wals.

That the maior from time to time do take the muster and bieto of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all vnreruseable people in time of seruice be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittells from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be provided alwaies in the towne for a staple of vittells to be kept there at all times.

From

The earle of Desmond in danger to be taken.

The earle of Desmond lieth in an ambush.

The diligent seruice of the earle of Desmond.

A sicknesse in the campe.

The maior of 'oughall hanged before his wne doore.

The towne of 'oughall desolate.

The inhabitants reuoked dwell and habite the towne.

Sir William Winter giueth protections.

The Spaniards lying in tranquillitie take their ease and inuincing are none.

The lord iustice with the Berwicke bands goeth into Thomond.

The lord iustice is verie honorablie receiued into Gallewaie.

William Po-  
zis newlie  
came out of  
England  
meeth the  
lord iustice.

Captaine  
Pozis sent  
to the  
Pierre.

Sir Henrie  
Harington is  
made sene-  
shall of the  
Dyrrnes.

The proud  
letters of the  
earle of Des-  
mond.

The lord iu-  
stice enterech a  
new iourneie  
into Houn-  
ter.

The lord iu-  
stice keepeth  
sessions at  
Waterford.

The lord iu-  
stice receiued  
honourable  
into Water-  
ford.

From thence his lordship by sundrie iournies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about thre miles before he came to the citie, William Pozis newlie arrived out of England, and accompanied with certeine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, well furnished and well hoisted with English geldings, currie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attended his lordship into the citie, and from thence he was assigned and sent unto the Pierre, where he died verie hostlie after vpon the five and twentieth of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his spleene corrupted, and his bryaine murt with filthie matter. His hands were disolued and deliuered to either capitaine. And immediatlie vpon his entrance into the citie, he sent for Jaques Wellingfield master of the ordinance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to keepe his chamber for his contempt, because he did not attend the lord iustice into Hounster as he was commanded; but vpon his submission after foure daies he was releas-  
fed. And vpon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harington, who had married one of his daughters and heires, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be sene-  
shall of the Dyrrnes, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter vnder their hands, dated the nine and twentieth of November 1579, to the lord iustice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holinesse and king Philip, who haue undertaken to defend and mainteine them, and therefore persuaded the lord iustice to ioinie with them.

The lord iustice, baning set the pale in some order, & having committed the same to the gouernement of the erle of Kildare, he made a new iourneie into Hounster, and departed out of Dublin the eightieth of Ianuarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that seruice, and toke his iournies along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thence taking Tinneterne in his waie he came to Waterford, the five and twentieth of Ianuarie 1579, by water from Wallisbache in certeine botes verie well appointed by the maior of the citie. And before he came thither, sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, and capitaine Piers, issued out of the citie with their foure bands, and nere to the thore in the view of his lordship, they presented him with a tollie skirmish, and so retired themselves, to make ward against his landing. The bulwarks, gates, and curtains of the citie were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike maner, and then all the shot of the ships in the haue, and a great ranke of chambers vpon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

At his landing the maior and aldermen arated in their scarlet gownes met him, and presented vnto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which forthwith he redeliuered vnto them againe, and the sword the maior bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie vpon two seuerall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made vnto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging. And to this citie the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and they being together, letters were sent from sir William Pozis of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungenuson and Boughall. Where vpon one hundred horsemen vnder capitaine Zouch, and

Sentleger, and foure hundred footmen vnder sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, capitaine George Carew, & capitaine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord iustice from Waterford, vpon notice of the trouble daillie increasing, sent a commission of the eleuenth of February, to sir Warham Gentleger to be prouost marshall, authorising him to proceed according to the course of marshall law against all offenders, as the nature of his or their offenses did merit and deserue; so that the partie offenders be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the yeare in land, or annuities, or be not worth ten pounds in goods; also that vpon good causes he maie parke and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & sturdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlawes and thieues, and execute all idle persons taken by night: that he shall glue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in doing of his seruice, he shall take horse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man doe deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall lawes, and the same to see to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he doe euerie moneth certifie the lord iustice how manie persons, and of their offenses and qualitties, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are comprized in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The lord iustice, after that he had rested about thre weekes at Waterford, he removed and went to Clonmell, where the earle of Desmond met him, being the sixteenth of February 1579, and from thence he went by iournies vnto Limerike, where the chancelor of Limerike vpon suspicion of treason was committed to prison, and his lodging being searched, manie masse booke and other popish trash, together with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Kerrie was found. He was after indicted, arraigned, and found guiltie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was vpon some suspicion committed prisoner vnto his owne house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of March to Rathkell, where within one houre the erle of Desmond came vnto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enimie. Which when they had agreed vpon, they passed the next morning ouer the bidge of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Rathkell. Now when they had amended the bidge which the rebels had destroyed, and made passable, they passed ouer the same into Connello, where the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond diuided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroyed the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kailcolman. And there it was aduertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant vnto capitaine Fenton, coming from Limerike with five horsemen, and thre shot, which were of the gar-  
rison at Adare, he was set vpon at Rathkell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge sixtene or eightene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he eschped them: but he and James Fenton the capitaine brother, and Guidon, so bestirred themselves, that they gaue the enimie the repulse, and slew their leader, with five or six others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horses.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot vpon the spurte, & so eger vpon the vile rebels, that

The articles  
of a commission  
for the marsh-  
shall law.

The baron of  
Kernew sub-  
mitteth him  
selfe.

The castell of  
Carigofoule  
is besieged.

The lord iu-  
stice and cap-  
taine Carew  
take the view  
of the castell.

The castell  
besieged.

The proud  
bagg of the  
Spaniard.

The chancel-  
lor of Limer-  
ike sent to  
ward for  
treason.

The bishop  
committed  
prisoner to his  
owne house.

Nicholas  
Parker verie  
valiantlie de-  
fendeth him-  
selfe.

The castell  
is battered  
with shot.

that day they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the sword. The same date, a souldier of the marshalls encountered with two lustie kernes, the one of them he slue, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellows head with him to the campe: which when he had done, his head also was cut off and laid by his fellows. The next date following, being the twelfth of March, the lord iustice and the earle divided their armie into two severall companies by two ensignes and thre together, the lord iustice taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of Slewlougher, and so they searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that date about foure hundred men, and returned the same night with all the castell which they found that date.

And the said lords, being not satisfied with this dates service, they did likewise the next date divide themselves, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie untill it was night. And being then incamped nere together, the baron of Lerneu came to the earle of Dymond, whome the earle in the next morning brought before the lord deputie, where he in most humble maner yelded, and submitted himselfe to his lordships devotion, promising and presenting his service with all dutifulnesse. And then, when after great travells they had marvellouslie wasted and spoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofoule, and to laie siege to the same: for in it laie the greatest force of the Desmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This castell standeth in the river, and at everie full sea both it and the bannes about it are inutoned with the said floods and flowing waters. As soon as they were incamped, the lord iustice approached the castell so nere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordinglie he might consider the most fittest places for the laying of the shot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine shot, and to go with him in this service. Now the Spaniards having espied them, spent manie shot upon them, and where the lord iustice verie hardlie escaped with his life, and from being slaine with a musket shot. When his lordship upon this view had determined that he would do, he caused the canon shot to be planted in the place most fit for the batterie, for otherwise the fort was not to be assaulted.

In the same were sixtene Spaniards and fiftie others under one Julio an Italian, who at the request of the countesse of Desmond undertooke the keeping of it, and who reported himselfe to be a verie notable engineer: & standing upon his reputation, he plied the campe with continuall shot, putting out an ensigne and railing with manie bad speeches against his maiestie; declaring also that they kept it for the king of Spaine and so still would, untill further aid were sent from him: and which in verie deed was daile looked for. Before the canons and other battering peeces could be unladen, they spent the time, occupieng the one the other with such deuisies as they thought good for the services. And the Spaniards, having the advantage, did by their often shot hurt and kill some Englishmen, namelie a souldier of sir George Bourchiers, one of sir Henrie Mallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and sir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night past, was hurt with a musket shot out of the castell in the necke. As soon as the ordinance was unladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the fort with thre canons, a culvering, and a demie culvering; and in short time they so beat it, that the house fell and filled the ditches: by means whereof the same became to be assaultable.

Capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that date, entred into the utter banne by a doze that the souldiers had broken, and was master of it presently. The Spaniards therupon retired to a turret that was upon the wall of the barbican, & some sought other places to hide and to save themselves, but that part of the castell was beaten downe: and then capteine Macworth recovered the possession of the whole, and did put fittie to the sword, of which nineteene were found to be Spaniards; and six others he took, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe. None were saved that date but onelie the capteine Julio, whome the lord iustice kept for certeine considerations two or thre daies; but in the end he was hanged as the rest were before him. The next date, being the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and fourescore, the ordiances were removed and caried to the ship, which with all such souldiers as were sicke and hurt were sent to Limerike, to be relieved and cured. This castell, one of the principallest and chiefest forts thus recovered, there resteth onelie the house and castell of Asketten: and the lord iustice, and the earle of Dymond thought nothing more necessarie, than even forthwith to march to Asketten, and to incampe there and to besiege it, even as they had done to this fort of Carigofoule. Where when they came, the two lords divided themselves, the one taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of the water: and upon the third of Aprill they incamped at the said castell, the lord iustice lieng in the abbey, and the earle of Dymond upon the further side of the river.

The lord iustice viewed the place, and found no waie possible to place any watch or ward nere to the castell, by reason of the great disadvantage of the rockes which laie altogether upon the castell. While the campe late there, sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteine Walker went to give siege unto the castell of Wallloghan, a strong house of the Desmonds, and which was guarded untill this time against his maiestie. The ward had no sooner the sight and view of these thre ensignes, but that they fired the house and fled: but they were so narrowlie pursued, that the leader of them and some of his companie were overtaken and slaine. Whilste the siege laie at Asketten, sir Henrie Mallop treasurore at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie same night following, being a verie darke and close night, the warders of the castell fearing the example of the execution done at Carigofoule, and doubting the sequelle of the lord iustice preparation made for the batterie to be laid against it, did abandon and forsake the castell verie secretly about midnight, leaving a traine of powder to set it on fire, which consumed & burned a great part of the same: but the principall towers remained untouched. The warders by fauor of the darke night escaped into the woods.

This castell thus recovered, the earle of Desmond had neuer a castell in all pounsher which was guarded against his maiestie: but all were now at his devotion. The lord iustice being possessed of Asketten, he appointed a strong garrison to reside there, and placed sir Peter Carew, and sir Henrie Mallops companie in the castell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingworth to be in the abbey, and so upon the fifth of Aprill he dislodged with the rest of the armie, and went unto Limerike: commanding the capteins to cut down the woods on both sides of the river, that the botes might passe freely to and fro. At his comming to Limerike, all things now seeming to be at peace, the earle of Dymond returned home to Kilkennie, & certeine of the countrell

Capteine Macworth first entred the castell.

The castell of Carigofoule is taken.

The bragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1580

The castell of Asketten appointed to be besieged.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew besiege the castell of Wallloghan.

The warders forsake the castell.

The warders of Asketten forsake the castell, and by a traine set it on fire.

The castell of Asketten is taken.

A ward placed at Asketten.

The armie is dispersed, and the garrisons

he articles of commission the marshalls law.

The baron of Lerneu submitted himselfe.

The castell of Carigofoule is besieged.

the chamberlaine sent to the son.

The lord iustice and capteine Carew take the view of the castell.

The castell is besieged.

the bishop retired to his house.

The proud biags of the Spaniards.

the earle verie desirous to him.

The castell is battered with shot.

are sent to  
their places  
appointed.

cell which had followed in this tourneie rode to Dub-  
lin : and sir Nicholas Malbie departed into Con-  
nagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of  
the armie was now disperfed into garrisons : yet the  
services of everie of them neuer abated. For al-  
waies as the time of service required, the Irishmen  
were issued out upon, and most commonlie had the  
worst side. And the lord iustice himselfe taking an oc-  
casion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water,  
and capteine Case went by land, and after a time  
spent in searching the woods, they returned with a  
preie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and  
verie good stoe of sheepe, besides the slaughter of  
manie traitors.

At his being and during his abode in Limerke,  
upon the fifteenth of Maie, he receivede hir maiesties  
commission under the broad seale of England to be  
lord iustice (where before he held the same by the e-  
lection and order of the counsell) and therewith also  
one other commission, for creating of sir William  
Burke baron of castell Cornall, with a yearelie  
pension of one hundred markes during his life.  
And from this time, the lord iustice spent this sum-  
mer in Spounster, travelling to and fro through out  
the whole prouince : he himselfe and everie other  
capteine in his severall garrison doing such service  
upon the rebels as by occasion was offered. The lord  
iustice upon the fifteenth of June, after that he had  
marched a few miles in Mac Aulies countrie, spoi-  
ling, defacing, and burning the same, he passed  
through the boggie mounteine of Slewlongher in-  
to Kerrie, and there he discovered a great preie of  
the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the toward  
of his horsemen, and he himselfe in person toke a-  
bout two thousand kine, besides stoe of sheepe and  
garons, with part of the traitors masking aparetell.  
The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and  
doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, esca-  
ped verie hardlie; and their preiest for half was faine  
to leaue his gobone behind. The like service he did  
the next daie, being the five and twentieth of June at  
Castelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie  
began amongst the souldiours under sir George  
Bourchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dow-  
dall, by reason of their wants : but his lordship with  
such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that  
they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir  
Cormac Mac Teige shiriffe of the countie of Cork  
did notable service upon sir James of Desmond;  
which sir James upon the fourth of August made a  
roade into Spunkroie, and toke a great preie from  
the foresaid sir Cormac. Whereupon his brother  
Donnell assembleth his brothers tenants and coun-  
trie and followed the preie, and recovered the same :  
sir James, who thought it to be too great a dishonour  
and reproch to depart with any thing which he had in  
hand, withstanding the matter.

Whereupon they fell at hand-fight. In which con-  
flict and fight the said Donnell behaved himselfe so  
valiantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the  
matter, that the preie was recovered, and sir James  
himselfe mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and  
all his force, being about a hundred and fiftie per-  
sons, were slaine and overthrowne. He that toke  
him was a smith, and servant to sir Cormac, who  
forthwith handfasted him : and for avoiding of cer-  
teine inconveniencies, he kept him close, and secre-  
tely hid him in a certeine bush in the fastnesse there,  
and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not es-  
cape nor run awaie. And when all the companie was  
gone, then he toke him and carried him to sir Cor-  
mac his maister, who kept him in safe custodie, un-  
till, by letters of commandement from the lord ius-  
tice and counsell, he did deliver him unto sir War-

ham Senteleger then prouost marshall, and to cap-  
teine Raleigh; who (according to a commission in  
like order to them addressed) was examined, indic-  
ted, arreigned, and then upon judgement awarred,  
hanged and quartered : and his bodie being quar-  
tered, it was together with the head set on the towne  
gates of the cite of Cork, and made the preie of the  
fooles. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost an o-  
ther of his heads.

This service of this knight was marvellouslie  
well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and  
counsell, and then from hir maiestie he received be-  
rie frendlie and thankfull letters. This man was a  
ponger house unto Mac Artie Keough, and they  
both a ponger house unto Mac Artie Spore now  
earle of Clancar, and whose ancestors (as is said)  
were kings before the conquest of Spounster. They  
are all men of great power, and greatlie este-  
med in those parties. But this sir Cormac, in du-  
tie and obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes,  
and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth  
all his otone sept & familie, as also all the Irishie in  
that land. For albeit a mere Irish gentleman can  
hardly digest any Englishman or English govern-  
ment, & whatsoener his outward appearance be, yet  
his inward affection is corrupt and naught : being  
not unlike to Jupiters cat, whome though he had  
transformed into a beautifull ladie, and made hir a  
noble princeesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could  
not forbear to snatch at him : and as the ape, though  
he be never so richlie attired in purple, yet he will  
still be an ape. This knight, after he did once yield  
himselfe to hir maiesties obedience, and had profes-  
sed his loialtie, he ever desired to ioine himselfe un-  
to the companie of the Englishmen, and became in  
time a faithfull and frendlie man unto them, lived  
according to hir maiesties lawes, and did so good  
service at all times when it was requist and requi-  
red, as none of that nation did ever the like. And if  
at any time he were had in suspicion, he would by  
some kind of service purge & acquite himselfe, even  
as he did in this present service in taking of sir  
James of Desmond, to his great praise & commen-  
dation, and to his acquitall against the reprochfull  
reports of his aduersaries. And sir William Fitz-  
williams in the time of his deputiship, having had a  
verie good trial of his fidelitie, truth, and good ser-  
vice, did give unto him the order of knighthood, and  
made him shiriffe of the countie of Cork: even as  
the lord iustice now did commend this his service  
unto hir maiestie by his letters of the twelfe of Au-  
gust, a thousand five hundred and eightie, and pra-  
ising that the same might be so acceptable received,  
as that the enobling of him might be both an or-  
nament to his house, an incouraging unto others to  
do the like, and a testimonie against others of his  
fozt, who have neglected a number of occasions (at  
greater aduantages) to have done the like serui-  
ces.

The death of James of Desmond, and the quar-  
tering of his bodie did marvellouslie dismaie the earle  
himselfe, sir John his other brother, and doctor San-  
ders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the  
continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could have  
no breath nor rest to relaeue themselves, but were  
allwaies by one garrison or other hurt and pursued;  
and by reason the harvest was taken from them,  
their cattels in great numbers preied from them,  
and the whole countrie spoiled and preied; the poore  
people, who lived onelie upon their labors, and fed by  
their milch colwes, were so distressed, that they would  
follow after the gods which were thus taken from  
them, and offer themselves, their wives, and chil-  
dren, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer  
the

Sir James  
of Desmond  
sent to sir  
Warham  
Senteleger  
& to capteine  
Raleigh, and  
was executed  
to death.

The fate of  
the countesse  
of Desmond

Sir John of  
Desmond  
minded to  
goe with el  
bicomat Wal  
singliffe.

Sir John of  
Desmond an  
doctor San-  
ders in shen  
were in dan-  
ger to be ra-  
ken.

Jupiters cat.

The loialtie  
of sir Cor-  
mac Mac  
Teige.

The earle at  
his countesse  
in danger to  
have bene t  
ken.

A commission  
to create sir  
William  
Burke to be  
baron.

The earle of  
Desmond and  
his wife and  
doctor San-  
ders in perill  
to be taken.

A mutinie a-  
mong the sould-  
iours for lacke  
of vittells.

Sir Cormac  
Mac Teige  
dott a piece of  
service upon  
sir James of  
Desmond.

Sir James  
of Desmond in  
taking of a  
preie is taken  
prisoner and  
executed.

Sir Cormac  
Mac Teige  
made knight

Sir George  
Bourchier  
ronell of  
Spounster.

This force  
both of the  
princes and  
of the la-  
of the pro-  
vince.

The miserie  
of the people.

Sir James  
of Desmond  
sent to Sir  
Warham  
Senteleger  
to captaine  
Raleigh, and  
was executed  
to death.

The fate of  
the countesse  
of Desmond.

Sir John of  
Desmond  
minded to  
come with the  
vicount Wal-  
tinglasse.

Sir John of  
Desmond and  
doctor Shan-  
ders in living,  
were in dan-  
ger to be ca-  
bin.

Jupiter's cat,

The foolish  
Sir Cor-  
nac Mac  
Ceige.

Sir Cormac  
Mac Ceige  
was knight.

The earle and  
his countesse  
in danger to  
have bene ta-  
ken.

Sir George  
Boucher co-  
rnell of  
Spounster.

This force is  
both of the  
princes paie,  
and of the lord  
of the pro-  
vince.

he miserie  
the people.

the famine therewith they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a division betwene the earle of Desmond and his brother sir John, either of them excusing that where of they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fled from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and seeing no other remedie, sent his ladie and wife unto the lord iustice, who in great abundance of teares bewailed the miserable estate of hir husband, hir selfe, and their followers, making (with most lamentable requests) sute, that hir husband might be taken to submission.

Sir John of Desmond, being in the like distress, he together with doctor Sanders gave the adventure, to passe for their refuge to the vicount Waltinglasse, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which laie at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to do some service, by chance met the said John and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set upon them, and of foure of them they took two, the one being a frier named James Haie and standardbearer to the late James Fitzmoris, who upon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slain; and the frier was reserved, but sir John and the doctor by the benefit of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their journie. The lord iustice being at Newcastle, and being advertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he forthwith sent for the garrisons of Adare and Ashketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to meet him at the place, daie, and time appointed, for a speciall peece of service then to be done. Whose commandement being done and obeyed, they took their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother bewailed the matter, and yet for hast they left their breakfast behind them halfe dressed. Fewer the lesse, they took two peeces, the one of sixtene and the other of eightene kine; and the next daie they took another peece of two hundred kine, due diuerse traitors, and took two friers, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes nuntio, they being poore bare footed friers, and he a lustie hoxlinan: and then his lordship returned to Ashketten, where he left master Parker constable of the place; and from thence he went to Limericke, where he receiued news by master Zouch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arrivall to Dublin. And then his lordship minding to make his speedie repaire to Dublin, did set the countie in some good order, and by the aduise of the councill at Limericke, he appointed sir George Boucher cornell of all Spounster, and instructions were deliuered unto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be done, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole prouince; & had left unto him the charge (under his gouernement) of the whole forces in Spounster; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsemen three hundred fourescore and sixtene: the whole, three thousand two hundred and sixtene men. Likewise he had sent the like instructions to sir Warham Senteleger, and the erle of Clancar. And these & other like things done, he took his journie through Conaugh for the like establishing of the countie, & came to Dublin the first daie of September, one thousand five hundred fourescore and one; and the next daie he deliuered by the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Irelands, in saint Patrikes church in presence of the councill, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arrivall, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the vicount of Waltinglasse, and Theon make Hugh, the chiefe of his ser of the Obzins, were lying in the Obzins countie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the compaignie of captaine Fitzgiral, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed unto him in the beginning of this rebellion, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Obzins. And he nothing regarding now, either the dutie of a subject, or his owne credit, most traitorously reuolteth from his lawfull prince, and conioineth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and persuadeth to resist and make head against hir maiesties forces; because they could not (as he said) withstand or preuaile against them: who without anie reward promised, were easilie persuaded, because they would be persuaded, and were most willing to exercise anie maner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped themselves in the fastnes of the Glennes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & cat-tell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possible might be: for in it is a ballie or a combe lying in the middle of the wood, of a great length, betwene two hills, & no other waie is there to passe through. Under foot it is boggye and soft, and full of great stones and slipperie rocks, verie hard and enill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees upon the sides of the hills, & full of bushments and underwoods.

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countie, nor with the Irish seruices, and thinking himselfe in honor to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a compaignie of traitors should lie so nere unto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolved himselfe to haue a peece of service to be done upon them. Wherefore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the said Glennes, & giveth order to sir William Stanley, sir Peter Carew, sir Henrie Wagnoll, captaine Atobleie, and to John Parker, lieutenant to captaine Furse with all their footmen, and to Francis Cosbie captaine of the herne, and George Spoe an old veteran of Werwolke, coronell of all the footmen, to take this service upon them. But Cosbie, who had bene a long seruitor, and knew that that kind of service did belong, did foresee the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his compaignie: notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said service, and upon the next daie, being the five & twentieth of August, they entered the Glennes.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Jaques Wingesfield, captaine George Carew, captaine Denie, and others on horsebacke staid upon the mountaine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgiral, having some secret intelligence of the service towards, he be- stoweth and placeth all his men with their peeces amongst the trees, and there couered themselves, until the Englishmen were entered and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduantage upon euerie side of the hill, with great furie assaileth them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the vaward, both captaine and souldiours. The residue which followed, being in despair to recouer what was lost, and distrustful themselves, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the nimblenesse of the traitors, and their skill of service in such places, that they were like to haue bene

The vicount  
of Walting-  
lasse lieth in  
the Glennes  
with the re-  
bels.

The strength  
of the fastnesse  
in the Glennes

A service ap-  
pointed to be  
done against  
the Obzins.

The lord de-  
putie staid  
upon the  
mountaine.

D. J. killed;



killed; if the lord deputie, and the horsemen had not rescued them: upon whose comming they retired into their fastnesse.

The English men slaine in the Glunnes.

Sir Peter Carew slaine.

Jaques Wingfield his wife slaine towards his nephews.

In this conflict, George Poore, capteine Audicte, Francis Cosbie, and sir Peter Carew colonell, were then murdered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was halfe smothered, and enforced to lie downe: whome when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, & the most part of them would haue saved him, and made request for him, they thinking that more profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death. Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, altho as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughtered and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Jaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardnesse, and foreséeing the euill successe which was feared would ensue, perswaded with his two nephews, sir Peter and capteine George Carew, to staie and to forbear to aduenture into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereto, nor be perswaded; but would needs go in. His brother would haue done the like, but his uncle perforce kept him, saying; If I lose one, yet I will keepe the other: and so by that meanes he was by Gods goodnesse saved and preserved.

This blacke daie was a dolefull and a gréuous daie to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending toke the matter as patientlie as he could, and made his retourne vnto Dublin, abiding the comming of the lord iustice; who as sone as he was returned, then the lord Greie was sworne, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Desmond in this meane time, being verie desirous to doe some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incampeth at Traligh, where the scout the same night espied a light in the enemies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them seemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernour to be more watchfull and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a wise and a politike capteine, setteth all his companies in battell arae, & so marcheth forwards in his strength & verie good order over the strand of Traligh towards the fort, euery man being at a full resolution to doe his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approaching of the lord gouernour, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrusted themselves, and forsoke the fort, and by the guiding of the Irisherie, they remoued themselves from thence to Clauringell, whome the gouernour pursued, & overtooke some of them, vpon whome he gaue the onset, and skirmished with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he toke, whome he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Clauringell, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mountaines adioining. Whereupon the daie being spent, and no seruice for that time to be done any further, the lord gouernour incamped there that night, fast to their enemies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst doe.

The companie of the Spaniards not aboue seven score.

The earle followeth the Spaniards and putteth them to the foile.

The Spaniards leaue their fort.

The earle marcheth in order of battell to the fort.

that the Irishmen were of bodies sufficient, but that they lacked furniture and training; & in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safe: lie arrived, and how that they were intertained: requesting that the supplie appointed before their comming from home, might with all speed be sent auaile, and for which they did daile loke: because it was throughlie concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, to make a thorough conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentie as time should serue, to doe the like with England. And moreover, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir John his brother, & to doctor Sanders the popes nuntio; and more is promised to be sent.

After these things thus done, it was giuen to the said gouernour to vnderstand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiours of the enemies companie returned & gone backe to the fort. Whereupon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as nere to the fort as he could; and there choosing to himselfe capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, and certeine shot, he drew so nere to the fort as he had the whole discouerie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which seemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had any shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artificer without his toles, can doe any thing in his profession: no more can the souldiour fight without his meate weapons, nor serue without his necessities: and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernour was driuen to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The Spaniards perceiuing this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a fallie of three score men; and the gouernour seeing their aduantage, thought to follow the aduise of his capteins, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Andrew Martin more hasty than aduised, and more rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slaine; and the lord gouernour compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he sounded the retreat; and being not able to annoie the enimie, nor preuaile at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by iourneies he came to Keshell: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yielded vp all his companie, and his commission, and then made provision of his men, and for victuals, to follow the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horsemen and footmen, vnder the leadings of capteine Zouch, capteine Walter Raleigh, capteine Denie, who had also capteine George Carews companie vnder his ensigne, capteine Macworth, capteine Achin, and others: and then he marched towards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were settled.

Capteine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Keshell, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staied behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a manner among the Irish kerns, that whensoever any English campe was dislodged and remoued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore he eng, and keeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the comming of the said kerns; who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their maners and old vsages to the said place, and there took

The determination of the pope and king Philip, to make a thorough conquest of Ireland.

The earle of Desmond incampeth at the fort.

The earle had lacke of munition could not preuaile against the fort.

The Spaniards issue out and giue a skirmish.

The lord deputie cometh to Keshell, and is there met by the earle of Desmond.

The diligent seruice of the mariners.

The fort is beset vpon the land side.

The lord deputie marcheth to the fort, and besiegeth it.

The fort is summone.

The answer of the fort.

The Spaniards make a fallie vpon the Englishmen.

The diligent seruice of the mariners.

The fort is beset vpon the land side.

toke their pleasure; who when they were in their securitie, the capitaine and his men came upon them, and toke them all. Among them there was one, who caried and was laden with withs, which they used in sted of halters: and being demanded what he would doe with them, and whie he caried them; gaue answer, that they were to hang by English churls: for so they call Englishmen. As it so (quoth the capitaine) well, they shall now serue for an Irish kerne: and so commanded him to be hanged by with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their deserts.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as nere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also newlie returned from out of England: but he arrived at Kinsale, and his viceadmirall capitaine Wingham came into the baie of saint Marie weeke or Smereweeke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these means the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir William Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before any assault giuen, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to doe, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in his maiesties land, & required therewith to yeld by the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had giuen that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receiue and recouer that land to the holie church of Rome, which by his maiesties means was become schismaticall, and out of the church, with other reprochfull speeches: and that therfore they were in that respect to keepe what they had, and to recouer what they yet had not. Whereupon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what fort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossessing of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillerie and munitions might be best placed and lated for the batterie; and betwene whom it was then determined how all things should be done.

Whiles they were thus in speeches, and consulting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some advantage, made a sallie upon the Englishmen: which was forthwith answered by capitaine Denie (who as then had but a dozen shot) and by Michaell Butler lieutenant to capitaine Raleigh: & these so valiantlie behaued themselves, and so worchilie followed the fight, that they made the Spaniards with more hast than with good speed to returne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion betwene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be unladen certaine culuerings, and like peeces of ordinance out of his maiesties ships, which then laie in the rode of Smereweeke, and then there being a great banke betwene the shozes side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it; and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the daie, and before it was open daie the batterie was readie to be giuen. A peece of seruice (the place and time considered) thought worchilie great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had done the like upon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to follow the seruice, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a peece of ordinance, offering vnto them mercurie if they would yeld. But they knowing nothing what was done that night, answered as before, that they would keepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Whereupon they began to batter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water.

This first daie of batterie was capitaine Raleighs ward daie. But the Spaniards made their bzags, that they cared not for this; and to set a good face by on it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skirmish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both upon the first daie, the second daie, and the third daie, little was done, but onelie the continuance of the batterie. The fourth daie was capitaine Zouches ward daie, vnder whom was a lustie young gentleman named John Cheke, who drew so nere the fort, that he looked ouer the purport into it, which being seene and percciued, one of the Spaniards leuelled a peece at him, & with his shot strake him in the head, wherewith he died. About the end of these four daies, the trenches for the full batterie were drawne and brought so nere vnto the fort, that now they left to ballie any longer with the fort, but verie hotlie and sharpelie they battered at it on both sides. The Spaniards, who had staied themselves vpon the hope of some further supplie; to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had receiued; and seeing also the batterie to be such as they could not be able to withstand and hold out, they desired a parlie with the lord deputie, who vtterlie denied it: saying, that his seruice was against traitors and rebels, with whom no speeches nor parlies are allowed. And forasmuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like predicament with them. When they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. When they requested that certaine particular men among themselves might haue their free passage, and certaine other conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions, requiring an absolute yelding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile any waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Miser cordia, misericordia*, and offered to yeld both themselves and the fort, without any condition at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent capitaine Jaques Wingfield master of the ordinance to the fort, and to make triall whether this their offer were true and vnfieigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receiued in, and forthwith the capitaine of the fort came vnto him, and in all humble maner yelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented vnto the lord deputie: and at the commandement of the said Jaques Wingfield he disarmed himselfe, and caused all his companie to doe the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laied their pikes acrosse vpon the same. Which being done, the said capitaine Wingfield came out of the fort, and brought the capitaine with him, promising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receiue him at his hands, and willed the said Jaques Wingfield to returne againe to the fort.

In this fort sir James Fitzgiral knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the erle of Desmond, and one Plunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the capitaine had yelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, capitaine Raleigh together with capitaine Pacworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie of the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were clere, the lord deputie came to the fort, and hauing done what please

As if, led

The determination of the rope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of Ireland.

The earle of Desmond impatient at the fort.

The earle of Desmond could not wait against the fort.

The Spaniards issue out to give a skirmish.

The lord deputie commeth to Kinsale, and here met by earle of Desmond.

The lord deputie marshallly to the fort, and becometh it.

The fort is summoned.

The answer of the fort.

The Spaniards make a sallie upon the Englishmen.

The diligent seruice of the mariners.

The fort is better by the sea side.

John Cheke is slaine.

The fort is battered on euerie side.

The Spaniards desire a parlie.

Captaine wingfield is sent to the fort.

The prisoners in the fort be executed.

sed him, his lordsh<sup>p</sup> returned, and manie of the cap-  
teins he saved. The fort forthwith was raised, the ar-  
mor and munitions were dispersed abroad, and all  
things done as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the  
coronell and campemaister ouer into England by  
capteine Denie, and dismissed the armie, and sent  
euerie capteine to his garrison. And his lordship  
went from thence to Dingham, which is a long scat-  
tering waste towne, and in it foure or five castels,  
which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defa-  
ced in the beginning of this rebellion.

Capteine  
Zouch made  
the gouernour  
of Desmond.

And here the earle of Desmond met with the lord  
deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, be-  
ing readie to haue followed the seruice if need had  
so required. In this towne the lord deputie made cap-  
teine Zouch gouernour of Berrie and Desmond, and  
appointed vnto him three hundred men, and accom-  
panied him with capteine Cash, who had one hun-  
dred men, and capteine Ashin, who had fiftie horse-  
men, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that  
towne, or where they thought good. And these had to  
them giuen all the victuals which were found in the  
fort. And from hence his lordship went to Limerike,  
and came thither the seauen and twentieth of No-  
uember, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five  
hundred & eightie. At which time there arrived out of  
England six new bands of soldiers, vnder the lead-  
ing of capteine Berkleie, capteine Cruise, capteine  
Herb, and capteine Tanner, all which his lordship  
bestowed in severall garrisons, and in such places as  
were most meet for seruice; capteine Berkleie one,  
lie of the captains remained in Mounster, and was  
placed in the house of Asketten, the chiefe castell of  
the earle of Desmond with two hundred men.  
The others went into Connagh, where the wicked  
sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now vpon  
their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Span-  
ards were overthromme, and thereby a sufficient  
warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke them-  
selues, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the  
like would also inue upon them: yet see how that the  
beneuous Hippo had no sooner lost one of his heds,  
but in stead of one, sundrie and manie others are  
sprong vp. For at the verie instant, the bastardlie  
brood of the earle Clanricard, the viscount of Wal-  
tinglasse, associated with the Obyins, Omozes,  
and Keuenaghs in Leinster, & with sundrie others  
of that wicked nation, conspire, and are vp in open  
rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Mounster,  
Connagh, and a great peece of Leinster are in arms  
and actual rebellion: onelie Ulster (which was  
wont to be the worst) is now the best and most qui-  
ettest.

The earle of  
Desmond is  
the gouernour  
of Mounster.

The cleargies  
band doe arise  
into Ireland.

The earle of  
Kildare, and  
the baron of  
Deluin had in  
suspicion, and  
are committed  
to ward.

The lord deputie being at this present in Lime-  
rike, & aduertised of these troubles, letteth all things  
in order for the seruice in Mounster, and committed  
the whole gouernement of that prouince vnto the  
earle of Desmond, and then he returned vnto Du-  
blin, where he took order for Connagh & Leinster.  
And about this time there arrived out of England  
150 horsemen set out at the charges of the clea-  
gie of England, vnder the leadings of William  
Russell sonne to the earle of Bedford, and of Brian  
Fitzwilliams, which were dispersed according to the  
seruice. The lord deputie being returned vnto Du-  
blin, the earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin  
his sonne in law, were had in suspicion to be parta-  
kers and secret dealers in these rebellions, and there-  
vpon were committed to ward vnder the custodie of  
Jaques Willingfield maister of the ordinance. Im-  
mediatlie vpon whose apprehensions, the lord Hen-  
rie Fitzgiral, sonne and heire to the said earle, and  
of the age about seauentene yeares, being persua-  
ded by his fosterfathers and followers, he fled into

Uphalla thereof he was baron, and there (as it was  
said) he was taken by the Deconbours, and kept a  
gainst his will for his safetie, until they did heare  
further what should become of the earle.

The earle of  
Desmond is  
kept by the  
Deconbours

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie,  
he considered that this was but a surmised and co-  
lorable kind of dealing, to cleare his lordships eyes;  
wherefore by order and good aduise he first willed the  
earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his mes-  
senger returned with an answer, that the young lord  
was willing to come, but the Deconbours, who were  
in doubt what should become of the earle, would  
in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, unless they  
might haue good assurance for his safe returne a-  
gaine vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these  
kind of fond excuses and disorderd dealings, sent the  
earle of Desmond then being in Dublin, to deale  
with the Deconbours, who being accompanied with  
sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas  
White maister of the rolles, capteine George Ca-  
relw, capteine Macworth, and sundrie other cap-  
teins and gentlemen, made their repaire to the bo-  
ders and marches of Uphalla; whence after much  
talk to no purpose, they all returned without the  
young lord. Neuertheles afterwards the Deconbours  
when they had better considered of the matter, and  
had had some conference with Hussen and others the  
earles men, and mistrusting that some further trou-  
bles would inue, even as the earle of Desmond had  
partlie threatened them; and doubting also least the  
straieng of the sonne might be preiudiciall to the fa-  
ther; then in all hast did send the young lord to the erle  
of Desmond, who caried him to Dublin, and deliue-  
red him to the lord deputie: and his lordship forth-  
with sent him to the ward, where he remained with  
his father, until they both and the baron of Deluin  
were sent into England, where the earle and the ba-  
ron were sent to the Tower, and the young lord com-  
mitted to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The  
earle died after in London, and his bodie was ca-  
ried into Ireland, and there buried amongst his  
ancestors.

The earle of  
Desmond is  
sent for the  
young lord  
Fitzgiral.

Capteine  
Raleigh is  
aid for by the  
seneschall.

The seneschall  
followeth ca-  
taine Raleigh

The distress  
state of Henry  
Moyle.

The young  
lord is sent to  
the earle of  
Desmond.

The earle of  
Kildare and  
his sonne and  
some in law  
are sent into  
England.  
The earle dies  
in London.

Capteine Walter Raleigh, being in garrison at  
Cork, and nothing liking the outrages, bodzages,  
and villanies daily practised by Barrie, Condon,  
and others vpon the good subiects and his maiesties  
garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had bene  
made, and small redresse had, he rode himselfe to  
Dublin vnto the lord deputie, and made his com-  
plaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the  
Barries and his consoits were such, that unless  
they were proclaimed traitors, and with all dil-  
gence followed and pursued, the euent thereof would  
be verie euill, to the aggrauance of good subiects, &  
to the incouragement of the wicked: whose inso-  
lencie and pride was growne to such a height, that  
the sword with extremitie was the onelie meane  
now to redresse the same.

Capteine Ra-  
leigh complain-  
eth against  
the furancie  
of the rebels.

The com-  
mence of the  
seneschall.

The lord deputie and counsell, when they had  
heard and well considered this, they sent him  
backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to  
seize and enter vpon the castell and house of Bar-  
rie court, and all other the lands of the said  
Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in  
the best maner as he thought good: and for his bet-  
ter seruice to be done herein, he had certeine horse-  
men in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto  
his ensigne of footmen: wher vpon he returned. But  
before he was come backe to Cork, the case was al-  
tered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by  
such as there and then were in authoritie, and so ma-  
nie delates were bled to hinder the good seruice pur-  
posed, that his commission anailed him verie little  
or nothing, for the castell of Barrie Poole was com-  
mitted

Capteine Ra-  
leigh hath a  
commission,  
& the enlarge-  
ment of a band  
of horsemen to  
pursue the  
enemie.

David lord  
Barrie bur-  
neth and spou-  
leth his owne  
house.

The earle of  
Diamond is  
kept by the  
conhairs.

The earle of  
Diamond is  
sent for the  
young lord  
Fitzgibbon.

The young  
lord is sent to  
be earle of  
Diamond.

The earle of  
Kildare and  
is some and  
one in law  
re sent into  
England.  
The earle died  
in London.

Captaine Ra-  
leigh complai-  
neth against  
the assistance  
the rebels.

Captaine Ra-  
leigh hath a  
mission,  
the enlarge-  
ment of a band  
of horsemen to  
rescue the  
unite.

And lord  
Barrie bur-  
th and spo-  
th his own  
use.

Captaine  
Raleigh is  
sent for by the  
seneschall.

The seneschal  
followeth cap-  
taine Raleigh.

The distressed  
state of Henrie  
Doyle.

The coward-  
ness of the  
seneschall.

mitted and delivered to the custody of the mother of  
the said David Barrie, and by her set over unto him  
his sonne: and who forthwith burned and defaced the  
said castell being his principall house, as also wasted  
the whole countrie, and became more worse and out-  
ragious than he was before. This captaine making  
his returne from Dublin, & the same well knowne  
unto the seneschall of Imokellie, through whose  
countrie he was to passe, late in ambush for him to  
have intrapped him betwene Droughall and Cozke,  
lieng at a ford, which the said captaine must passe  
over with six horsemen, and certaine kerne. The cap-  
taine little mistrusting any such matter, had in his  
companye onelie two horsemen and foure shot on  
horsebacke, which was too small a force in so doubt-  
full and dangerous times: neuertheless he had a ve-  
rie good guide, which was the servant of John Fitz-  
edmunds of Cloue, a good subiect, and this guide  
knew euery corner and starting hole in those  
places.

The captaine being come towards the ford, the  
seneschall had espied him alone, his companye be-  
ing scattered behind, and verie fiercely pursued  
him, and crossed him as he was to ride over the wa-  
ter, but yet he recovered the ford and was passed o-  
uer. The Irishman who was his guide, when he saw  
the captaine thus alone, and so narrowlie distressed,  
he thifted for himselfe and fled vnto a broken castell  
fast by, there to saue himselfe. The captaine being  
thus ouer the water, Henrie Doyle, riding alone a-  
bout a bowes shot before the rest of his companye,  
when he was in the middle of the ford, his horse found-  
ered and cast him downe; and being afraid that the  
seneschalls men would haue followed him and haue  
killed him, cried out to the captaine to come and to  
saue his life; who not respecting the danger he him-  
selfe was in, came vnto him, and recovered both  
him and his horse. And then Doyle coueting with all  
hast to leape by, did it with such hast and vehemen-  
cie, that he quite ouer leapt the horse, and fell into a  
mire fast by, and so his horse ran awaie, and was  
taken by the enimie. The captaine neuertheless  
staid still, and did abide for the coming of the rest  
due of his companye, of the foure shot which as yet  
were not come forth, and for his man Jenkin, who  
had about two hundred pounds in moneie about  
him, and sat vpon his horse in the meane while, ha-  
uing his staffe in one hand, and his pistol charged  
in the other hand. The seneschall, who had so fiercely  
followed him vpon spur, when he saw him to stand  
and tarrie as it were for his coming, notwithstanding  
he was counted a man (as he was indeed)  
of great seruice, and hauing also a new supplie  
of twelue horsemen and sundrie shot come vnto  
him; yet neither he nor any one of them, being  
twentie to one, durst to giue the onset vpon him, but  
onelie railed and vsed hard speeches vnto him, vntill  
his men behind had recovered and were come vnto  
him, and then without any further harme depar-  
ted.

It happened that not long after, there was a  
parlee appointed betwene the lord gouernour and the  
rebels; at which the seneschall was present, and stood  
much vpon his reputation. Captaine Raleigh being  
present began to charge him of his cowardnesse be-  
fore the earle of Diamond, that he being twentie of  
his side, to him alone, durst not to encounter with  
him. Wherevnto he gaue no answer. But one of his  
men standing by, said; that his maister was that  
daie a coward; but he would neuer be so forgetfull a-  
gaine, if the like seruice were to be done, and in ma-  
nie great terms exalted his maister the seneschall  
for his valiantnesse and seruice. The earle of Di-  
mond hearing those great speeches, took the matter

in hand, and offered vnto the seneschall, that if he and  
sir John of Desmond there present, and thre or foure  
others, the best they could chuse, would appoint to  
meet him; captaine Raleigh, and such foure others  
as they would bring with them, they would come to  
the same place, and passe over the great riuer vnto  
them, and would there staid for two, foure for foure,  
or six for six, fight and trie the matter betwene them;  
but no answer was then giuen: wherupon the white  
knight was afterwards sent vnto him with this cha-  
lenge, but the rebels refused it. Not long after this,  
there were speeches made, that the earle of Diamond  
was to depart from this long and wearie seruice  
into England, & captaine Zouch should in his place  
be the generall. Betwene the removing of the one,  
and the placing of the other, sir William Hogan,  
captaine Raleigh, and captaine Piers had a com-  
mission to be gouernours of that part of Downe,  
where they spent all that summer, and late for the  
most part at Lismore, and in the countrie and  
woods thereabouts, in continuall seruices vpon the  
enimies from time to time, as occasion and oportu-  
nitie serued.

And when the summer was spent, captaine Ra-  
leigh returned with all his band vnto Cozke, being  
in number eight horsemen and foure score footmen.  
And as he passed through the countrie, it was ad-  
uertised to him, that David Barrie an archtraitor  
was at Cloue with a great troupe of sundrie hun-  
dreds of men. Wherevpon he thought good to passe  
that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to  
trie the valor of David Barrie, if by any means  
he might meet with him. And euen at the verie  
towns end he found Barrie and all his companye,  
and with a lustie courage gaue the onset vpon him.  
But Barrie refused it, and fled. And then this cap-  
taine passing from thence, in his forreie he espied  
in a plaine nere adjoining to a woods side, a compa-  
nie of footmen by themselves, vpon whome with  
six horsemen he gaue the charge: but these being  
cut off from the wood wherunto they were fled,  
and hauing not succor now to helpe & relieue them-  
selues, they turned backe, & conioining themselves  
together to withstand this force and onset made vpon  
them, in which they behaued themselves verie va-  
liantlie, and of the horses they killed five, of which  
captaine Raleigh his horse was one, and he him-  
selfe in great danger, and like to haue bene slaine,  
if his trustie servant Nicholas Wright a Yorkshire  
man bozne had not bin. For he perceiving that his  
maisters horse was galled and stricken with a dart,  
and plunged so much, that to his seeming he was  
past seruice; the said Nicholas killed and called to  
an Irishman there, whose name was Patrick Fa-  
gaw, that he should loke to his captaine, and either  
to rescue him, or to giue charge vpon the enimie.  
Wherevpon the said Fagaw rescued his captaine,  
& the said Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the on-  
set vpon six of the enimies and slue one of them. And  
therewith came one James Fitzrichard an Irish  
gentleman with his kerne to the rescue of the cap-  
taine, but his kerne was slaine, and himselfe in dan-  
ger. For Wright not looking on them followed the  
enimie verie eagerly, and recompensed the losse of  
one with the slaughter of others. Which captaine  
Raleigh perceiving cried out to his man, saieing;  
Wright, if thou be a man, charge about hand & saue  
the gentleman. Who at his maisters commandment  
pressed into the middle of the enimies, and slue one  
of them, and so saued the gentleman; and in which  
skirmish his horse leg was cut vnder him. Diuerse  
footmen were slaine of the enimies, and two were  
taken prisoners, whome they carried with them to  
Cozke.

The chalenge  
made by the  
earle of Di-  
mond to the  
seneschall.

Captaine Ra-  
leigh a com-  
missioner in  
Downe.

Captaine Ra-  
leigh followeth  
vpon Barrie.

Captaine Ra-  
leigh in dan-  
ger to be kil-  
led.

The good ser-  
uice of Nicho-  
las Wright.

The lord  
Koch is had in  
suspicion, and  
is sent for.

Captaine Ra-  
leigh cometh  
to the lord Ko-  
ches house.

Captaine Ra-  
leigh being re-  
ceived into the  
castell getteth  
in all his men.

At his lying in Cozke there were sundrie pe-  
ces of seruices done by him, all which doe verie well  
deserue to be for euer registred. And amongst all o-  
thers this one point of his seruice deserueth both  
commendation and perpetuall remembrance. The  
lord Koch was grown into a suspicion that he was  
not sound of his loialtie. Whereupon captaine Ka-  
leigh by commandement was to fetch him and his  
ladie to Cozke vnto the generall. This thing was  
not so pituilie determined, but that the seneschall and  
David Barrie had knowledge thereof, and mind-  
ing verelie to take the captaine at some aduantage,  
they had assembled a great companie of themselves  
to the number of seuen or eight hundred men to  
haue met with him either coming or going. The  
captaine perceiuing and forethinking how dange-  
rous his enterprise was against so noble a man in  
that countrie as the lord Koch was, who was verie  
well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his  
men one and other, both horsemen and footmen,  
which in the whole were not aboue foure score and  
ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of  
death betwene ten and cleuen of the clocke of the  
same night. At which time euerie man being in a  
readinesse, he took his horse and marched toward  
the lord Koches house called Ballie in Harth, which  
is about twentie miles out of Cozke, and came thi-  
ther somewhat earlie in the morning. At his com-  
ming he went forthwith to the castell gate.

The townsmen when they saw their lords house  
and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the  
worst, did arme about fise hundred of themselves.  
Whereupon captaine Kaleigh placed and belorded  
his men in battell raie in the towne it selfe, & mar-  
ched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his  
officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Ap-  
phael Butler, James Fulford, Nicholas Writte,  
Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Winking Wally;  
and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a  
while there came thre or foure of the said lord Koches  
gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their coming,  
vnto whome the captaine answered, that he was  
come to speake with my lord: which was offered  
he should, so that he would bring in with him but  
two or thre of his gentlemen, which the captaine  
was contented with, yet in the end (but with much  
adw) he came in with all these few persons before  
named. When the captaine was once come with-  
in the castell, and had entred into some speeches with  
the lord Koch, he so handled the matter by deuises  
and meanes, that by little and little, and by some  
and some, he had gotten in with in the iron doze or  
gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing  
the aduantage, he commanded his men to stand  
and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in  
or out: and likewise charged euerie man to come  
into the hall with his peece well prepared, with two  
bullets. The lord Koch when he saw this, he was  
suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare:  
but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the  
matter, and calling for meat, requested the captaine  
and his foresaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to keepe  
him companie at dinner.

After dinner, the captaine falling into speeches  
with the said lord Koch, declared plainlie vnto him  
the cause of his coming, and shewed that he and  
his wife were accused to be traitors, and that he had  
a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take  
and carie them along with him to Cozke: which he  
was to performe, and so would. The lord Koch alled-  
ged manie excuses for himselfe and for his wife, say-  
ing in the end that he neither could nor would go:  
the captaine answered, that if they would not go  
with a good will, they should perforce go against their

will. The lord Koch seeing that there was no reme-  
die, he yielded: and then the captaine minding to  
lose no time, willed him to command and cause all  
those of the towne, and all such as were about the  
house, to attend and be in readinesse to aid him, and  
to set him forth in his horse: which he did, and verie  
willinglie shewed himselfe to abide and obeye the  
captaines commandement, saying that he would  
answer the matter well inough, and discharge what-  
soener should be laid to his charge, for he knew him-  
selfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his  
wife redie to take the horse in hand, as the cap-  
taine did appoint and command: and towards night  
they did set forward to Cozke. But the night fell out  
to be verie tempestuous and foule, and therewith so  
darke, that no man could see hand or foot, nor yet dis-  
cerne one another; and the waies also were so foule,  
so full of barks, hillocks, pits, and rocks, that the  
souldiours thereby were maruellouslie troubled and  
incombed, some stumbled among the stones, some  
plunged into holes, and some by their often falls  
were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and  
were maruellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they  
were among and in the middle of the enemies, who  
late in sundrie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue  
intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the  
darke night which was cumbersome to themselves,  
was a shadow to shrowd them from their enemies.  
And in the end, though with much trouble, they came  
to Cozke in safetie, saving one soldier named John  
Phelum, who by his often falling and stumbling a-  
mong the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his  
feet, that he could neuer recover the same, but did in  
the end consume and rot awaie.

The captaine being come to the towne somewhat  
earlie in the morning, he was receiued in, and pre-  
sented his prisoners to the generall, with no little  
admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a horse-  
neie, being verelie supposed of all men that he could  
neuer haue escaped. The lord Koch being brought  
to be examined, did so well answer for himselfe, that  
in the end he was acquitted, and taken for a true and  
a good subiect, and which in time was well tried and  
knowne. For not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons  
and followers, did attend and performe all such ser-  
uices as were laid vpon them; and in which, thre of  
his sonnes were killed by the enemy in his mai-  
ties seruice.

Captaine Zouch (as is aforesaid) late at the Ding-  
ham, among whose companie there fell a dangerous  
and an extreme sicknesse: few or none escaped it,  
howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse  
it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond  
and David Barrie was assembled at Aghado with  
thre thousand men; and he being verie desirous to  
do some seruice vpon them, drew all his full force of  
horsemen and footmen vnto Casselmange. And  
then by the aduise of his captains Achim and Cash,  
he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enemies, before  
they wist of anie such thing, and drew a great com-  
panie of them, and drew the earle to such a push, that he  
in his shirt was drawn to Christ for himselfe, in the  
middle of his galloing glasses, and by that means he  
escaped. The earle nothing liking this course successe,  
sought a better place of safetie, and removed him-  
selfe to Harlow wood, and passed by the waie to Kil-  
mallocke. Which when the garrison there did under-  
stand, they pursued and followed him, namelie cap-  
taine Bouchier, captaine Dowdall, captaine Spak-  
worth, and captaine Morris, thre miles together vpon  
the plains betwene Kilmallocke and the wood,  
and drew manie of the rebels. And captaine Dowdall  
who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and  
in it had serued sundrie times, he would needs, and did

The lord  
Koch yielded  
to go with cap-  
taine Kaleigh.

Captaine  
Dowdall  
prieth the erle  
of Desmond.

The senes-  
chall prieth  
the garrison of  
Lismore.

The lord de-  
putie establi-  
sheth captaine  
Zouch gouer-  
nour of all  
Downshire.

The L. Bar-  
rie and the se-  
neshall fall  
out.

Captaine  
Dowdall ma-  
keth a spiall  
vpon the se-  
neshall.

Sir John of  
Desmond ap-  
pointed to  
make a league  
between Bar-  
rie and the  
seneschall.

The gouernour  
Zouch and  
captaine Dow-  
dall make a se-  
cret iourneie.

Captaine  
Zouch putteth  
the earle of  
Desmond in  
danger to be  
taken.



The lord  
Koch perbeth  
to go with cap-  
taine Raleigh.

Captaine  
Dowdall  
purty the earle  
of Desmond.

The senef-  
chall purty  
the garison of  
Lismore.

The lord de-  
putie establi-  
sheth captaine  
Jouch gouer-  
nour of all  
Mounster.

The L. Bar-  
ne and the se-  
neshall fall  
out.

The L. Koch  
quieteth him-  
selfe.

The L. Koch  
id his sonnes  
and seruices.

Captaine  
Dowdall ma-  
keth a spyall  
vpon the se-  
neshall.

Sir John of  
Desmond ap-  
pointed to  
make a league  
between Bar-  
ne and the  
seneshall.

captaine  
rich purtyth  
earle of  
Desmond in  
ager to be  
en.

The gouernour  
Jouch and  
captaine Dow-  
dall make a se-  
cret iourneie.

did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gaue the on- set vpon him, killed a great number of his men, toke from them their cartages, and broue awaie a great preie of kine, and brought them to Kilmallocke to the garison. Here about this time the senefchall came to Lismore, and preied that countrie, and broue awaie their cattell. Which when the garison heard, and were aduertised thereof, they issued, and followed the preie to recover it; but they were so encountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the preie, and slue and twentie of their men were slaine. Diuerse skirmishes were daile done vpon the entrie, and manie loznieies made vpon them to their great damages and hurts.

In the moneth of August next following, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a iourneie into Mounster, where when he had taken an account of all their doings and seruices, he established captaine Jouch to be gouernour of all Mounster, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh into Dublin. This now new gouernour, being accompanied with captaine Raleigh and captaine Dowdall, trauelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certeine place of their resting was at Corke, where for the most part they laie in garison: making in the meane time sundrie loznieies, as occasion of seruice did require. And they being in Corke, newes was brought vnto the gouernour that there was a great quarell fallen out betwene David Barrie and the seneshall, and that they were mostall enemies, and at a deadlie fow; and they laie both in Dunferrin side, not far from the blacke water. The earle of Desmond and John his brother late in Patrike Condons countrie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie sozie for this quarell, and would haue come on to them, but the waters were so great, they could not; yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect.

Captaine Dowdall vpon these newes sent out an Irish man which he had, and who was a notable spi- all, named Richard mac James, and willed him to seeke out where the seneshall was, to the end that he might make a draught vpon him. This Richard draughting himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lieng among them in their cabins where they laie in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entered into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds vnto the seneshall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse vnto him the businesse which he had there to do: and told him that the next daie following, sir John of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agreement betwene Barrie and the seneshall. When as Richard mac James had heard at full all his speeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Corke with him, which in the end the fellow was contented so to do. And in the next morning they went together to Corke, and at their comming thither, did declare vnto captaine Dowdall the whole matter, and he forthwith aduertised the same to the gouernour: who albeit he did not altogether beleue what was told, yet he agreed that it was best that some seruice should be done vpon them, and concluded that himselfe and captaine Dowdall should do the same, vnder the colour that they were to make a iourneie vnto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowne of that which they had determined. And having prepared all things necessarie for this seruice, the same night they left the charge of the ga-

rison vnto captaine Raleigh lieutenant: and themselves taking their leaue, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by breake of the daie they came to castell Lions, the weather being verie mistie and thicke, and in the castell they found but one poze man, who told them that David of Barrie was gone but a little before them vnto Humacquilliam. The gouernour and the captaine being verie eger, and desirous to do some seruice, they followed the tract of the hourse a good prettie waie; but the captaine mistrusting that no good seruice would be done that waie, persuaded the gouernour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were fast by, where as he thought some good seruice would be done, whose aduise the gouernour followed: and they had ridden but a little waie, but they saw two hoursemen come riding toward them, but as sone as they had sene the said gouernour and captaine, they returned backe againe.

Then the captaine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his aduise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betwene the bog and the wood; which being done, they followed those two men so short, that they were driuen to forsake their hourses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose shot being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe vpon the hoursemen, who gaue the onse vpon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond they soze hurted with a hoursemans staffe, that he spake verie few wordes after. And the other, whose name was James Fitzjohn of Strongecullie, they toke: and both they carried with them to Corke. Sir Johns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged up by the heeles vpon a gibbet, and set vpon the north gate of Corke. And James Fitzjohn was draught, hanged, & quartered. And thus haue you the third head of the venemous Hydra cut off, who had his iust reward and merit, if not too good for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honoz of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholie imbrued in bloud and villanie; and in bloud he died, and had his reward by Gods iust iudgement.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made vpon David Barrie, for the preie which he and Cozen mac Swene had made in Carbrerie, and passed with the same by Bentrue, where laie a garison vnder the leading of captaine Appelleie: but he being deceased, the same was committed to captein Fenton, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the preie, fell into the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drumlager left alieue, who by stoffnesse of his fote escaped. The foresaid Appelleie was a verie proper man, a gentleman bozne, and of a good house, and brought up in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliuer his speeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who persuaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the mone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being sone intised and persuaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the baddest; whereof great troubles ensued, and he at length was driuen to leaue the seas, and to wander a long time on the seacoasts in the prouince of Mounster: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whom he found such fauoz, that no Englishman could do moze with him than he

Sir John of  
Desmond kil-  
led, and his  
bodie hanged  
vpon a gibbet  
by the heels.

he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henrie Dauels, whome he found rather a father than a friend vnto him: and then his behaviour was such, that he grew to be in god fauour with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to do sundrie seruices in Pounsser, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honestlie and faithfullie. The gouernor continuing still in one and the same mind, to do some seruice vpon Barrie, who then late in Dunfrenmin, he togither with capteine Dowdall marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distressed case, and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garrisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some advantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue thenceforth in some dutifull and reasfull order; which he in the end did obtaine.

The gouernor and capteine Dowdall spoile and enter into Barries campe and kill his men.

Barrie sueth for a protection

The A. deputie capteine sundrie bands in Pounsser.

Fitzmoris baron of Lerna breaketh into open rebellion. The cause of this his breaking out, some do impute it to the hard dealing of the gouernor, who so narrowlie watched him, that he alwaies took from him what he had, and so intercepted him from his provision, that he had nothing left to eat. Fitzmoris seruant to Carlew lord of Lerna killeth his maister.

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of John of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Pounsser; he thought good to ease his maiesties charge, and so called sundrie bands and discharged sundrie garrisons, leaving for the seruice of Pounsser in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernor, one hundred vnder capteine Dowdall, and one hundred vnder Sir George Bourcher; and the first hostlemen were vnder capteine Achin, who late in garrison at Adare in Barrie. When all things (as late) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, behold a new stirre (and vnlooked for) is now raised; for Fitzmoris baron of Lerna, who had hitherto dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue bene a dutifull subject, when he saw the weaknesse of the Englishmen, & how that the garrisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarce able well to saue and keepe themselves, much lesse to hurt others; he breaketh out into open rebellion, and joineth with him his wicked, traitorous, and perjured sonne. This baron of Lerna his first ancestors were seruants to the barons of Carlew, and of O'Don, and lords of Lerna, and had the chiefe rule and government vnder him of all his countrie in Pounsser, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmoris, who by the authoritie vnder his maister was growen into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carlew his maister, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lerna & his other possessions in Pounsser, even as the like was done by the Baenaghys in O'Don in Leinster. And the heire of Carlew in Denon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.

This new baron of Lerna, the first thing that he took in hand, was to cleane and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garrisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an advantage, slue him, and recovered the ward of Adare. After that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of

Leconile, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he used this stratagem. He laid verie close & teakie a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old woman, which was wente, verie morning to bring a great basket of coles or turfes into the ward, that as soone as she was betwene the two gates of the castell, she should let fall hir basket and cry out: which she did. For when she was come to the castell, and had after hir accustomed maner called to the ward, one of them came and opened the utter iron doore, and then he did open the inner doore for hir to come in. When she was come betwene the two doores, she let fall hir great basket of coles and cried out. The companie forthwith lieng in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to draw vnto them the utter iron doore, nor to shut fast the inner doore, the enimie entred, took the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them over the wals. The good successe of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vze other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Adnagh, for he supposing that hungrie soldiers would be contented to accept anie countesie, he procured a young harlot, who was some what notable, to go to the castell, pretending some inturie to haue bene done to hir, and to humble herselfe to the capteins deuotion, being supposd, that he by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasie of hir, and so would retein hir. And by these meanes, she by hir cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betwene Fitzmoris and hir, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betraye the castell. The capteine receiued hir into the castell, and not for getting the late former practise at Leconile, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to loke vnto himselfe. Whereupon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried hir vnto the top of the castell and cast hir over the wals, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmoris being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thence, and ranged over all the countrees of Tipperarie, Desmond, and Waterford, where were no garrisons to resist him, and there plaid his parts.

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The baron of Lerna doeth into the hills of Slough-lougher.

A stratagem used in taking the castell of Leconile.

A stratagem at Adnagh.

The baron of Lerna doeth into the hills of Slough-lougher.

A supplie of two hundred men sent to the gouernor

Capteine Dowdall setteth vpon Fitzmoris Glanfilsh a gueth him quethpaw.

The baron Fitzmoris with a few quethpaw to his utter fall, and for sake of all his friends

The baron ing distressed of all helps seeketh to the earle of Desmond for a protection.

The gouernor marcheth from Cork to Clanmoris to encounter with Fitzmoris.

The court of the earle Desmond.

Capteine Dowdall setteth vpon Fitzmoris, and gueth him the foale,

The earle of Desmond thought to be doth now the same himselfe.

The baron of  
Lerna de-  
stroyeth all the  
English in his  
country, and  
saith the  
quene's foys,

Stratagema  
used in taking  
the castell of  
Lecanile.

Stratagema  
: Dnagh.

goverment  
cherish from  
the to  
moris  
countrie  
: Fitz-  
is.

the  
dall en-  
h upon  
moris,  
meth  
he took.

The baron of  
Lerna destroyeth  
into the hills  
of Slough-  
lougher.

A supplie of  
two hundred  
men sent to  
the gouernor.

Captaine  
Dowdall set-  
teth upon  
Fitzmoris in  
Glanshilly and  
gueth h in the  
couthprow.

The baron  
Fitzmoris  
with a few is  
overthowne to  
his bitter  
fall, and for-  
saken of all  
his frendes.

The baron be-  
ing distressed  
of all helpe,  
seeketh to the  
earle of Di-  
mond for a  
protection.

The courtelle  
of the earle of  
Dymond.

The earle of  
Desmond  
thought to be  
dead with  
now the  
himselfe.

due he reserued to himselfe. The capteine entred in-  
to the wood, and followed untill he came into the  
plains where Fitzmoris was; who hauing a great  
companye, and the capteine but (as it were) a hand-  
full to his, he diuided his whole companye into foure  
parts, thinking to haue inclosed the capteine, and to  
haue his will vpon them. The capteine perceiued it,  
and forthwith brake vpon one of the companyes, and  
had such a hand vpon them, that he slue a number of  
them. Which when Fitzmoris saw, like a ballant  
man turned his backe and fled abwaie into the moun-  
teins of Sloughlougher, and left all his goods be-  
hind; which the capteine toke, and also all the cattell  
there, and brought the same to the gouernor. From  
thence they marched to the castell of Glan, of which  
Bluer Stephanson had the ward and keeping: and  
there newes was brought vnto him, that the lord de-  
putie had sent vnto him two bands of footmen, of  
which one hundred were sir Henrie Mallopes, and  
the other capteine Morris. Wherevpon he trauelled  
vnto Limerike, and left the whole charge of Glan-  
moris, and of Kierie vnto capteine Dowdall. And  
the said capteine being put to weet that the baron  
was incamped at Glanshilly with two hundred and  
fourtie gallowglasse, two hundred kerne, fourescore  
shot, and thirtie horsemen, and he himselfe hauing  
then but the lieutenant Wellingfield in his companye,  
made a sallie vpon them, and killed with the sword,  
and dyaue into the riuer aboue seuen score of them,  
and recovered a preie of eight hundred kine, fise  
hundred horses and mares, besides a great number  
of sheepe and gotes: and in the taking of the baron,  
he found store of monie and plate, and massing gar-  
ments. And from hence he marched with his cattell,  
and incamped besides Arough, nere vnto the earle  
of Clancar his house, and from thence to Castell-  
mange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went e-  
uerie ward and garison with store of vittells, and  
with the goods he rewarded his souldiours: From this  
time, the baron Fitzmoris, who lost all his proui-  
sion, was neuer able to recover himselfe, nei-  
ther to credit nor to wealth, nor yet to hold vp his  
head, but was forsaken of all his frendes and follo-  
wers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad  
and dishonourable trecheries, walked and wandred abroad  
as a forlorne man, not knowing what to do, whither  
to go, or where to seeke for succor and helpe.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his  
distressed miseries, bethinketh vpon the earle of  
Dymond, whome notwithstanding that without  
cause he had verie much injured, hauing most out-  
ragiouslie preyed his countries, burned his villages,  
and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse  
vnto his lordship, acknowledgeth his fault, confes-  
seth his follies; and being most sorie for the same, de-  
sireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most  
humblelie requested him to haue vnder him a protec-  
on. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great  
injuries done vnto him, and he of a great courage  
and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put vp  
so great injuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion,  
*Parcere prostratis*) when he had shewed the great  
graces of the said Fitzmoris, he forgat all his owne  
wrongs, and granted him his request. Capteine  
Dowdall, leauing the gouernors souldiours and com-  
panye at Adare, vnder the leading of capteine  
Smith, he marcheth towards Corke, where he rested  
and laie in garison. Now when all these boills were  
ended, and verelie supposed that all things had bene  
at rest, and the whole prouince of Mounster at peace;  
behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to  
be either dead or fled, beginneth to appeare, and to  
shew himselfe; and hauing assembled a great com-  
panye, came to Adare, where the garison staid out

vpon him: betwene whom the fight was hot, and  
manie slaine on both sides. Among whom, Smith  
sergeant of the band, and Spozgan the lieutenant  
were both slaine: but yet the English souldiours re-  
covered the abbrie. About this time one Thomas  
Birne lieutenant to the notable archtraitor Fitzgi-  
rald, being wearie of the wicked actions which hi-  
therto he had followed among the rebels, sent his  
messenger to capteine George Carew, requesting  
him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon,  
and for so manie of his companye as would ioinie  
with and accompanie him in a pece of seruice to  
be done: which he promised to recompense with the  
pryce of his capteins head, which he would in a bag  
present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie  
of his companye as would not consent with him  
therevnto.

When this deuise was readie to be practised, the  
clearke of the band, who was one of the confederats,  
verie trecherouslie did discover the same vnto Fitz-  
giralde, who immediatlie toke and hanged his lieu-  
tenant, the sergeant of his band (who was an Eng-  
lishman) and so manie of the souldiours as were of  
that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzgiralde be-  
thinking vpon the extreame miseries, which in this  
rebellion he had indured, and the small hope which he  
had to preuaile in these his bad and traitorous ac-  
tions, but chieflie being afraid of his owne life, least  
at one time or other he should be slaine by his soul-  
diours: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices,  
requiring his pardon, and which he would redeme  
with the head of his best friend and fellow in armes  
Theon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and  
rebellion in Leinster.

This was not so couertlie done, but that Theon  
mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he  
forthwith intreated Fitzgiralde in the like manner  
as he before had done with the lieutenant, and so  
hanged him vp. The lord deputie after long tate for  
his renocation, receiued his maiesties letters for the  
same, and then he sent for capteine Zouch gouernor  
of Mounster to come to Dublin: and in the end of  
August 1582, after that he had serued full two yerres  
he deliuered vp the sword vnto the archbishop of Du-  
blin then lord chancelor, and to sir Henrie Mallop  
then treasurer at armes, and toke shipping; hauing  
with him capteine Zouch, who was after slaine by  
one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie  
other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man  
of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient  
descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and  
dutifull to his maiestie in all obedience. And albeit  
he had deserued well of that Irish nation, and had  
sowed the good seeds of notable seruices, as well for  
his martiall seruices, as for his ciuill gouernment;  
yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but dar-  
nell and cockle. For they had among them not one,  
lie conspired his death, for which some paid deuelie;  
but made also sundrie complaints against him, to  
which he answered to his commendation and acquit-  
tall, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a bro-  
ken time, the warres being not ended, the people not  
quieted, and the gouernement not staid nor settled;  
yet they both ioining their wisdoms, seruices, and  
good wills, were so blessed therein, that by them that  
land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse.  
For not long after they had taken the sword in hand  
doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who  
came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all  
wickednesse, with James Fitzmoris in Iulie in the  
yeare of our Lord one thousand fise hundred seuen-  
tie and nine, to beare arms in this land against his  
maiestie, after that he had wandered vp and downe  
thence

The fight at  
Adare.

A draught  
made to kill  
Fitzgiralde.

Fitzgiralde  
executed to  
death so ma-  
nie as conspi-  
red against  
him.

Fitzgiralde  
praicteth the  
death of Theon  
mac Hugh.

Fitzgiralde is  
hanged for his  
conspiracie.

The lord  
Greie yieldeth  
up the sword  
and returneth into  
England.

1582  
The lord chancelor  
and sir  
Henrie Mallop  
are lord  
iustices.

The death of  
Donor Shan-  
bers.

three yeares together with the earle and his brethren  
sir John, in woods and bogs, and had lived with them  
a most miserable and wretched life, and had bene  
partaker of their most cruell bloodsheds, outrages,  
murthers, and robberies, a life god and to god for a  
traitor and a rebell. He fell sicke of an Irish ague  
and of the bloudie sir, and laie in the wood of Glen-  
nelliffe, which is a wood full of allers, withies, briers, &  
thornes, and through which is no passage; where part-  
le of his sicknesse, but chæfely for famine and want  
he died. Even in this filthy place, that most misera-  
ble wretch and traitor was lodged and died, bequea-  
thing his treasons, treacheries, and disloyalties a-  
gainst his soveraigne mistresse and ladie hir maiestie  
unto the pope, reserving the punishment to the Lord  
himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge vpon all tra-  
itors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some  
saie) was deuoured by of wolues, but (as some o-  
ther thinke) that so much as was left was buried at  
Clancarne, not farre off from the place where he  
died.

The earle of  
Desmond be-  
geth his  
Christmas in  
the woods.  
A draught  
made vpon the  
earle by John  
Wells.

The two lords iustices being entred into this bo-  
ken gouernement, did what they could to keepe the  
same in peace; and vnderstanding the wilfull dispo-  
sition of Desmond, they did vse all the means and  
waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he  
imbued and poisoned with the venom of treason and  
rebellion, that no reason, no dutie, nor anie other re-  
spect could perswade him to be a loyal and dutifull  
subiect. Wherefore he continued still in his old ac-  
customed spoiling and waisting the countries, and  
travelling to no house nor castell, did the wood himselfe  
in woods and bogs, and in the winter following he  
kept his Christmas in the wood of Kilquinteg nare  
to Kilmallocke. And about the fourth of Januarie  
then following, one John Wells a valiant and a  
god souldior, was resolved to make a draught vpon  
the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith  
capitaine Dowdall, capitaine Bangor, and George  
Thorington prouost marshall of Mounster, all which  
late then in garrison in Kilmallocke, and according  
to the order betwene them then agreed vpon, they  
marched in the night time to the place and wood  
where the earle laie.

A devise how  
to passe over a  
great riuer.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer  
a great riuer, before they could come to enter into  
the wood of Kilquinteg, & by reason of the great raines  
then falling, it was impossible for man or horse to  
passe over the same, which thing John Wells did be-  
fore mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went  
thither verie close, with such few persons as he  
had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a  
number of stakes and hurdels to be made of halson,  
allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be drawne  
ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose  
which could swim verie well. And this fellow when  
he had fastened some of the hurdels to a tree in the  
further side of the water, and then by a rope drew o-  
uer the residue one after another, did so fasten and  
tie one vnto another, and so cunningly handled the  
matter, that when the capteins came, they passed o-  
uer the riuer verie well without danger or perill.  
And so from thence the said Wells did guide and  
bring them by the breakes of the daie vnto the earles  
cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so  
mirie, that they were faine to go a speares length  
wide from the cabin to come vnto it. The earle hea-  
ring a great noise, and suspecting some extraordinary  
and a greater compaignie to be in place more than  
his owne, and doubting the wood ran out of his bed  
in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin,  
and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard by  
to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his wife  
with him. The souldiors made diligent search for him

The earle of  
capeth verie  
hardlie.

both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but  
could not find him; whereupon they did put to the  
sword so manie as they found there, and carried a-  
waie the goods with them, and so returned to Kil-  
mallocke.

At this time the seneschall secretlie with all the  
force which he could make, came vnto the towne of  
Doughall, & entred into the end of the same towne.  
Whereupon the alarm was raised, and forthwith  
Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capitaine Morgan,  
having all his souldiors together, of which he had for-  
tie shot, went vnto that end of the towne where the  
seneschall scaled the wals, & there he made a scone,  
or a little bulworne, and by that meanes saved the  
towne, and draue the seneschall from his purpose,  
and killed aboute fiftie of his men: and so being dis-  
appointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the  
end of this moneth of Januarie the earle of Dy-  
mond arrived from out of England to Waterford  
with a new supplie of foure hundred men, whom he  
divided and committed vnto the severall leadings  
of sir George Bourcher, sir William Stanleie, cap-  
taine Edward Werkeleie, and capitaine Roberts.  
And being now lord generall by hir maiesties ap-  
pointment ouer all Mounster, and having obtained  
an augmentation of two pence by the daie for eue-  
rie souldiors wages, he assemblith all the souldiors  
and euerie capitaine which had anie charge, and toke  
order with euerie of them for such seruices as were  
to be done, furnissheth them with vittels, muniti-  
ons, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for  
them, requesting euerie one of them to shew them-  
selues like god and ballant souldiors, in the pursuing  
of the rebels, and banquishing of the enemies: and  
such grace and loue he found among the souldiors,  
that he was no more desirous than they most glad  
and willing to performe the same. Such a good af-  
fection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

The seneschall assaile-  
th & entred  
into Doughall  
and hath the  
repulse.

The earle of  
Dymond arri-  
ueth to Water-  
ford and is  
generall of  
Mounster.

A draught  
made vpon  
gallowglas-  
ses in Har-  
wood.

The galk  
glasse in  
Harro wood  
put to two

The tone of  
the capteins  
and souldiors  
to the earle of  
Dymond.

The L. E.  
his men di-  
ner Des-  
mond.

The lord ge-  
nerall scow-  
reth Harro  
wood.

Desmond is  
forsaken of all  
his followers  
and friends.

The Des-  
mond is fo-  
wed by Ge-  
mac Howe

A garrison  
pointed to  
at the Du

Desmond  
reth Dow

Gordon pri-  
all Carben  
for Desm

At this time advertisement was given vnto his  
lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped  
in the fastnesse of Harro wood with a great number  
of rakehels & rebels. His lordship mustered all his  
companies, and minding to do some seruice vpon  
the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse  
of Harro wood. And being come thither, he di-  
uideth his companies into foure parts, and they ente-  
red into foure severall places of the wood at one in-  
stant: and by that meanes they scotized the wood  
throughout, in killing as manie as they toke, but  
the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels be-  
ing thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they ne-  
uer after met together in the like companies, nor  
assembled themselves in such great numbers: but  
the most part of them, which were the chiefeest follow-  
ers and greatest friends vnto Desmond, as Fitz-  
moyses of Lerna before named, the seneschall, the  
lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Anought, & sun-  
drie others, some and some came awaie, and sought  
for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit  
outrages, murthers, bloodsheds and spoiles, had  
deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship consi-  
dering their repentance, sorowes, and humble sub-  
missions, and respecting more hir maiesties godlie  
disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the  
most part) grant vnto euerie of them their requests.  
The souldiors after this pece of seruice were disper-  
sed abroad into their severall garrisons. And albeit  
the greater parts of the rebels were some by sword,  
and some by protection abated, and much decreased,  
yet none of them late altogether idle, but did follow  
the seruice as time and occasion offered: for the  
earle himselfe, though he were thus unfeathered of  
his greatest helps, yet he was one & the same man,  
a most ranke traitor and rebell: and therefore vpon  
him

him battie were draughts and pursutes made, and neuer left, untill in the end he came vnto confusion.

In the moneth of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eighty and three, it was aduertised to the gartisons in Kilmallocke and Castell, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to harbozough himselfe in Harlo wood, and had aboute three score gallowglasses besides kerne a great number, vpon whom captein Dowdall hauing good espials, made a fornetie thither, and being entred in to the wood verie earlie, lais close all the forenone. For these gallowglasses had bin so daret from time to time, that now like a sort of deere they laie vpon their keepings; and so fearfull they were, that they would not farrre in anie one place anie long time, but where they did dwell their meat, thence they would remoue, and eat it in another place, and from thence go vnto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch, in the forenones they would be vpon the hilles and mounteins, to descric the countrie, and in the afternone they would slepe. The capteine breaking time with them, made staie in the wood accordinglie, and in the afternone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of them were asleepe, and some of them occupied in dressing of a houlle for to eat, for other vittells were scant. The capteine suddentlie entred vpon them, and toke them at such aduantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which, five and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these gallowglasses, which are counted the best men of warre among the Irish: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismayd, that a man might without anie great danger passe throughout Spounsher.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yeare one thousand five hundred foure score & three, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall nere to Cussham, were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the erle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or three hoxsemen and a preest. The kerns which attended the said lord Roches men, environed & compassed them about; but the erle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the preest they toke, by reason of his bad hoxse, and him the lord Roch sent the next date vnto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in coznors, & would not be scene. And further, that he had his onelie relesse and was fostered by Goron mac Swene, a capteine of the gallowglasses, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not bene heard of since he was garred out of Harlo wood) is now discovered. Wherevpon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cuth: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaire thither, and there to lie in gartison; which he did forthwith performe. The erle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discovered, and how that vittells and a gartison were sent to Dingle a Cuth to the working of his wo; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bourghier did from time to time gall and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Goron mac Swene, & Helle Hozough mac Swene his brother, he gathereth a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his gard. Goron mac Swene in the meane time entreteth into Carberie, and taketh a

great prete of kine, which he dygne forthwith into Desmond toward the earle, but the fornetie was so long, that he late thort of the earle that night about three or foure miles.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their gods, three of them with their swozds and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stolen awaie their owne kine if by anie means they coult, and if opportunitie would so serue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recouer anie thing at all. The foresaid Goron, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abzode in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alone, hauing onelie one kerne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelue score off from his lodging. About which place it hapned the foresaid three men had hidden and couched themselves in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betwene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed them both; and as soon as they had cut off their heads, they shifed for themselves. Gorons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abzode to seeke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lying dead vpon the ground; which cast them into such a maze, as they wist not what to thinke or to do: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for gartison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whom they could suspect. But this is the iust iudgement of God, who in his iustice looketh vpon the persecuted and wicked, and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the earle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the gartisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his friend, his cheefe and onelie state, was in a great agonie, and maruellouslie dismayd; and seeing no other remedie, he preparereth the best for himselfe, and taking the aduantage of the time, before the gartison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie nere Traleigh, minding to take a prete from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherefore in the euening he sent two hoxsemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Traleigh vnto a castell there, & commanded them to take their prete from thence, which they did, and brought the same a waie with them.

Among those kine thus dyuen a waie, a poze two man of that countrie lost all those few that they had, and being distressed of that which was the cheefe, and in a maner the onelie relesse of hir and hir children and household; and not knowing how they could by anie meanes recouer them: they bethought hir selfe vpon a brother which she had, dwelling on the other side of the mounteine, in a castell named Drome, which was one of the Hozettos; and to him she runneth in all the hast she coult, and declareth hir estate and case, praiering him to helpe hir, and that he would follow the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two hoxsemen & a few kerne which had dyuen the prete a waie, he to pleasure his sister toke three other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castelmange, which castell was in the waie. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Chetton, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Werkeleie) that he would spare him some thot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the prete which was dyuen that waie. The constable and the soldyrs were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had seuen thot and a dozen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fast by

Goron mac Swene is killed.

The erle com mandeth prete to be taken in Kerrie.

The senes chailt aduanceth & entreteth into Youghall and hath the epulic.

The earle of Desmond arriveth to water, and is met with the gartison.

A draught made vpon the gallowglasses in Harlo wood.

The gallowglasses in Harlo wood put to sword.

be some of capteins & soldyrs to earle of monid.

The L. Roch was men discovered Desmond.

the lord gartison sent to Harlo wood.

Desmond is taken of his followers friends.

The Desmond is released by Goron mac Swene.

A gartison appointed to be at the Dingle.

Desmond is taken by Dowdall.

Goron prete all Carberie by Desmond.



der the castell, & so they went altogether to Craleigh, they being in number thre and twentie persons; one of these was an Irish man boyne, named Kollie, but serued alwaies vnder Englishmen, and could speake verie good English. This man, when they came to Craleigh, they appointed & made him their leader or capteine; and Spozetto because he was boyne in those parties, and best knew the countrie, they appointed to be their guide: and from thence they followed the tract untill they came to the side of a mounteine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come vpon them, there they staid and rested themselves for that night. And in the darke night one of them had espied through the trees a fire not farre off, wherevpon they drew themselves close together, and caused one of themselves closethe and secretlie to draw towards the fire and to discover what companie was there, and how manie was of them; which man did so. And when he returned backe vnto them, he told them that there was an old bad house, and about five or six persons therein: wherevpon they all determined and agreed to repaire to that place to know the whole matter. Spozetto was the guide to bring them to the house, and Kollie did set his companie in order and good array, as was most for their seruice, if need should so require. And when they were come to the house, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the residue were gone. When Kollie drew his sword and strake the old man, with which blow he had almost cut off one of his arms; and then he strake him againe, and gave him a great blow on the side of his head; wherevpon the said old man cried out, desiring them to saue his life, for he was earle of Desmond, and then Kollie staied his hands: but the erle bled so fast, that he waxed verie faint, and could not trauell anie further: wherevpon the said Kollie bid and willed him to prepare himselfe to die; and then he strake off the earls head.

The earle of Desmond taken in an old house alone and slaine.

The residue of the companie in this meane time spoiled and rifled the house, and toke what them liked: and then they all departed and went to Casselmange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the same were deuoured by the wolves or buried by his kene, it is not certainly knowne. As soon as they came to Casselmange, they sent the said earles head vnto the lord generall, who forthwith sent the same into England for a present to hir maiestie; which forthwith was put vpon a pole, and set on London bridge. When this his death was noised and knowne, there was no more seruice to be done: for euerie rebell cast awaie his weapon, and sought all the waies they could to humble themselves and to become good subiects: saving one John Bourke, who stood vpon his protection, and yet neuertheless he and his companie went to Adare, there to haue taken a preie. But as he passed by the castell, a boie therein discharged his peece vpon the said Bourke, & strake him in the head, whereof he died. The common people, who had felt the great smart of this troublesome time, reioiced and were glad of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles should haue an end, and they to be the more at rest. During these continuall troubles in Spozetto, the two lord iustices which laie at Dublin were much eased from all martiall affaires elsewhere, and were troubled but with the clamorings, exclamations, and bhabling of the Irish people, not worth the remembryng: saving that a certeine combat was fought and tried before them in the castell of Dublin, betwene two McDonours, verie neere cosens & kinsmen: the one was named Teig mac Cuill Patrike McDonour appellat; the other was named Con

The earle of Desmonds head sent into England and put vpon London bridge.

John Bourke having a protection, made a death, and was killed.

A combat betwene two McDonours.

mac Cozmacke McDonour defendat. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundrie treasons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other trial but by combat, which was granted vnto them. Wherevpon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and according to the same, the lord iustices, the iudges, and the counsellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellat or plaintife was brought in before the face of the court, being stripped into his shirt, hauing onlie his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and when he had done his reuerence and dutie to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to a stole set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendat brought in, in the like maner and order, and with the like weapons: and when he had done his dutie and reuerence to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to his chaire placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openly read, and then the appellat was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not: who when he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendat was likewise asked whether he would confesse the action, or stand to the trial of the same: who did answer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the sword.

The maner of the combat.

Vpon this their severall answers, they were severallie called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a copozall oth that their quarell was true, and that they would iustifie the same both with sword & blood. Thus they being twoone are brought backe againe euerie of them to their severall places as before. And then when by the sound of a trumpet a signe was giuen vnto them when they should enter into the fight; they arose out of their seats, and met ech one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned vnto them, they fought: in which fight the appellat did preuaile, and he not onlie did disarm the defendat, but also with the sword of the said defendat did cut off his head, and vpon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord iustices, and so with the blood of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to saie somewhat of much of the maner of a combat, which together with manie circumstances therebv to belonging is now for want of vse almost cleane forgotten, and yet verie necessarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was so ballantlie done, that a great manie did wish that it had rather fallen vpon the whole sex of the McDonours, than vpon these two gentlemen.

The vicount of Walsinglas, being aduertised of the death of the earle of Desmond, which was no small grieue vnto him, and he also verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places (being altogether distressed, and in great miserie, and now destitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head anie longer against his maiesties force) did imbarke himselfe for Spaine, in hope to haue some releafe and succor, and to procure some aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of some abilitie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie small comfort. And therefore of a verie melancholie greife & sorrow of mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreame pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iustices, who had ruled and gouerned the land in these troublesome and broken times in great wisdom, care, & circumspection, when they had brought the

The vicount of Walsinglas being aduertised of his life.

The vicount of Walsinglas imbarke himselfe for Spaine.

Sir John Perot arrived into Ireland to be a deputy.

The Scots rebell and subdued.

The count in Ireland

The whole realme brought in thire gown

the whole land to a peaceable & quiet government, and delivered the same from all open or known rebellions; they cased and discharged all the garrisons in Mounster, onely two hundred soldiers excepted: they kept it in good quietnesse, untill the arrivall of sir John Perot knight, who was sent over to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of June, one thousand five hundred fourscore and foure, the six and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne unto whome they delivered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his good beginnings a great hope was conceived of the like to insue. For he was a right worthy servitor in that land, when he was lord president in Mounster: and by whome James Fitzmorris was subdued, and the whole province mayellouslie well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they do well deserve, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registred to his perpetuall fame and immortall hono<sup>r</sup>. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensivie to remember some speciall points of his late service, which do deserve to be remembred: as also for the encouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which do halson and give a hope that he will *Addece colophonem*, and bring that land to a full and perfect government & regiment; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be done much before domestie.

Not long after the arrivall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed maner; for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are up in armes ready for the warre. His lordship having notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to meete with them, and to stop them of their purpose: and therein he so ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were dynen to seke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselves, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to hir maiestie. Which when they had obtained, then they took the lands wherein they dwelled, of hir highnesse, yielding a peacelie rent, which before they had not bene accustomed nor wont to doe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

Then when he was from this service returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and indoe<sup>r</sup> was to devise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the government, according to the laws of England. Whereupon he would and did verie often assemble the whole counsell, or so manie of them as were there, for their advise herein; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin lord chancelor, the earle of Dymond lord treasurer, the p<sup>r</sup>imat of Armagh, the bishop of Meath, the bishop of Kilmore, sir John Perot lord president of Mounster, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at armes, sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, Robert Gardner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Dillon knight chiefe iustice of the common p<sup>l</sup>aces, sir Lucas Dillon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the rolls, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Cotoleie knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Wabesbie, Gesfreie Fenton secretarie, sir Warham Sentleger & sir Valentine Browne knights; but discontinued. By the good advise, helpe, and counsell of these wise and prudent counsellors, he first thought it best to bring the whole land into thire grounds, whereby the laws of England might have a through course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Sidneie before had done in a few counties, that he perfo<sup>r</sup>

med in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie severall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To everie of which new counties he appointed and assigned severall shiriffes, and all such inferi<sup>o</sup>r officers as were most requisit, and to the same incident and appertaining. All and everie which shires hitherto not registred, nor published in chronicle, together with such as tofore were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their severall names, and in their p<sup>r</sup>ovinces as followeth.

|                       |                  |                 |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Counties in Mounster. | Limerike         | } Old counties. |
|                       | Corke            |                 |
|                       | Kerrie           |                 |
|                       | Tipporaria       |                 |
|                       | Crosse Waterford |                 |
|                       | Desmond          | } New counties. |

The shires in Ireland.

|                     |                     |                 |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Counties in Ulster. | Louth               | } Old counties. |
|                     | Downe               |                 |
|                     | Antrim              |                 |
|                     | Monahon             |                 |
|                     | Tiron               | } New counties. |
|                     | Armagh              |                 |
|                     | Colrane             |                 |
|                     | Donergall Farmanagh |                 |
|                     | Cauon               |                 |

|                       |                  |                 |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Counties in Leinster. | Dublin           | } Old counties. |
|                       | Wexford          |                 |
|                       | Catherlogh       |                 |
|                       | Kilkennie        |                 |
|                       | Kildare          |                 |
|                       | Kings countie    |                 |
|                       | Queenes countie  |                 |
|                       | Meth & West-Meth |                 |
|                       | Longeford        | } New counties. |
| Wickelaw              |                  |                 |
|                       | Fernes           |                 |

|                      |           |                 |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Counties in Connagh. | Clare     | } Old counties. |
|                      | Letrimme  |                 |
|                      | Gallowaie | } New counties. |
|                      | Rosecomin |                 |
|                      | Maio      |                 |
|                      | Sligo     |                 |

When he had performed this, and established the same by act of parliament, then hir maiesties writs and processe had a free passage, and were currant through out the whole land, and hir maiestie knowne to be soveraigne ladie and queene of the same. Then the Irish by little and little gave over their Brehon laws, and their Irish blage, and became obedient unto the English laws; unto which they referred themselves to be tried, and to have all their quarels to be decided and determined: whereof at these presents is extant a verie notable president & example betwene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the p<sup>r</sup>ovince of Ulster. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Dnele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Dnele. These two and their ancestors, and all other noble men in that p<sup>r</sup>ovince, when so ever anie discord or enmitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloodshed was the same decided. Nevertheless, these two noble men leaning to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile maner, do refer themselves to the triall of the laws; and each one of them sueth the other at the common laws, and in the chancerie in hir maiesties court

English laws currant through Ireland.

Dnele and the earle of Tiron sue each one the other at law.

At. J. at

Sir John Perot arriveth into Ireland to be lord deputie.

The manner of the combat.

The Scots rebell and are subdued.

The counsell in Ireland.

The names of the counsell in Ireland.

The names of the counsell in Ireland.

The whole realme brought into thire grounds.

at Dublin, and there as dutifull subjects doe abide the trial of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse; and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so happy a progresse and successe, as it hath a good entrance and beginning; no doubt, but that partlie by the lawes, and partlie by the sword; an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be established, the common societie shall be preserved, the whole realme shall flourish and prosper, hir maiestie shall be obeyed, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Israel. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the happy victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasion, were met and incountered withall, by the right worthy Sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were banquished & ouerthrowne, to the number of fiftene hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the news of their successe: but were either killed or drowned.

Sir Richard Bingham his victorie vpon the Scots.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the gouernment of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, untill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue bene done, worthy to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the attaining to the knowledge whereof, though John Hooker the writer hereof haue bene a diligent traueiler and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that god successe, as both the historie it selfe requirith, and he himselfe wisheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their most sacred kings and quenes, or amongst themselves. But whatsoeuer tofore hath bene done, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnaturall, as were the last warres of the Giraldines of Desmond in Spounser. For of the Giraldines of Kilbare, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and see most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as doe rebell against the Lords anointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honored and obeyed in all humblenesse and dutie: because they are his vicars, substitutes, and vicegerents vpon the earth, to defend the good, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, do resist his ordinances, and shall receiue hard iudgement, as most manifestlie it doth appeare in this the earle of Desmonds rebellion. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as in course it fell out, it would be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And therefore leauing the large discourse, it shall suffice to shut and conclude this historie, with the brieue recitall of the most speciall points, to moue each man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his louing mercie and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore James Fitzmoris, the first ringleader in this pageant, and who most vnaturallie had flocked in strangers and forreiners to inuade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriuing of hir maiestie from hir imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yielded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his traitorous iourneie to practise with all the rebels

and inhabitants in Connagh and Ulster to ioint with him, he did commit a robbery; and being pursued for the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kinsmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Bismallocke.

Then James of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robbery vpon Sir Corman mac Ueige, was likewise taken and caried to Cozke, where he was drowned, hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and wals of the citie of Cozke. After him, Sir John of Desmond, one other brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, bulls, and Agnos dei, which should keepe and preserve him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dowdall, and by them he receiued his lust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a frendkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Cozke, where his bodie was hanged by the heeles, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe

James Desmond taken in a robbery, hanged, drowned, & quartered.

Sir John of Desmond slaine, and his bodie hanged by the heeles.

The earle of Desmond slaine, and his head sent to London, and set vpon Londons bridge.

Allen and Sanders being the one with the sword, the other of fame.

The fruits which come from the yr

All strangers slaine.

The which practices of the pope.

was also taken, and with the sword the head was divided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon Londons bridge; and his bodie certaine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beasts. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of princes, is now for treasons and rebellions utterly extinguished and ouerthrowne; onelie one sonne of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two doctors, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their foolish fantasies dreamed that they had the holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords anointed: the one of them lifting vp his sword against hir sacred maiestie, vnder the popes banner at Spounser, one thousand five hundred threescore and nineteene, was slaine and killed; the other, after that he had folliowed the heeles of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserable in the wood of Cleneles, in such diseases as famine and penurie bte to bring. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their comforts and companies, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie news of their successe; but were all put to the sword.

And as for the great companies of soldiers, galloglasses, herne, & the common people, who folliowed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinit, whose bloods the earth drank vp, and whose carcasses the foules of the aire and the rauening beasts of the field did consume and deuoure. After this folliowed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not despoile, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining alliue, saving such as dwelled in cities and townes, and such as were fled ouer into England: and yet the store in the townes was verie far spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who liued at large. For they were not onelie dytten to eat horses, dogs and dead cartons; but also did deuoure the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be sundrie examples: namelie one in the countie of Cozke, where when a malefactor was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallows, certaine poore people secretlie came, took him downe, and did eat him. Likewise in the baie of Smereweeke, or saint Marie weeke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened a ship to be there lost through foule weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

After the wars folliowed a famine.

Man hanged was eaten.

Men drowned and eaten.

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The common people, who had a long time lived on limpets, ozelwads, and such thelfish as they could find, and which were now spent; as soon as they saw these dead bodies, they took them up, and most greedily did eat and devour them: and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land it selfe, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentiful of corne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no corne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, euerie waie the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoeuer did trauell from the one end vnto the other of all Spounster, euen from Waterford to the head of Smérewéke, which is about fiftie miles, he should not meet anie man, woman, or child, sauing in townes and cities; nor yet see anie beast, but the verie wolues, the fores, and other like rauening beasts: manie of them late dead being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere. A heauie, but a iust iudgement of God vpon such a Pharoscall and stifnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclaimed and reduced to serue God in true religion, and to obeie their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made choise of a wicked idoll, the god Mazarin to honoz, and of that wicked antichrist of Rome to obeie, vnto the vtter ouerthrow of themselves and of their posteritie. This is the goodnesse that cometh from that great citie vpon the seven hills, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abominations vpon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, master pope, the sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enemie vnto the crosse of Christ, whose blood thirstinesse will neuer be quenched, but in the blood of the saints, and the seruants of God; and whose rauening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of such as do serue the Lord in all goodlines, & who will not be drunke in the cup of his fornications: as it doth appere by the infinit & most horrible massacres, and bloodie persecutions, which he daily exerciseth throughout all christian lands. Which because he can not performe also within the realmes of England & Ireland, what practises hath he made by inchant-

ments, sorceries, witchcrafts, & treasons to bereaue his maiestie of his life: What deuises hath he used to raise up his owne subjects to rebellions and commotions, to supplant him of his roiall estate and gouernment: What practises hath he used with forren princes and potentates, to seeke occasions of breaches of peace and raisings of warres? And how craftilie hath he suborned his unholie & traitorous Jesuits, vnder colour of holines, to range from place to place through his maiesties realmes, and to moue and persuade his people from dutifull obedience vnto his highnesse, and to denie his supreme authoritie and gouernment? Finally, how doth he from time to time like a rauening wolfe seeke the deuouring of him, and of all his god subjects, which liue in the feare of God, and in the religion established vpon his holie word and gospell? Whereof hath insued the losse of infinit thousands of people, as therof manie apparent examples are set downe and recorded in the histories of England; but of them all, none more lamentable than is this historie of Ireland, and especially this tragedie of Spounster. In which it doth appeare, how that for the maintenance of the popes quarels, the earth hath drunke up the blood, the souls of the aire haue preyed, and the beasts of the field haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes & numbers of people. Which if euerie man would well looke into and consider, the vngodlie shall see the great iudgements of God, and his seuerer iustice against all such as shall dishonoz his holie name; and against such as shall rebell and resist against his anointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their liues, and be conuerted vnto the Lord, both in true religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience to his anointed. And the god and godlie shall see, and thereby consider the great good mercies shewed vpon them, in that he hath and continuallie doth preserve and keepe them from out of the salues of the lion in all safetie, that they should daile more and more grow from grace to grace, and liue in all holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all dutifull obedience vnto his maiestie our soueraigne ladie and quene; whose daies the Lord God continue and prolong to reigne ouer vs to his good will and pleasure: and so shall we his people see good daies, liue in securitie, and the peace of Israel shall be vpon vs.

The fruits  
which come  
from the pope.

The wicked  
practises of  
the pope.

Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker  
alias Vowell, Gent.

